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HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM

THE INVASION OF THE FRANKS UNDER CLOVIS,

TO THE

ACCESSION OF LOUIS PHILIPPE.

ingens Paul Emile de Bonnechose
BY
EMILE DE BONNECHOSE.

The Second Edition,

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATEST PARIS EDITION,

BY

WILLIAM ROBSON,

TRANSLATOR OF "MICHAUD'S HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES."

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PREFACE.

IN a translation of the *History of France* by M. de Bonnechose, we think we are presenting to English readers a work of which they have long stood in need; for although placed in geographical contiguity—although for nearly two thousand years, sometimes connected by friendships, more frequently opposed in sanguinary wars, drawn together by mutual wants, and stimulated by rivalries, good and bad, it is certain that the greater part of the population of England and France are very little acquainted with the history of each other's country. Without attempting to fathom the cause of this, or presuming to characterize existing English histories of France, we may venture to say that the want of a moderately short, pleasingly written, but correct work of this kind has long been felt; and that when we observe the high reputation this has obtained in France, and see by what authorities it has been deemed the best of its kind, we are supplying that want.

Although it cannot be denied that the history of a country is best written by a native of it, we must not expect the historian of one like France can be exempt from that bias towards military glory which has been her pride and her curse. In this respect, therefore, and in this alone, M. de Bonnechose must be read with caution, and with our own history open beside us. By comparing the two accounts of great conflicts, and looking carefully at results, we may approach the truth: our own estimation of ourselves or our neighbours is seldom quite correct, and, if we exercise candour, we shall be wiser for the inquiry.

At a period when the full value of peace and free inter-communication begins to be understood ; when we have discovered that even successful war is but brilliant calamity, —an intoxication that breeds disease ; when we have learnt to appreciate properly the goodness of God, who has created variety in the productions of the earth in order to bring the children of His great family more closely together ; when we are convinced that antipathies between nations are unnatural, unfounded, and injurious ;—at such a period a history that ever has been and ever must be mixed up with our own, becomes not only a delightful but a necessary study :—beholding effects, we search for causes, and we learn why, at times, one country has flourished, the other declined ; why one has progressed, the other retrograded ; why one has been happy, the other steeped in misery.

From the nature of man, history is more frequently a beacon to warn us of rocks or sands, than a cheering pharos to guide us to a peaceful haven ; and we do not hesitate to say that no history is so abundant in warnings as that of France. Happily placed in a beautiful climate, consisting mostly of a vast extent of fertile soil, intersected by feeding rivers, producing in abundance the richest gifts of Providence ; situated between seas that afford it facilities of intercourse with all parts of the old and new world, the destinies of France seem to be left in the hands of its inhabitants. And yet, what a history is that of this highly-favoured country ! To glance back upon it, as a whole, is contemplating chaos—occasional spots of brilliant happiness, separated by immense gulfs of misery, produced by vices and crimes of all kinds.

At the present moment the French are candid in the admission of their own errors, and in their admiration of our institutions and the means by which we have obtained them : some of their ablest writers have recently dilated eloquently upon these subjects. We may, therefore, be excused if we venture to say why, as it is admitted, in comparison with

England, the commerce of France is so limited, her agriculture so backward, her manufactures so small in quantity, her population so thin, her government unsettled, and her society immoral :—it is, we think, simply because the French have been and are governed by passions, and the English have been and are guided by principles. We may be told this is a strong and widely-marked distinction, but if we examine the two histories, from a period when they are worth studying as a lesson, we shall find it correct. It is impetuous valour compared with cool firmness and self-possession ; it is ardent desires in face of fixity of purpose and a comprehension of the object in view ; it is ebullitions of vainglory against solid, permanent consciousness of right. In political and religious contests, in great revolutions even, the French have been maddened and led on to crime by the passions and ambition of their leaders, rather than by any definite principle or aim : there is no passage in French history so honourable as our own seventeenth century, or as the noble struggles of the United Provinces in two centuries—they have no men at all of the species of John Hampden or William the Taciturn, of Nassau. The French writers attempt to set their acquisition of civil rights against our great conquests of political rights, but we cannot admit their distinction ; with the *Habeas Corpus*, civil rights would never have been so violated as they have recently been in France.

In addition to this, we shall find that one of the great obstacles to the attainment of the state best calculated to secure the happiness and prosperity of a people, is the fundamental evil in the French character of the love of military glory ; from it have emanated most of the national calamities ; to it France must attribute great part of her awful reverses. Her most illustrious glory-hunters have never benefited her in any way ; they have in vain sacrificed the treasures, blood, and prosperity of the people at the altar of this false god ; in every instance, the light which led them

has proved delusive, and their object a fading shadow. Volumes might be written on this enormous mistake of the French.

But the student of the history of such a great nation as France will not, at every page, meet with subjects of disgust and reprehension. It is true, in addition to pictures of appalling crimes, he will find the gloss removed from characters which false views have held up as doing honour to the ages they lived in :—for instance, Louis IX., notwithstanding his many good qualities, piety, *miracles*, and laws, appears an insensate fanatic, neglecting his duties as a king, to take up with those of a pilgrim ; the boasted *gentleman*, Francis I., comes from the historian's ordeal with a stained escutcheon, and the character of a bad king and a weak man ; Henry IV., so dear to the French, the epitome of the national character, is a slave to his passions to the last, and, in advanced age, would sacrifice the peace of the world, which he preached about, to his lust ; and the great Louis XIV. stands forth as, perhaps, the strongest instance of pride and selfish vanity to be found in the records of mankind :—but he will, with highly-gratified curiosity, trace the development of mind and civilization, in what may be admitted to have been, in modern times, the leading nation of Europe ; he may sigh at finding vice and luxury the principal fruits of refinement, but he will see human nature occasionally vindicated by the appearance on the scene of a few men eminent for their virtues, and of hosts illustrious for their talents. As Englishmen, we may boast that we have no such monarchs as Charles IX., Henry III., and Louis XV., but any country might take pride at seeing in its annals a Charlemagne, a Suger, a Queen Blanche, a L'Hôpital, a Sully, a Fénelon (the Socrates of France), or a Colbert, the greatest minister that ever lived. No history will teach the value of such as these few last-named better than that of France ; before their real glory that of the, so-called, heroes fades into nothingness : the fame of a Turenne is obscured by

the smoke of the burning towns of Alsace, the laurels of a Bonaparte are all withered by the retreat from Moscow.

To point out the men of genius in letters, sciences, and arts, who have silently, as regards history, assisted the march of mind in France, would not only require more space than could be afforded in a preface, but would prove an injustice towards the vast number whose names must be omitted.

It is now established, that no history is so interesting or instructive as that contained in memoirs, autobiographies, and diaries, and in this none is so rich as that of France ; from memoirs of kings, ministers, and cardinals, to those of the confidential valets and maids of the great, French literature abounds in delightful productions of this kind. But the inferiority of biography to history is apparent, even with all this store ; for, notwithstanding the truthfulness and fascination of these works, which imprint them on the memory, the great chain of history is required to connect them together : it is not enough to know what a man was with regard to his own locality or time, we want to know what influence he exercised upon the world and posterity ; and this can only be learnt from history.

To that vast body now coming under the head of general readers, such a help is this work of M. de Bonnechose ; without being so long or so dry as to form a repulsive or wearying study, it grasps events, and groups them clearly and perspicuously, never entangling or letting slip the thread that ties them together. Having to write the history of such a country as France for two thousand years in so small a space, it is surprising that he could preserve anything like a style ; it would be thought that the mass of matter would clog the phrases, confuse the relation, and render it impossible to give anything but short, sharp, and ungraceful details ; but, if we have been happy enough to seize the character of M. de Bonnechose's writing, our readers will find this not the case. His language is excellent, and his arrangement good ; indeed, we know of no work, in which so much com-

pression was necessary, that is so intelligibly and smoothly written.

We are deterred from attempting to bring his history nearer to our own times by the same reasons that influenced him ; a satisfactory history of events that have passed before the eyes of its readers, would not only require great space,—it is an impossibility.

For ourselves, when translating the work of such an author as M. de Bonnechose, our aim must be to render the matter faithfully, and depart as little from his style as possible—if this merit be granted to us, we shall be satisfied with our labours.

W. R.

HISTORY OF FRANCE.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

Gaul before the invasion of the Franks under Clovis.

THE vast territory comprised between the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the ocean, almost all of which now bears the name of France, was primitively known under that of Gaul, and was occupied, as far back as history can discover, by two races—the Celtic race of the Gauls, and the Iberians. The Gauls formed the foundation of the Gaulish population; they drove the Iberians into Spain, and remained masters of this great and fertile country. The Phocians afterwards formed some important establishments in the southern part of Gaul, one of their colonies founding the city of Marseilles. Subsequently, a new people,—the Kymrys, better known as the Cimbri,—made an irruption into Gaul, and fixed themselves principally upon the banks of the Seine and the Loire. They received their laws and their worship from priests called Druids, whose religion, superior to that of the Gauls, embraced, it is said, the belief in a Supreme Being, and the dogma of a future life. The Druids, nevertheless, recognised many other divinities, whose images they suspended amongst the branches of oaks,—trees held sacred by them; and at the foot of these rude altars, they slaughtered oxen and men. Associated with these priests, under the name of Druidesses, women pretended to possess the gift of prophecy, and sought for presages in the convulsions of the victims. We still find in various places, large stones, hollowed out on the surface, upon which these frightful sacrifices were consummated. The Druids exercised a redoubtable power: they took their seats in war-councils; they were the arbiters of the rights of men and cities, and devoted to public execration all who did not submit to their sentences. Their worship was adopted by a part of the Gallic population.

To the first invasion of the Kymrys succeeded that of the Belgæ, or Belgæ, who belonged to the same race, and who

traversed Gaul completely from north to south. These three races,—the Gauls, the Kymrys, and the Belgæ,—are indiscriminately designated in history under the general name of Gauls. They were divided into a multitude of small nations or colonies, which were constantly at war with each other; their wives assisted in their councils, fought by their sides, and animated the courage of their husbands by frantic hootings: poets, called bards, celebrated the exploits of the heroes.

It was impossible that numerous tribes, more employed in war than in the cultivation of the soil, should continue to find sufficient support in a stationary abode; many emigrated in masses; innumerable multitudes issued from the Gauls at different periods, and spread themselves over neighbouring countries, and even into distant regions, like herds of wild animals; these barbarous hordes pillaged, killed, and burned everybody and everything they met with on their passage. Some, led into Germany by Sigovessus, formed colonies in that country; others, under Bellovesus, invaded the north of Italy, and founded Milan and a great number of cities.

About five hundred years before the Christian era, fresh swarms of Gauls crossed the Apennines, ravaged Etruria, and several times made Rome itself tremble: one of their tribes, under the leadership of Brennus, obtained possession of this city, three hundred and sixty years after its foundation, but were soon compelled to abandon their conquest. The Gauls at length carried their predatory and colonizing expeditions as far as Greece, passed the Bosphorus, and established themselves, under the name of Galatæ, in Asia Minor. Gaul was thus plunged, during many ages, into a state of barbarism, and remained so till about fifty years before the Christian era, when it submitted to the Roman yoke.

II.

Gaul, from the Roman conquest to the invasion of the barbarians.

At the period of the invasion by the Romans, the ancient denominations of Gauls and Kymrys were nearly lost, and Gaul was divided into three nations or peoples, who, in addition to the name of Gauls, which was common to them all, bore the distinctive appellations of Belgæ, Celts, and Aquitans. The Belgæ, whose invasion followed that of the Kymrys, inhabited the north of the Marne, and the

Aquitans the south of the Garonne. The Celts occupied the space comprised between these two rivers. There were therefore three Gauls ; each of these nations giving its name to the territory it occupied. These were themselves divided into a multitude of petty independent states, governed by an aristocracy, composed of priests, ancients or senators, and military leaders. The Romans skilfully took advantage of their sanguinary divisions, and in ten years, Julius Cæsar, at the head of some Roman legions, completed the conquest of Gaul, after a war of extermination. When once he became the acknowledged conqueror, he changed his conduct towards the vanquished ; he rendered their yoke light, and the tribute he imposed upon them was acquitted under the soothing name of military pay. Reckoning upon their support for the execution of his ambitious projects, he engaged their best warriors in his legions, triumphed over Rome itself by their assistance, bestowing upon them, as rewards, both riches and honours,—the Roman senate even became open to the Gauls.

Augustus and his successors established many military colonies in Gaul, and Lyons became the seat of the Roman administration. By degrees, and after several revolts, the conquered nations adopted the language, the civilization, and even the religion of the Romans. Druidism resisted, the Roman emperors attempted to exterminate it, and the island of Britain, now England, became its last asylum. The Gauls began to turn their attention to agriculture, commerce, the arts, and eloquence. Many of their cities, among others, Arles, Lyons, Marseilles, and Nîmes, became flourishing. In these cities, as well as upon several points of the Gaulish territory, magnificent remains of aqueducts, theatres, and other monuments of Roman architecture, are still to be seen, admired, and wondered at. Gaul was divided into four great or principal parts. 1. The Belgic, to the north and east, between the Rhine, the Seine, and the Alps. 2. The Lyonnaise or Celtic, in the centre and at the west, between the ocean, the Seine, the Loire, and the Saône. 3. Aquitaine, to the south and the west, between the ocean, the Loire, the Pyrenees, and the chain of the Cevennes. 4. The Narbonnaise, to the south and the east, between the Cevennes, the Alps, and the Mediterranean. These four principal divisions of Gaul were subdivided into seventeen provinces, each governed by an officer of the empire. Every province was formed into a certain number of districts, which were

governed by a senate, the members of which were chosen from amongst the principal families. To conclude, the Gallic cities, which received from the Romans that which constitutes the corporation, that is to say, the interior administration and civil organization, were regulated by municipal assemblies called *curiæ*, to which the proprietors of the soil alone were summoned.

The Gauls were divided into freemen and serfs, or slaves. The possessors of lands, and men who exercised an art or a trade, were free; the immense majority of the nation, attached to the cultivation of the soil, lived in a sort of slavery.

The municipal regulations, and the developments given to agriculture, produced at first the most happy results, and Gaul for some time prospered under the Roman domination. But the empire approached its decline; no law determined the mode of succession to the imperial throne; each of the armies scattered about the provinces, often arrogated to itself the right of electing the sovereign, and victory decided the question among them. The Gauls took an active part in these sanguinary quarrels: thus, after the death of Nero, excited by Vindex, they supported Galba, and afterwards Vitellius. At the death of the latter, they attempted to recover their independence. Civilis, seconded by the prophecies of the celebrated Druidess Velleda, gathered his compatriots the Batavians and the Belgians under his banners. The Druids issued from their forests, and announced that the Gallic empire was about to succeed to the Roman empire: the insurrection spread; but although formidable in Batavia, it was quickly stifled on the soil of Gaul, by the Gauls themselves.

During the three first ages of the Christian era, this vast country served as a field of battle for the generals who disputed the empire. Crushed by every one of them with imposts, drained of men and money, the cities of Gaul at length sank into the most miserable condition; the lands remained barren, for want of hands to cultivate them; commerce perished; and such was the desolation of these countries, that numbers of freemen became serfs or slaves, to escape from the obligation of subscribing to the public charges. The increasing misery of the people, towards the end of the second century, drove the serfs to revolt; they flew to arms, under the name of the *bagaudes*; they set fire to several cities, and devastated the country. Maximin suppressed them; but victory did not restore prosperity to

the Gallic nation ; the empire in its decay burdened with distress every nation it had subdued.

A great social revolution was approaching : Christianity, which the emperors endeavoured to stifle in its cradle, had become mighty under their persecutions ; the altars of false gods crumbled away before it, and in no part did it take deeper root or number more illustrious martyrs than in Gaul : this worship supported itself by the purest morality ; the regeneration of the world was promised to it. Constantine and his successors had placed it beside them on the imperial throne, but the corruption of the Roman world was such, that social order could not establish itself in it upon Christian bases, so as to afford humanity an impulse strong in progress ; it was necessary, in order that this result should be produced, that the old world, whilst falling to decay, should give place to a younger and more vigorous society. God raised up new nations to complete the work of destruction begun by civil discords, by the total absence of industry, by the indolence, by the misery, by the degradation of the multitude, and the corruption of the higher classes ; all that was condemned to perish was destroyed by the barbarians ; but they halted before the Christian Church, which they found constituted and erect, and which was doomed, one day, to subdue themselves. When the Roman magistracy shall have disappeared in Gaul, we shall find the title of defenders of the city pass to the bishops, and the imperial dioceses will be everywhere displaced by ecclesiastical dioceses.

III.

Invasion of the barbarians ; destruction of the Western empire.

THE nations which destroyed the Roman empire bounded its northern frontiers. They were three in number—the German nation, the Gothic nation, and the Scythian nation : each of these was composed of several peoples.

The German nation was nearest to Gaul, which it bounded on the east and on the north. Its principal peoples were the Franks, the Burgundians, the Germans, and the Saxons. The first, with whom the ancient race of the Sicambri was confounded, dwelt upon the right bank of the Rhine, from the Mein to the sea ; they were highly esteemed for their valour, and it is from them the French derive their name : they were divided into several independent tribes, the prin-

cipal of which were the Salian Franks and the Riparian Franks. The Burgundians occupied the same bank of the Rhine, above Mein, as far as Bâle. The Alemanni, or Germans, were spread over Switzerland, and the Saxons along the shores of the ocean, to the north of Germany, between the Oder and the Weser. The peoples who composed the Gothic nation, were the Vandals, the Ostrogoths, the Visigoths, and Gepides : these three last occupied the left bank of the Danube. Lastly, the Huns and Alans, the principal peoples of the Scythian nation, inhabited the shores of the Euxine Sea.

The greater part of these races, who descended from the north towards the south, attracted by the climate and the fertility of the southern countries, remained for a length of time upon the frontiers of the empire. Their first attempts to pass the boundary were futile ; Rome was still redoubtable, and drove them back. She, however, found herself under the necessity of keeping up an immense body of troops on the frontiers, at the same time that revolts and civil discords required the whole of her legions in the interior. The frontiers were often left unprotected, and it became prudent to treat with the barbarians, and to confide to them the defence of the empire. At a later period, when the anarchy of the state was at its height, the barbarians, badly paid for their services, advanced into the interior, to indemnify themselves by pillage. In vain Rome humbled herself even to become their tributary, and endeavoured to win by presents savage men against whom she could no longer prevail either by the force of her arms or the majesty of her name ; invasion began, and in spite of some few fortunate fields for the Roman armies, the course of the destructive flood was not stopped before it had swallowed up both Rome and the empire.

The Vandals made an irruption into Gaul in 406, and from that time to 476, a period at which a barbarian king deposed the last emperor, Italy and Gaul were nothing but one vast scene of carnage and desolation, in which twenty peoples contended with each other, and in their sanguinary conflicts exhausted all the horrors of civil, invasive, and predatory warfare.

The Vandals, driven back by the Gauls, poured into Spain, penetrated into Africa, and, under the leadership of Genseric, got possession of the northern part of that continent. The Visigoths imitated them : following the banner of the ter-

rible Alaric, they march upon Rome, take it, and sack it ; and then, in virtue of a treaty made with the emperor Honorius, shut up in Ravenna, they quit Italy, and establish themselves in Gaul, to the west of the Rhone, after having sworn to defend the empire they had devastated.

Great Britain at this period was freed from the yoke of the Romans ; the Armoric provinces, on the west of Gaul, likewise revolted ; at length, in 420, the Franks, led by Pharamond, pass the Rhine, and take Treves, whilst the Burgundians enter Belgium, and ascend the Rhine to the Alps.

Valentinian III. then reigned in careless voluptuousness at Ravenna, to which place the seat of empire had been removed. Ætius, brought up as a hostage in the court or camp of Alaric, commanded the Roman armies. This skilful general, the last Rome possessed, struggled at one and the same time against the Armoricans, the Franks, the Visigoths, and the Burgundians, whilst other barbarians poured down upon Gaul. The Huns, a Scythian people, the most cruel and the most savage of all, quitted the shores of the Euxine, under the guidance of Attila. Their multitude was innumerable ; led on by the instinct of destruction, they themselves said that they went whither the anger of God called them. They entered Gaul, and, burning and destroying everything that lay in their way, penetrated as far as Orleans ; they threatened Paris, and the Parisians attributed the safety of their city entirely to the prayers of St. Geneviève. The union of the Visigoths and the Romans, under Theodoric and Ætius, however, checked the progress of the Huns. Attila retreated to Champagne, where, near Châlons-sur-Maine, upon the Catalannic plains, was fought one of the most frightful battles recorded in history ; it was won by Ætius, and was followed by a horrible carnage ; it is said that three hundred thousand men fell in this single contest. Merovius, leader of the Franks, son of Clodio, and grandson of Pharamond, united his forces with those of the Romans and the Visigoths, and contributed greatly by his exploits to the fortunate issue of this sanguinary day.

Attila, although conquered, soon collected fresh forces, and entering Italy, marched to the gates of Rome : there the Pope, St. Leo, interceded for the Romans, and treated in the name of the emperor, threatening, in his sacred character, the king of the barbarians with the vengeance of Heaven if he proceeded farther. Whether the proposed treaty satisfied

his cupidity, or that the superstitious fear of a God with whom he was unacquainted acted upon his mind, Attila stopped ; he drew off his forces, and soon after died.

Ætius alone was able to defend the empire by his genius, the authority of his name, and the splendour of his victories ; but he fell a victim to court intrigue. The base Valentinian stabbed him with his own hand, and he himself, afterwards, was assassinated.

At that time we see, on the one side, effeminate princes, indifferent to the public calamities ; leaders who raise themselves rapidly, and are as quickly destroyed by assassination or revolt ; an army composed of a crowd of men of all nations, who acknowledge no country, whom cupidity alone attaches to the state, and who devour it when there is more to be gained by pillage than by mercenary service ; and a people, ignorant and miserable, who know not what laws to submit to, exhausted by the emperors, plundered by their own armies and by the barbarian hordes, and who, for a long time, would have ceased to be Romans, if they had known under what power to find security. On the other part, we perceive new and savage nations, whose independent and haughty character contrasts strongly with the degenerated Romans. These peoples, differing in manners, language, and worship, as well as in origin, appear to have conspired to come from the extremities of the earth, to pour down all together upon the Roman empire, as upon a prey given up to their fury. Between this old society and these new races, the Christian Church raised itself, gained fresh strength, and won over to its bosom a multitude of men to whom the world offered nothing but sufferings, and who embraced with ardour the hope of a more happy existence in a better world. The Church admitted all to its sanctuary, without regard to either rank or fortune ; but took great care to raise none to dignities but the best instructed and the most able. She alone preserved in the West some remains of knowledge, and laboured earnestly to recover Europe from the chaotic condition into which it had fallen.

The empire subsisted in this state of languor till 476. It was at this period that Odoacer, the commander of some auxiliary troops in the pay of the empire, caused himself to be proclaimed king by the soldiers, took Rome and deposed Augustulus, the last emperor of the West. Italy submitted to his laws, whilst Gaul was shared among the Visigoths, under Euric, on the south, the peoples of Armorica on the

west, the Burgundians on the east, and in the north by the Salic Franks. The Romans still possessed, under Syagrius, a portion of Belgic Gaul and of Lyonnese Gaul.

The Anglo-Saxons at the same period invaded Britain, and established themselves in that island : a great number of its inhabitants emigrated, and fixed themselves upon the extremity of the western point of Armorica, where they were well received by the indigenes, with whom they had community of origin and language. Brittany received its name from these expatriated Britons.

Towards the same time, a colony of Saxons, driven from Germany, established themselves in Lower Normandy, in the environs of Bayeux ; whilst another colony of the same race, enemies of the Britons, occupied a part of Maine and Anjou.

Such was the state of Gaul when, in 481, Clotwig, better known under the name of Clovis,* son of Childeric, and grandson of Merowig, or Merovius, who gave his name to a dynasty, was elected head of the tribe of the Salic Franks, whose possessions extended to the Somme.

* Among most barbarous nations the proper names of men and women almost always indicate some distinguishing quality. *Merowig*, or *Merwig*, is formed of two words, *mer*, great, and *wig*, warrior ; *Clothild*, or *Lothild*, comes from *lot*, celebrated, and *hild*, young boy or girl. Barbarous names are in general harsh and difficult to be pronounced, and have often been transformed by custom into names of a more agreeable sound. Thus, for example, of *Merowig* we have made *Merovius* ; of *Clotwig*, or *Chlodowig*, *Clovis* ; of *Brunehild*, *Bruneault* ; of *Theodoric*, *Thierri* ; of *Gunbald*, *Gondebault* ; of *Karle*, *Charles* ; of *Leodgher*, *Leger* ; of *Rodulf*, *Raoul* ; of *Allrik*, *Alaric*, &c. &c.

FIRST EPOCH.

REIGN OF THE MEROVINGIAN AND CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTIES.

481—986.

BOOK THE FIRST.

GAUL UNDER THE MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY.

481—752.

CHAPTER I.

Reign of Clovis. 481—511.

THE successes of the Franks in the part of Gaul which remained in the power of the Romans were prepared by the state of oppression in which the imperial government had plunged the people, who, overwhelmed by taxes, impatient of their yoke, and forced to maintain continual struggles, wanted resolution and vigour to defend themselves. Other causes favoured their rapid progress in the countries occupied by the Visigoths and the Burgundians. These peoples, whose invasion of Gaul had been violent and accompanied by great ravages, became quickly ameliorated by the influence of a superior civilization. The Goths particularly allowed themselves to be affected by the Roman manners, which were those of the civilized inhabitants of Gaul, and they endeavoured to revive the politeness, the arts, and the laws of the conquered, without, however, adopting their religion: they were attached to the heresy of Arius, whilst the people they had overcome were maintained in the orthodox or Catholic faith by their bishops: the latter, children of Rome and heirs of the administrative powers of the Roman magistrates, bound to acknowledge for their patron and their head the bishop of the Eternal City, to regulate their faith by his, and to contribute by the unity of religion to the unity of the empire, laboured still, even in the moment of conquest, to retain under the authority of Rome, by the tie of religious faith, the country in which the tie of political

obedience was quite destroyed. The Visigoths and the Burgundians refused to acknowledge the authority of the bishops, and the latter founded greater hope upon a nation still Pagan and free from all prejudices, as that of the Franks then was, than upon people who, already converted to Christianity, denied the correctness of their faith, and refused to take them as guides. Their enmity contributed powerfully to the expulsion of the first conquerors. The Goths and the Burgundians, besides, at the moment in which they were attacked by the Franks, had lost something of their primitive energy, without having made any progress in the military science of the people they had conquered: the Franks, on the contrary, preserving all the wild vigour of the inhabitants of Germany, despised Roman civilization, and in no point had relaxed their natural ferocity or independence of spirit. When they were conquered, their losses were instantly supplied by new emigrations from Germany; when conquerors, they had all the superiority which the audacity of success and the thirst for plunder give to a warlike people who have nothing to lose and everything to win.

Clovis, elected leader of the Franks, soon unknowingly seconded the wish of the bishops by espousing Clotilda, daughter of a king of the Burgundians, the only woman then of the Roman communion in the whole Germanic race. The first enemy he attacked was Syagrius, the Roman general, governor of the part of Gaul still independent of the barbarians, of which Soissons was the capital. Syagrius was conquered, and the tribe of the Franks extended their limits as far as the Seine. Clovis afterwards marched against fresh hordes from Germany, who were invading Gaul, and gave them battle at Tolbiac. Conquered in the early part of the day, he promised to worship the God of Clotilda if he gained the victory: he triumphed, and kept his word. He received baptism at Reims, from St. Remé, bishop of that city. "Sicambrian, bow thy head," said the prelate to him; "burn that which thou hast worshipped, and worship that which thou hast burnt." Three thousand Frank warriors followed the example of their leader, and were baptized on the same day: it was in this way the Roman church took possession of the barbarians. Clovis immediately sent presents to Rome, as a tribute to the successor of the blessed apostle Peter, and from that time his conquests in Gaul were rapid and almost bloodless. All the cities of the north-east, as far as the Loire and the territory of the emigrant Britons, opened

their gates to his soldiers. The bishops of the country of the Burgundians soon sent deputies to the conqueror, supplicating him to deliver them from the domination of the barbarous Arians. Clovis, in compliance with their solicitations, declared war against the Burgundian king Gondebauld, the murderer of the father of Clotilda, and made him his tributary. All the cities on the bank of the Rhone and the Saône were thus united under the authority of the Roman church.

Six years later, Clovis meditates fresh conquests, and longs for the beautiful provinces of the south, occupied by the Visigoths. He assembles his warriors in a vast field, and says to them :—" It is very disagreeable to me that the Goths, who are Arians, should occupy the best portion of Gaul. Come, with the aid of God, let us drive them out of it." The Franks approve of the idea, and follow him ; they cross the Loire, and the battle of Vouglé, near Poitiers, decides the war. The indigenous people take part with the Goths, their conquerors, against the new invaders ; their efforts are powerless, they are conquered : Alaric II., king of the Goths, is killed in the battle. Thierry, eldest son of Clovis, subdues Auvergne to the dominion of his father, and all the country of the Gauls, to the sources of the Garonne, obeys the king of the Franks. The prelates and bishops gave up the cities that were not taken by assault, and crowded the camp and the tent of the conquering king ; a greedy and savage multitude spread themselves over the whole of these beautiful countries, devastating the land, and dragging men, bound two and two, like dogs, in the train of their baggage-waggons. Clovis might have pushed his conquests to the south further, if the great Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, who governed Italy with glory, had not put a stop to the progress of the Franks.* This prince, father-in-law of Alaric II., covered Spain and Provence with his armies ; he preserved thus for the infant child of Alaric a part of his heritage, and took possession of the territory comprised be-

* Theodoric engaged with the emperor Zeno to penetrate into Italy, and conquer that country from Odoacer, the heir of Augustulus, whom he had deposed, and to govern it in the name of the emperor of the East. He emigrated with his people, and met, in 482, the army of Odoacer on the banks of the Isongo. He conquered it, and entered Lombardy, where, after some success, followed by numerous reverses, Odoacer perished—assassinated. Theodoric from that time governed Italy with wisdom, and attempted to re-establish Roman laws and civilization.

tween the Rhone and the Alps. The Visigoth empire was from that time, in Gaul, reduced to the first Narbonnese, named also Septimania, the capital of which was Narbonne.

The Franks, stopped on the south by Theodoric, marched to the west, and arrived in the country of the Armoricans, whose great cities soon submitted, and consented to pay tribute; the Bretons alone defended the corner of land in which they had taken refuge, and were able to preserve their independence.

Clovis gained all his victories at the head of the Salic tribe, the most considerable and the first of all that had crossed the Rhine. By the side of these, to the east and upon the right bank of the Meuse, dwelt another powerful tribe, called the tribe of the Ripuarians, and several smaller German colonies. Clovis, whose ambition was not diminished or his ferocity softened by religion, undertook to subdue these people, and, in order to succeed, he employed both perfidy and violence against their kings, most of whom were his relations: he caused some to be assassinated, and others he slew with his own hand. At length, by means of victories and murders, he united the whole country comprised within the Rhine, the Rhone, the ocean, and the Pyrenees under his authority.

Clovis received the consular insignia and the title of Patrician from Anastasius, emperor of the East. His generosity towards the clergy was boundless, and he obtained in return the name of *the eldest son of the Church*, which he transmitted to his successors. He died in 511, after having divided his domains amongst his four sons, Thierry, Clodomir, Childebert, and Clothaire, who were all acknowledged kings.

The title of king, in the German language, signifies only chief or leader; it was conferred by election. At the death of a king, the Franks assembled to proceed to the choice of his successor, and when they had named him, they inaugurated him by elevating him upon a buckler amidst their acclamations. The principal mission of this chief was to lead them to the enemy and to plunder; he received the most considerable share of the booty, which often consisted of cities with their territories: this it was that constituted the royal domain and treasure, with which the king maintained his companions in arms, and kept the most rich and the most powerful of them, called *antrustions*, *leudes*, or *fideles*, in dependence upon him. These leudes were chosen

from amongst the warriors most distinguished by their actions or by royal favour ; they took an oath of fidelity to the prince, and formed a separate class, from which the officers and magistrates were chosen. The following anecdote teaches us at once what were the limits and the extent of the power of the kings. After the battle of Soissons, Clovis wished to withdraw from the booty to be divided, a valuable vase, claimed by St. Remé. His warriors consented, with the exception of one, who, breaking the vase with his *francisque*, or battle-axe, said brutally to the king : "Thou shalt only have, as others have, that which is thy share." Clovis dissembled his anger ; but the following year, when reviewing his warriors, he stopped before this same soldier, and taking from him his weapon, which he said was not kept in order, "Remember the vase of Soissons," said the king, and split his skull with his battle-axe.

When a king died, his sons inherited his domains, and, being thus richer than their companions in arms, were more likely than others to gain the suffrages. It was in this manner the supreme authority was transmitted from father to son in the race of Clovis, at first by elections, and afterwards by custom, which made the law.

The sons of Clovis having all been acknowledged kings, each fixed his residence in one of the principal cities of his domains. There were then four courts and four capitals, which were, Paris, Orleans, Soissons, and Reims. All these capitals, residences of the kings, were chosen on the northern side of the Loire, in a space sufficiently narrow, because the country in which they were situated, was alone considered the land of the Franks. The provinces to the south of the Loire, still filled with remembrances of Rome, their great cities much richer and more populous than those of the north, and splendid with the remains of imperial grandeur, struck the barbarous Franks with a stupid astonishment, and inspired in them nothing but aversion or fury. They felt themselves constrained amidst the wrecks of the civilized world ; and therefore never dwelt there but with repugnance. They abandoned the administration of them to the municipal bodies and the bishops, and contented themselves with occupying the country militarily by bodies of troops, who spread terror everywhere, and kept all in subjection.

The country of the Franks to the north of the Loire was divided into four kingdoms, those of Paris, Soissons, Orleans, and Metz. The Salic tribe occupied, on the west, the three

first ; the tribe of the Ripuarians occupied the fourth, situated on the east, and of which Metz at first, and afterwards Reims, was the capital.

It is proper, before we pursue the history of the Franks under the race of Clovis, to cast a glance over their religion, their laws, and their usages, and expose the relations of the conquerors with the conquered people.

The Church was then the only power which struggled against barbarism, and the only check upon the fierce passions of the conquerors. These men of the North, children of Odin, who, brought up in the religion of their fathers, had only learned to hope in another life for joys entirely sensual, and who promised themselves, as supreme felicity, to drink beer there from the skulls of their enemies, comprehended but very ill the spirit and sublimity of Christianity, when, after the example of their leader, they were converted in a mass, without receiving the least instruction. Such was their gross ignorance, that at sight of the pomp and luxury exhibited by the clergy on the occasion of his baptism, Clovis said to St. Remé : " Patron, is not this the kingdom of heaven to which you have promised to lead me ? " It was necessary that these men should belong to a worship that might terrify them by its carnal threats, and captivate them by the majesty of its spectacles : it is easy, then, to conceive that Catholicism should triumph over rival sects. In fact, the images of saints, the relics of martyrs, the renown of the miracles said to be operated by them, with the pomp of the ceremonies, seized with astonishment and respect the imagination of the barbarians. The civil power of the bishops, the exterior and visible hierarchy of the clergy, whose head was at Rome in the Eternal City ; above all, that great name of Rome, respected even by its conquerors—all this gave to the Catholic clergy a power over these indomitable populations very superior to that which could have been obtained by the priests of any other Christian church. The clergy were at this time distinguished by great virtues, and made energetic efforts to combat the unrestrained passions of kings and nations ; but the barbarism was still so great, that men treated God as they would have wished to be treated themselves ; they flattered themselves with being able to disarm his justice and subdue his anger by giving him gold, jewels, horses, and lands, with which they enriched the Church : these riches assisted the clergy in preserving a necessary ascendancy over the conquering converts. The three cen-

turies during which the reign of the Merovingians was prolonged, witnessed the erection of a vast number of monasteries. Among the most useful foundations of this kind, the establishments of the illustrious order of the Benedictines, founded in Italy in the sixth century, by St. Benedict, and which soon spread numerous ramifications throughout Europe, were remarkably conspicuous. The adepts of this order were subjected to the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience : St. Benedict had further prescribed to them, prayer, study, manual labour, and the instruction of youth. No religious order contributed more to the progress of letters and science. Great need was there, that, amidst perpetual scenes of conflict, death, and pillage, the unfortunate should find some asylum against violence ; and when the face of the earth was bristling with armed men intent only upon mutual destruction, it was of vital importance that considerable societies, animated by a pious and intelligent zeal, should devote themselves to the painful care of draining marshes, clearing lands, collecting the knowledge contained in the scattered manuscripts that had escaped from so many devastations, and teaching others the little they themselves knew. Such was the laudable occupation of the early inhabitants of monasteries ; it was thus they earned and deserved the respect and gratitude of nations.

Religion was then also the only tie which united the different races and classes of mankind ; for at that time, in Gaul, there was no union established either by commerce, by civil or judicial administration, or by uniformity of laws. The authority of the kings was entirely military, and the legislative power belonged to the whole nation of the Franks, who assembled in arms in the month of March or of May ; whence these assemblies or national comitia obtained the name of the Field of March, or the Field of May. They had taken place regularly in the times that immediately followed the conquest ; but when the Franks had become proprietors, and were rapidly spread over the soil, they neglected to meet, the kings ceased to convoke them at the usual periods, and the legislative power passed into the hands of the monarchs, of their officers, and of the bishops.

Justice did not emanate from the king, but from the people ; the latter chose the judges, the king appointed the counts or dukes, who presided at trials ; the citizens, upon whom the duty was imposed of assisting in courts of justice, were termed *rachimbourgs*. No subordination existed be-

tween the various tribunals, no appeal was admitted. Each of the tribes who occupied the land of Gaul preserved its own laws ; the Roman Gauls continued to be governed, in their civil relations, by the Theodosian code ; the Salic Franks, the Ripuarian Franks, and the Burgundians, had all separate codes.

The law obeyed by the Salic Franks, and which took from them the name of the Salic law, was not established till after the conquest, but its maxims belonged to times much anterior to the invasion of Gaul by the Franks. This law made very injurious differences between the race of the Franks and the race of the Roman Gauls : it was by its weight in gold that reparation for the greatest crimes was valued ; by submitting to pay a regulated sum, anybody might rob, slay, and burn. In these compositions the law always estimated the life of a Frank at double that of a Roman ; the latter was valued at little more than that of an ox ; nevertheless churchmen were respected, and enjoyed many privileges. Under the sons of Clovis the penal laws became more severe, and the penalty of death was, in some cases, substituted for that of fines. The law of the Ripuarian Franks, promulgated by Thierry I., established compensation for offences upon principles similar to those of the Salic law. The law of the Burgundians, called the *Gombette law*, of which Gondebauld was the first author, was more favourable to the ancient inhabitants than the laws of the Salic Franks, or the Ripuarian Franks ; resembling in this the law of the Visigoths, it established, in offences committed upon persons, no difference between the Romans and the conquerors : it thence followed, that the Roman laws remained much longer in vigour among the Burgundians, the Visigoths, and the peoples of the southern countries of Gaul, than in the parts subservient to the laws of the Salians and the Ripuarians.* All the laws of the barbarians attested a boundless faith in the immediate intervention of the Divinity in human affairs. Some established, as judicial proofs, the oaths of the friends and relations of the accused or of the debtor ; others, the event of a duel between the parties ; to which were added the ordeals of water and fire. The accused was obliged to touch red-hot iron, or plunge his hand into boiling water ; his arm was then carefully enveloped, and if, after a certain number of days, there were any traces left of the burn, the unfortunate wretch was punished as guilty ; if there were none, his

* Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, liv. xviii. chap. 4.

innocence was proclaimed. It was believed that the judgment of God himself was thus obtained, as it was by the duel.

The free Franks were outwardly distinguished from the Romans by their long hair. When a Frank entered into the Church, his hair was cut off ; and from that time he could not aspire to the throne or to the command of armies.

Every city was governed by its own municipality, under the direction of the bishop. The latter was elected by the people or by the clergy of his diocese. Slavery existed ; conquerors, after battle, still disposed of the liberty of the conquered : in divisions or sales of property, the cultivators were sold with the soil as the flocks and herds were.

Among the barbarians, territorial property was divided into two principal kinds : into freeholds (*franc alleux*.) and into *benefices* or *fiefs*. The freeholds, free from quit-rent or service, were property which the conquerors appropriated to themselves ; they could not, by virtue of the Salic law, be transmitted to women. The benefices or fiefs were lands which the kings detached from the royal domain, to gratify their *leudes*, or great vassals.

The possession of this latter property carried with it the obligation of military service, and did not constitute an inalienable right. The posts of duke and count, enjoyed by the first nobles, were not transmissible by hereditary right to their children ; but, in the end, the bravest warriors, enriched by royal favour, formed a redoubtable aristocracy ; they became proportionately powerful as royal authority declined, and their pretensions increasing with their strength, they rendered their domains and their titles hereditary in their families. This usurpation of the nobles was one of the principal causes of the fall of the Merovingian dynasty.

CHAPTER II.

Continuation of the reign of the Merovingians, from the death of Clovis to that of Dagobert I. 511—638.

FRATRICIDE, wars, and atrocious crimes marked the reigns of the descendants of Clovis. The children of that prince divided his states among them with barbarous ignorance, and this gross partition was the scene of sanguinary quarrels.

Thierry resided at Metz, the capital of eastern France ;

Clothaire lived at Soissons ; Childebert at Paris ; and Clodomir at Orleans. These last three likewise shared amongst them the conquered lands and cities of Aquitaine. During their time a great number of German tribes allied themselves with the Franks, whose confederation now extended to the Elbe. The Frisons, the Saxons, and the Bavarians were comprised within this league ; the Thuringians, united with the Varini and the Heruli, had spread themselves over the banks of the Elbe and the Necker, and had there instituted a new monarchy. Stained by frightful atrocities, they resisted the Franks ; the latter marched against them under Thierry and Clothaire, conquered them in two great battles, caused the Thuringian princes to be assassinated, put a great part of the nation to the sword, and reunited Thuringia to the monarchy of the Franks.

Sigismund, son of Gondebald, the assassin of Chilperic, father of Queen Clotilda, then reigned in Burgundy. This princess, the widow of Clovis, after forty years had passed away since that murder, swore to take vengeance for it, although the murderer no longer existed. She resolved to make the son expiate the crime of the father, and getting her children together, she made them promise to avenge the death of Chilperic. Clodomir and Clothaire immediately enter Burgundy, gain a battle, make King Sigismund prisoner, and cast him, his wife, and children, into a well. Gondemar, the brother of the conquered king, becomes his avenger ; he defeats the army of Clodomir at Vesperonce, on the banks of the Rhone, kills Clodomir, puts the Franks to flight, and is acknowledged king by the Burgundians, over whom he reigns till 532. Clothaire and his brother Childebert attack him again ; they are conquerors, and take possession of his kingdom.

These two princes disgrace themselves by a frightful crime after the death of their brother Clodomir, who had left three children of a tender age under the guardianship of their grandmother Clotilda. Clothaire and Childebert covet the heritage of their nephews, and in order to get them into their power, they undertake to have them crowned. The children arrive full of joy at the court of their uncles, followed by their domestics and their tutors. All at once they are seized and separated, and their train placed in dungeons. Clothaire and Childebert then send their mother Clotilda a pair of scissors and a poniard, commanding her to choose the cloisters or death for her grandchildren.

"Death!" replies the exasperated Clotilda. The kings immediately seek their nephews: Clothaire slaughters two of them with his own hands, and all their servants are at the same time massacred. The third son of Clodomir escaped the fury of his uncles; he became a monk, and founded the monastery of St. Cloud.

Thierry I., the eldest son of Clovis, died in 534, after having ravaged Auvergne, which had attempted to shake off his yoke. His son Theodebert succeeded him.

The empire of the Goths approached its decline. The great Theodoric was no more. This prince had governed Italy, Spain, and the southern part of Gaul; he had reconquered from the Franks a great portion of the provinces taken from the Visigoths after the battle of Vouglé, and he had endeavoured to re-establish in his dominions the laws, customs, and manners of the Roman empire: but a son was denied to him to gather his immense inheritance; he had only two daughters, Amalsontha and Theodegotha, and by them, two grandsons, Athalaric and Amalaric, between whom he divided his states. Athalaric had the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy, with the provinces of Gaul, to the Rhone and the Durance. Amalaric, the son of Alaric II. and Theodegotha, reigned over the Visigoths in Spain, and in Gaul to the foot of the Pyrenees, to the Lot and the Rhone. This prince resided at Narbonne, and married Clotilda, the daughter of Clovis. Clotilda was a Catholic, in the midst of an Arian people; insulted by the populace, she was even more cruelly outraged by her husband; her blood flowed, she received it on her veil, and a faithful servant carried this blood-stained veil to the Frank kings, her brothers, as an appeal to their vengeance. Inflamed with fury at the sight, Childebert set forward and led an army of Franks towards the frontiers of Septimania.* He beat the Visigoths. The terrified Amalaric fled to Barcelona, where he was assassinated. Childebert gave Narbonne up to pillage, then he returned towards Paris, loaded with the spoils of the rich province, of which he neglected to secure possession, and which fell again into the power of the Visigoths.

About the same period the race of Theodoric ceased to reign in Italy, his grandson Athalaric dying at a tender age. The Ostrogoths, after his death and that of his suc-

* The name of Septimania began to prevail over that of the Narbonnese, given by the Romans to the country which is now known as Languedoc.

cessor Theodat, the second husband of his mother Amalsiontha, chose as a master Vitigea, the most skilful of their generals ; being then at war with Justinian, the emperor of the East. This prince demanded the support of the Frank king, Theodebert I, son of Thierry, against the Ostrogoths, whilst Theodebert was at the same time appealed to by the Ostrogoths, as their liberator, against Justinian. He crossed the Alps at the head of a numerous army, received gold from both parties, and then, in contempt of his engagements, made a frightful carnage of both armies, carried fire and sword into Lombardy, burned Genoa and Pisa, and wrested Provence from the Ostrogoths, whose empire, already tottering, was totally destroyed by Belisarius and Narses, the illustrious generals of Justinian.

Theodebert was meditating the invasion of the empire of the East when he died, in 548, leaving the throne to his son Theodebald, who only reigned seven years. At the death of this latter, Clothaire, his great-uncle, took possession of his kingdom : his other uncle, Childebert, jealous of this usurpation, excited against Clothaire, Chramme, son of that prince, and supported him at first by his arms ; but he himself soon afterwards fell sick, and died at Paris. Clothaire seized all the succession, pursued his rebellious son, took him prisoner, and caused him, his wife, and his daughters, to be all burned alive. Clothaire succeeded his three brothers, and united under his domination the whole of Roman Gaul, in which were included Savoy, Switzerland, the Rhenish provinces, and Belgium : his power extended beyond the Rhine over the duchies of Germany, Thuringia, Bavaria, and the country of the Saxons and Frisons. He made no use of this colossal strength, and the only memorial remaining of the two years during which he governed the monarchy of the Franks alone, is the murder of his son. He expired a year after this horrible execution, and cried out, astonished at dying,—“ Who is this king of the heavens, who thus kills the great kings of the earth ? ”

Clothaire I. left four sons, Caribert, Gontran, Chilperic, and Sigebert, who shared his states. Caribert lived but a short time ; he left no male heir, and from his death dates, amongst his surviving brothers, a fresh division, with which it is important to be well acquainted. The vast country situated between the Rhine and the Loire was divided into two parts, as by a line which should be extended from north to south, from the mouths of the Scheld to Bar-sur-Aube.

The part situated on the west of this line was named Neustria ; the other part, situated on the east, was called Austrasia. Neustria fell to the share of Chilperic, Austrasia to Sigebert. Burgundy, which formed the third great division of Gaul, was the share of Gontran. Vast countries subsequently conquered were considered as appendices to the Frank empire, and it was agreed that a separate division of them should take place : these were Provence, Aquitaine, and Novempopulania. The first was connected entirely with eastern France, with Austrasia and Burgundy, and was shared between Sigebert and Gontran ; the second was divided into three reputedly equal parts, of which each one formed a little Aquitaine ; lastly, Novempopulania was shared between Chilperic and Sigebert, to the exclusion of Gontran. The Germanic provinces, governed by dukes named by the kings, were scarcely reckoned in this division : they fell, with Austrasia, to Sigebert, who, in order to watch over them the better, transferred his residence from Reims to Metz, which he made his capital.* The three brothers made a whimsical agreement with respect to the city of Paris : each of them engaged, on account of the importance of the place, never to enter it without the consent of the other two. This celebrated partition of the inheritance of Clothaire I. was made in the year 567.

Chilperic and Sigebert signalized themselves by their brotherly hatred, and were surpassed in audacity, ambition, and barbarity by their wives, whose names acquired a great and awful celebrity.

Sigebert married Brunehaut, daughter of the king of the Visigoths ; and Chilperic, surnamed the Nero of France, jealous of the alliance contracted by his brother, slighted the pretensions of his mistress Fredegonde, to espouse Galsevintha, sister of Brunehaut. He had already at this period three sons by a first wife, named Andovera, whom he had repudiated and shut up in the prisons of Rouen. Shortly after his marriage he caused Galsevintha to be strangled, at the instigation of Fredegonde, and took her for wife. Brunehaut swore to avenge her sister. The enmity of these two queens caused rivers of blood to flow.

After an unsuccessful war against his brother Sigebert, Chilperic submitted, demanded peace, and accepted a treaty, which he violated almost immediately by taking up arms

* Sigebert in this followed the example of Clovis and his two successors : Metz was their capital.

again. Sigebert, becoming furious, marched upon Paris, subjected all and everything to fire and sword around the city, took possession of it, and forced Chilperic to shut himself up in Tournay, with his wife and children. The Austrasian army invest this place, and Sigebert declares he will kill Chilperic; but in the first place he is desirous of being elected king of Neustria, and he names the royal domain of Vitry as the scene of this solemnity. Germanus,* bishop of Paris, in vain endeavours to prevail over Sigebert by exciting the pity of Queen Brunehaut, more eager for vengeance than her husband; he addresses the king himself:—"King Sigebert," says he, "if thou wilt renounce the death of thy brother, thou shalt be victorious; if thou hast any other thought, thou shalt die." Sigebert persists in his fratricidal projects, he arrives at Vitry: there he is elevated upon the bucklers and is proclaimed king of Neustria in the assembly of the Franks. All at once, in the very midst of these rejoicings, two young emissaries of Fredegonde wound the king with poisoned swords; he dies, his army is dispersed, and Chilperic recovers his throne.

Sigebert had had by Queen Brunehaut one son, still an infant, named Childebert, and two daughters. At the news of his death, his family are detained captives in the palace of the Thermes; but Gondibaud, an Austrasian noble, procures the liberation of the young Childebert: the royal infant is let down from a window of the palace in a basket, a faithful servant takes him behind him on horseback, and carries him away to Metz, where Childebert II. is proclaimed king of Austrasia in 575.

Brunehaut, with her two daughters, falls into the power of Fredegonde; the king sends her prisoner to Rouen, where she inspires Merovius, the son of Chilperic and the unfortunate Andovera, with a violent passion: Merovius marries her, and Fredegonde persuades the king, that his son, by espousing her rival, has resolved to dethrone him. Chilperic pursues the newly-married couple with his vengeance: Brunehaut flies into Austrasia; Merovius seeks an asylum at Tours, in the basilic of St. Martin. In vain the bishop, Gregory, intercedes for him; Fredegonde is implacable: Merovius causes himself to be killed, and all his servants perish in tortures. One child alone, named Clovis, of the first bed of Chilperic, had survived: Fredegonde has deter-

* The Church canonized him, and he is known under the name of St. Germain.

mined upon his death ; she accuses him, as well as his wife, of sorcery and witchcraft with regard to her own children : the young wife is delivered to the flames, Clovis is poniarded at Noisy.

The Merovingian princes, barbarians obtaining the enjoyments of Roman luxury and civilization before they had got rid of their savage instincts, placed no restraint upon their violence and vicious passions, and it might already be perceived to what a premature end their race was hastening. One day, whilst Chilperic was residing in his palace of Braine, two Gallic bishops, Salvius d'Alby and Gregory of Tours, were walking together round the royal dwelling ; all at once, Salvius stops, and says to Gregory : " Do you see nothing over that battlement ? " The bishop of Tours answered : " I see the belvedere that the king is erecting. " " Do you perceive nothing more ? "—" No ! if you see anything, tell me what it is ! " Salvius heaved a deep sigh, and replied : " I see the sword of the anger of God suspended over that house. "

Chilperic, re-established on his throne, placed no bounds to his cupidity or his ambition ; he invaded the states of his brother Gontran, during a war of that prince against the Lombards, and in his aggression, availed himself of the support of the people of Aquitaine. An army of Aquitans, under the command of Didier, count of Toulouse, marched against Burgundy ; but Gontran had, as leader of his troops, a great captain, the patrician* Mummoles : this general, after having exterminated the Lombards, attacked the Aquitans, destroyed their army, and retook all the places of which Chilperic had gained possession. Six years later, a fresh invasion of Burgundy by the Neustrians was again repulsed, and Chilperic soon after perished, assassinated in the forest of Chelles, by the order of Fredegonde. Of all the male children he had had by this sanguinary woman, one alone, of tender age, named Clothaire, survived him : his mother undertook the guardianship of him, and, threatened at once by all the enemies her crimes had created, she placed herself and her son under the protection of King Gontran.

Gontran, seeing two children, Clothaire II. and Childbert II., seated upon the thrones of Neustria and Austrasia, hoped to unite under his own sway the whole monarchy of the Franks ; but the young kings had for mothers, the one

* *Patrician* was, after the king, the first dignity among the Burgundians.

Fredegonde, and the other Brunehaut, both of whom knew how to dispute and keep power. '

Brunehaut united to an active and vast genius indomitable passions ; she was determined at the same time to punish her rival and keep the Austrasians in her power : the latter, neighbours of Germany, the cradle of their ancestors, were at this period the least disciplined of any of the Gallic nations. Brunehaut admired Roman civilization ; she was anxious to establish in her son's dominions the centralization of monarchical power, and the Roman system for the levying of the public imposts ; but the nobles of Austrasia supported with impatience the yoke of royal authority, and the Roman fiscality was hateful to them, as they considered every tax as a disgraceful tribute which ought never to be paid but by a conquered people. They leagued against Brunehaut and her government, and became her most formidable enemies. The Frank kings had till that time been accustomed to establish one of their leudes above the officers of the household, as intendant of the royal domains. This person, who bore the title of *major-domus*, was, at a later period, called "mayor of the palace" of the kings, and was nothing but their principal domestic ; but after the death of Sigebert, the nobles of Austrasia, jealous of the authority of Brunehaut, elected one of themselves mayor of the palace, and added to the duties of his charge that of presiding over them and watching over the young king. It was in vain Brunehaut opposed this haughty aristocracy, which insisted upon sharing the tutelage of her son ; she, however, determined to restrain herself till Childbert should be of an age to govern for himself ; she inspired him with a profound dissimulation, and was anxious that, whilst learning how to conquer distant enemies, he should acquire the necessary strength to overcome those which surrounded him.

It was not in Austrasia alone that a reaction against the descendants of Merovius was perceptible. Royalty in Gaul was not what it had been in the wild forests of Germany ; a multitude of causes had concurred in the change : the conquest of vast countries, the possession of numerous domains and great treasures, the fruits of immense spoliations, the rarity of national courts or assemblies, in consequence of the dispersion of the conquerors over the conquered land ; even the traditions of the majesty of the Roman empire and of the absolute power of the emperor, assisted the ambition of the kings who were the issue of Clovis : they

fancied themselves to be the legitimate successors of the Cæsars, and they gradually usurped over their companions in arms and over the Frank aristocracy an arbitrary and a despotic power.

The aristocracy, however, resisted ; they had lost strength by dispersion ; they regained it by becoming proprietors of hereditary estates ; till that time moveable, they became stationary ; they acquired perpetuity with property, they were the protectors of a multitude of freemen, who sought support against the exactions of the exchequer and the royal officers, in these powerful patrons. This patronage extended itself, notwithstanding the jealousy and the prohibitions of the kings ; the Church itself, after having at first favoured the progress of royal authority, became disgusted with a despotism which no longer respected its immunities or privileges, and the bishops leagued themselves with the principal leudes, or great vassals.

A formidable conspiracy was entered into by them during the minority of Clothaire II., against the kings of Austrasia and Burgundy, Childebert and Gontran. They wished to have a king who should be a passive instrument in their hands, and they cast their eyes upon a natural and acknowledged son of Clothaire I., named Gondevald. This young man, dreading the suspicious jealousy of the kings his brothers, had sought refuge at Constantinople, in the court of the emperor Maurice. No man was better calculated, by his name or by his character, to assist the ambitious projects of the Gallic conspirators. An Austrasian nobleman, whose crimes had rendered him shamefully celebrated (Gontran Boson), was deputed by the leudes of Burgundy and Austrasia to Gondevald, to endeavour to seduce him by the promise of a splendid share in the heritage of his father, Clothaire I. ; he at the same time flattered the emperor Maurice with the hope of recovering a portion of the imperial rights over Gaul, by favouring the enterprise of Gondevald ; and this latter quitted Constantinople with immense riches, which he received as a gift from the emperor. But the treasures which he imagined would secure him success, prepared his ruin ; they tempted the cupidity of Boson, who stole them, returned into Austrasia, and purchased the pardon of King Childebert.

Gondevald was, nevertheless, received with enthusiasm in the south of Gaul. The Aquitans and the Provençals, among whom Roman civilization was best preserved, supported the yoke of the barbarous Franks with much impatience ; they

attempted to free themselves after the death of Chilperic, and the insurrection extended itself most powerfully in the parts of Aquitaine subjected to the kings of Neustria and Burgundy. The most powerful men of these countries embraced the cause of Gondevald, and he saw at the head of his armies, Didier, count of Toulouse, Bladast, duke of Bordeaux, and the famous patrician Mummoles, who, though formerly a general of King Gontran, was become his enemy. Gondevald announced himself as heir to Clothaire I., in the parts of Aquitaine dependent upon Neustria and Burgundy, but he respected the rights of Childebert II. in Austrasian Aquitaine. Bordeaux, Toulouse, and other great cities, opened their gates to Gondevald, and great part of Gaul to the south of the Loire was either gained or conquered. Deputies then repaired to the court of King Gontran, and summoned him to surrender to Gondevald that portion of the kingdom which was his due : " Otherwise he will come," said they, " with his army, he will give thee battle, and God will judge whether he is or is not the son of Clothaire." Gontran, as a reply, gave them over to tortures ; then, terrified at the progress of the insurrection, he invited his nephew, Childebert II., to unite with him against Gondevald, and seduced him into an alliance by adopting him as his heir.

At the approach of the formidable armies of Burgundy and Austrasia, defections commenced in Aquitaine ; Duke Didier set the example : Gondevald, abandoned by a great part of the Aquitans, is compelled to seek refuge in the city of Comminges (Convènes), and shuts himself up there with Mummoles and a troop of valiant warriors. This city, built upon a steep rock, was defended by nature, by formidable ramparts, but more particularly by the genius of the invincible Mummoles. The besiegers were well aware that they should not overcome the conqueror of Lombardy by force of arms, and after having uselessly employed warlike means, they attacked him, with more success, by seduction. Mummoles promised to give up Gondevald. In company with the principal leaders, he went to the prince, and said : " Depart from the city ; go to your brothers, and be fearless." Gondevald perceived all was lost, and answered, amidst a flood of tears : " I came into Gaul at your desire, I came hither with immense treasures ; they have been ravished from me, and, except the aid of God, I placed my only hope in you ; let God judge between you and me."

Mummoles and the leaders were inflexible ; they con-

ducted Gondevald out of the city, and delivered him up to Ollon, count of Bourges, and to that same Gontran Boson who had plundered him of his treasures. "Eternal Judge," said the unfortunate prince, "avenger of innocence, punish these men, who have given me, innocent, up to my enemies!" He descended towards the army of the besiegers drawn up on the plain. "Behold," said Count Ollon, "behold him who calls himself the son and the brother of kings!" and he immediately struck him down with a thrust of his lance. As he rose again, he was once more cut down, and then crushed to death by a fragment of rock, hurled upon him by Boson. Thus perished Gondevald, after having bitterly experienced the inconstancy of men and the extremes of fortune.

Treachery proved of no advantage to the traitors; the Austro-Burgundian army penetrated into the city, and gave it up to the flames; inhabitants, priests, soldiers, all perished by either fire or sword. Even Mummoles was not spared; his rebellion had effaced the remembrance of his services. Gontran caused him to be put to death. This powerful leader was assassinated amidst the army which had been rendered victorious by him alone; and with him was dispersed the great conspiracy which had made the kings of Burgundy and Austrasia to tremble on their thrones.

These two princes entered into a fresh compact at the solemn *plaids* or court held at Andelot; the common interests of the kingdoms of Burgundy and Austrasia were there regulated, and the survivor of the two kings was recognised as heir to the other. Then King Childebart, strong by his success in Aquitaine, by the support of Gontran and the genius of his mother Brunehaut, shook off the yoke of his great vassals, and brought several of them to punishment. A plot against his life was discovered; a powerful noble, the ferocious Rauking, was to assassinate him; he is commanded to appear before Childebart, and finds him surrounded by his guards; the king anticipates his purpose by causing him to be killed before his eyes. Upon another occasion he invites his court and Magnovald, the most redoubtable of the nobles, to the spectacle of a fight of animals; and whilst a bull is expiring, a warrior with his battle-axe strikes the head of Magnovald into the arena. At last, the famous Gontran Boson was deemed deserving of death, for his numerous crimes, and he was, at the court of Andelot, condemned by the two kings. Gontran took upon himself the execution of this sentence; he set fire to the house

of a bishop in which Boson had taken refuge, as he would have done to the lair of a wild beast : the guilty man issued from the flames sword in hand ; he died upon the door sill, pierced by a shower of arrows, and, dead as he was, he remained erect, nailed to the wall by the arrows. Acts of justice were then not to be distinguished from acts of violence ; they were as barbarous as the crimes they were meant to repress or punish.

Childebert, directed by his mother Brunehaut, inflicted vengeance upon all his enemies ; and whilst he was signaling his reign in Austrasia by sanguinary acts of cruelty, the old king, Gontran, terminated his in Burgundy, amidst reverses : his armies were beaten in Septimania, or *Languedoc*, by the Visigoths, and driven back into *Novempopulania*, before the Vascons, a race of fierce mountaineers of the Pyrenees. The old king died in 593, and Childebert II., his adopted son, inherited all his possessions, comprising the kingdoms of Paris, Orleans, and Burgundy.

The succession of King Gontran doubling the strength of Austrasia, Queen Brunehaut conceived the moment favourable for vengeance upon her ancient enemy, and the Austrasian army soon marched against Neustria, where reigned the young Clothaire II., under the direction of his mother Fredegonde, and the mayor of the palace, Landeric. Fredegonde was prepared for her rival ; she took possession of Soissons, and offered her forces battle in the fields of *Truccia*, near Château Thierry. The army of Childebert was seized with a panic at the sight of a moving forest, which appeared to be marching towards them : this was the army of the Neustrians, who carried branches of trees covered with their leaves before them, in order to conceal their numbers. The Austrasians took to flight, and Childebert accepted a peace which could be nothing more than a short truce. He survived his defeat but a short time, and died, after other warlike expeditions, in 596, leaving two young sons, Theodebert and Thierry.

The three kingdoms of France then acknowledged three children as kings : Clothaire II. reigned in Neustria ; Theodebert II. in Austrasia ; and Thierry II. in Burgundy : the first under the tutelage of Fredegonde, and the two others under that of Brunehaut. The implacable hatred of these two women soon revived hostilities, and in a great battle fought at *Latofao*, near Sens, by Fredegonde and Landeric, against the children of Childebert, the Austrasians

and the Burgundians took to flight. Fredegonde returned victorious to Paris, where she reinstated the ancient kingdom of Neustria in all its integrity, and died, after having triumphed, by either poison or steel, over all her enemies.

The enterprises of Brunehaut were much more difficult than those of her rival, and her genius constantly met with invincible obstacles. The nobles of Austrasia, for a time kept under by Childebert, wished to render themselves independent during the infancy of his son, and once more leagued themselves against the royal authority. In vain Brunehaut, in order to attach Theodebert to herself, had allowed him to marry a young slave, whom she thought devoted to her person : this woman joined the nobles against her. Brunehaut, in order to save her life, quitted the palace of Theodebert and Austrasia, and sought an asylum in Burgundy, where she was received with great honours by her other grandson, King Thierry, and by the Burgundian nobles. It is said she had recourse to crime, and that she corrupted the morals of the young prince, to make him the more subservient to her views. Irritated against Theodebert, who had seconded, or permitted, the violences to which she had been subjected in Austrasia, Brunehaut deferred her vengeance until she had satiated her hatred upon the son of Fredegonde. Animated by their grandmother, the two brothers, Theodebert and Thierry, formed an alliance against Clothaire II. : the united armies of Austrasia and Burgundy met the Neustrians at Domville, in the country of Sens. Clothaire was conquered, and the carnage was terrible : "the exterminating angel," say the chronicles of the times, "was seen waving his sword of fire over the two armies." Two years later, Brunehaut, at the head of the Burgundians, gained a fresh victory over the Neustrians at Etampes ; Clothaire was near falling into her hands, when she learnt that Theodebert, king of Austrasia, had treated, at Compiègne, with the common enemy, whom he had it in his power to crush. This peace saved the son of Fredegonde, and filled with rage the mind of Brunehaut, who from that time only thought of punishing Theodebert. She induced Thierry to take up arms against his brother, and, after a sanguinary war of many years between the Burgundians and the Austrasians, the armies of the two nations met on the already famous fields of Tolbiac. The conflict was horrible. "The combatants," says Fredegair, "were so numerous, that the dead had not room to fall, and remained

erect, as if they had been living." Theodebert was conquered, and fled ; but he fell into the hands of his brother, who ordered his infant son to be slaughtered before his father's face. Theodebert was massacred by the command of his implacable grandmother, and Thierry himself died suddenly the following year.

The priests alone, in these times, ventured to raise their voices against so many frightful offences, and their pious courage often placed their lives in danger. The crimes of Fredegonde drew from Pretextat, bishop of Rouen, a few bold and christian-like words : she caused him to be slain at the foot of the altar. Other holy men reproached Brunehaut, now almost sixty years of age, with the shameful irregularities of her life : one of them, St. Didier, was stoned to death by her orders. Another, named Columban, who enjoyed the reputation of great sanctity, refused, in the presence of Brunehaut, to bless the bastards of the king ; he broke the festive cups that were presented to him, and spilt the wine from them upon the earth, in sign of reprobation of the royal turpitudes : he was exiled ; and, loaded with the anger of princes and the blessings of the people, his march to the frontier was a triumph.

Thierry left four sons, of whom, Sigebert, the eldest, was scarcely eleven years of age. Brunehaut undertook to have him crowned alone, and to maintain the unity of his father's states by eluding the custom of partitions. This attempt excited a rebellion ; the nobles appealed to Clothaire II, the king of Neustria, with the purpose of giving themselves up to him, and Clothaire was soon upon the Meuse, marching towards the Rhine. Brunehaut, with her great-grandson, repaired to Worms, and, wishing to gain the support of the Germans, she sent the young king, Sigebert, into Thuringia, under the care of Warnachaire, mayor of the palace in Burgundy. Warnachaire soon discovered that he himself was an object of suspicion to the queen, and he immediately conspired against her, and induced the Germans not to afford her any assistance. One part of the Austrasian leudes had already gone over to the camp of Clothaire ; the others, at the head of the Austrasian army, joined the Burgundians, commanded by Brunehaut and young Sigebert. Among the most distinguished conspirators were two powerful Austrasian nobles, whose offspring became, by uniting, the foundation of the second royal dynasty of France : these were Arnolphe, afterwards canonized as the bishop of Metz,

and Pepin, of Landen. They both contributed, under the authority of Warnachaire, to the success of the famous plot, the object of which was the overthrow of Queen Brunehaut.

The united armies of Austrasia and Burgundy met the Neustrians on the banks of the Aisne, in Champagne. The conspirators then declared themselves. Clothaire II. was proclaimed king of all the Franks, and three of the sons of Thierry were delivered up to him. He immediately put Sigebert to death, with one of his brothers; he exiled another into Neustria, but the fourth escaped, and never reappeared afterwards. At length the haughty Brunehaut herself fell into the hands of the son of Fredegonde, who avenged himself as his mother would have done. Brunehaut, the daughter, wife, mother, and sister of kings, was abandoned during three days to the executioners; then, half-naked, paraded through the camp on a camel, and exposed to the insults and derision of the soldiery: at length, she was, while alive, fastened to the tail of a wild horse, and her body was beaten, dragged, and kicked to pieces. She had been, during forty-eight years, the terror of her enemies, and succumbed at last, from having endeavoured to impose upon a half-savage people the government of an advanced civilization. The gross minds of the Franks could not comprehend the advantages of the unity of a vast empire, and even if they had perceived them, they would have refused to sacrifice to them their individual ambition, and their intractable independence. Brunehaut loved the arts; she caused several Roman causeways to be repaired, and restored many beautiful monuments: her religious zeal led her to lavish immense sums upon the clergy, and to build a prodigious number of churches and monasteries. Everything that was done by this famous queen, received a gigantic impression from her character; her long reign was stained by many crimes, but it did not pass away without a certain grandeur, or without some glory.

After the death of Brunehaut, Clothaire II. reunited the whole monarchy of the Franks under his sceptre; but he soon became aware that the unity of his vast empire was only apparent: the nobles of Austrasia, in overthrowing Sigebert, had thought much less of elevating Clothaire than of aggrandizing themselves; they desired to have a prince who would reside amongst them, in order that they might direct him at their pleasure, and they forced the king to associate with him on the throne his son Dagobert, and to

give him to them as their sovereign. Dagobert was scarcely beyond childhood, and reigned under the tutelage of Arnolphe, bishop of Metz.

The most celebrated event of the reign of Clothaire II. was the council, or great synod, assembled in Paris in 615, in which sat the two aristocracies,—that of the bishops and that of the nobles. The famous edict promulgated by this assembly makes an epoch in history. It denotes the success of the reaction of the nobles against the kings, by shaking the system of arbitrary government they had wished to found. By this edict, canonical elections were re-established, clerks were made independent of secular justice, the government was forbidden to seize successions *ab intestat*, or to augment the imposts; the judges and officers of the king were made responsible; the edict ordered restitution to be made of the benefices taken from the leudes, placed rich widows, nuns, and virgins beyond the power of the caprices and violence of princes, and pronounced the penalty of death against infringers of the edict. One of the principal articles declared that judges or counts should be always chosen from among the proprietors of the places in which they exercised their jurisdiction. From that period, the dignity of count almost always belonged to the richest proprietor of every country, and the royal choice had but narrow limits. Very little more is known of the reign of Clothaire II.: sanguinary wars broke out between him and his son Dagobert, whose independence he was compelled to acknowledge. The life of this prince was terminated amidst civil troubles; he died in 628, before he was able to secure the establishment of his second son Caribert.

The sway of Dagobert extended over the three great kingdoms of the Frank monarchy, Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy: he detached Aquitaine from it, that is to say, the territory comprised between the Loire, the Rhone, and the Pyrenees, and gave it up as the inheritance of his brother Caribert. This prince soon died, and his eldest son was assassinated, it is said, by a faction devoted to Dagobert. The latter resumed possession of the territories of his brother; giving up Aquitaine, however, with the title of duchy, to the two youngest sons of Caribert, named Boggis and Bertrand, but he reserving to himself royal rights over them: the unity of the monarchy of the Franks was thus once more reconstituted.

If it had been possible for a Merovingian prince to arrest

the decline of his dynasty, Dagobert would have obtained that glory. He followed the steps of Brunehaut, and in his conflicts with his nobles, sought the support of the Roman-Gallic population, who detested their tyranny; he made terrible examples in Austrasia and Burgundy, and held the factions in obedience by fear. None of the royal descendants of Clovis caused his power to be more respected, or displayed more magnificence: bishops, leudes, and ambassadors crowded his court; the spoils of a considerable part of Europe, gold, silks, and precious stones were exposed to the wondering gaze of the visitors to his rustic palaces, particularly in his regal residence of Clichy, near Paris: the splendour of Dagobert almost equalled that of eastern kings. In the early part of his reign he did not allow his mind to be affected by the luxury by which he was surrounded, but devoted himself and his time to useful labours: it was at this period he caused to be revised and written the body of Salic and Ripuarian laws, as well as the laws of his German and Bavarian vassals. He finished, however, by giving himself up to debauchery and cruelty; he became forgetful of justice, and imposed heavy tributes on his people: his arms were no longer fortunate. The Wendi, or Venedes, a Slavick people, freed from the yoke of the Avars by Samo the Frank, elected this general for king, took possession of a part of Bohemia, and established themselves in the valley of the Danube, which was then the grand route for the commerce of northern Gaul with Constantinople and Asia. A numerous caravan of Franks were despoiled and massacred by these people: Dagobert demanded satisfaction, and not being able to obtain it, he excited the Franks to revenge. The ban of war was published throughout his states, and among his vassals of the north and the west; the Germans and Thuringians marched in unity with the Franks and the Lombards against the Venedes; their armies perished in vast, barren, uncultivated countries, and the power of the Franks was shaken in the whole extent of Germany.

Dagobert, from that time, gave all his attention to keeping his own subjects within the bounds of obedience. Austrasia, always ready for revolt, forced him to associate his son Sigebert, only three years of age, with him on the throne, and to constitute him king of that country. Dagobert confided the child to the duke Adalgesil; but he required and obtained that Pepin of Landen, and other Austrasian nobles, should remain with him as hostages. He designated also,

and caused to be acknowledged as king of Neustria and Burgundy, another of his children, named Clovis. The bishops and nobles of Austrasia, *constrained*, says the historian of the time, *by the fear of Dagobert*, swore to sanction the division of his empire. This prince, in the last year of his reign, repulsed an invasion of the Vascons, repressed a revolt in Aquitaine, and made a treaty with the Bretons, who recognised his supremacy.

Notwithstanding the reverses of his arms against the Venedes, and the numerous causes of internal dissolution, Dagobert reigned, even to the last, powerful and redoubtable; he united, like many princes of his race, a great fervour for religious worship, and a superstitious devotion, with pursuits and tastes of the most licentious kind; he made immense gifts to the clergy, and covered France with churches and convents; he placed unlimited confidence in the referendary Andouen and the goldsmith Eligius, the director of the royal mint. These two men, better known by the names of St. Ouen and St. Eloi, were both canonized, and their memory has remained popular. Dagobert died in 638. He was particularly generous towards the monastery of St. Denis, the basilic of which he ornamented with gold and precious stones, and in which he was buried with great pomp. This king, notwithstanding his vices, exceeded in merit most of his family. When he died, a century and a half had passed away since the elevation of Clovis to the throne of the Franks, and this period, marked by so much devastation and so many crimes, was the most memorable of the reign of the Merovingians.

CHAPTER III.

Idle, worthless kings (*rois fainéants*). Decline and end of the Merovingian monarchy. From the death of Dagobert I. to the deposition of Childeric III. 638—752.

AFTER the death of Dagobert I., the Merovingian family presents us with nothing but the phantoms of kings, brutified by effeminacy and debauchery, whom history has justly stigmatized with the name of *rois fainéants*. They possessed, in their nullity even, one title the more to the crown, with those who reigned in their name. The magistracy of the mayors of the palace grew great by the side of royalty; and these powerful nobles had already, during some of the latter reigns, frequently substituted their authority for that of the

monarch. They took advantage of the weakness of the Merovingians to usurp in reality all the power: elected by the leudes, they made use of them for a length of time to enable themselves to dominate over the sovereign; but when their power was well established, they crushed the nobles, in order that there should exist no other authority but their own. They next associated their sons with them, to whom they transmitted their post; and this, in the end, came to be considered the apanage of one and the same family, in the same way that the sceptre appeared to belong by right to the race of Clovis.

When dying, Dagobert acknowledged Ega as mayor of the palace in Neustria, and Pepin of Landen in Austrasia, and confided to them the guardianship of his two sons, Sigebert III. and Clovis II., between whom his states were divided. Ega died, and Erkinoald succeeded to his charge. The infancy and the character of the two kings contributed greatly to the establishment of the power of the mayors of the palace. Sigebert III., entirely given up to the practice of religious observances, lived like a monk in his states of Austrasia, and confined the exercise of his royal authority to the care of enriching churches and building convents; he died in the flower of his age. Clovis II., on the contrary, saw nothing in the royalty of Neustria and Burgundy but the fatal facility of satisfying his inordinate propensities for debauchery. His nominal authority, nevertheless, extended over the entire monarchy of the Franks; the Austrasians acknowledging him as king. The mayor Pepin was succeeded by his son Grimoald; the latter, at the death of Sigebert III., endeavoured to cause the sceptre to pass into his own family; he had young Dagobert, son of Sigebert, conveyed into Ireland, concealed the place of his retreat, and even ventured to place the crown upon the head of his own son; but the nobles of Austrasia, who, in obeying Grimoald, willingly bowed down before a power which was their own creation, revolted against an authority independent of their choice. They put both Grimoald and his son to death, and recognised as king the weak Clovis II., who quickly followed his brother Sigebert III. to the tomb, and left his sceptre and his vain title of king to Clothaire III., his eldest son.

The famous Ebrouin, endowed with great talents and an inflexible character, was then mayor of the palace; he, however, could not succeed in maintaining the apparent unity of the monarchy for any length of time. The Austrasian nobles

desired to have a king, who might be, like his predecessors, subservient to their influence, and they sent for young Childeric, the second son of Clovis II., saluted him king of Austrasia, and gave him as guardian the mayor Wulfoald. In no one of the three kingdoms of the monarchy had the nobles been able to establish a regular aristocratic government; their power had only a tendency to render them, by degrees, more independent. Ebrouin contemplated in every increase of their individual authority, a step towards general anarchy; he was jealous to excess of his own power, and, from either policy or ambition, determined to remain sole master in Neustria and Burgundy.

His despotism roused all the nobles. Leger, the celebrated bishop of Autun, of whom the Church has made a saint, placed himself at the head of the insurgents in Burgundy, and set the example of an obstinate resistance. At first, Ebrouin suppressed the rebellion; but the death of Clothaire III. greatly weakened his power; he did not dare to convoke the nobles, according to custom, in a national *mall*, to elect a successor to that prince, who had died without children; and he proclaimed as king, by his own sole authority, young Thierry, third son of Clovis II. This violation of the ancient usages of the kingdom armed all the nobles against Ebrouin. The lords of Neustria and Burgundy were not willing that the nobles of Austrasia should see the mayor of the palace usurp from them the right of election to the throne; and they offered the crown of the two kingdoms to Childeric II., king of Austrasia. Ebrouin, abandoned by all, took refuge in a church; his life was spared, but they compelled him to take the tonsure, and shut him up in the monastery of Luxeuil. Thierry III. was led a prisoner to the presence of his brother, and was confined, by his order, in the convent of St. Denis.

Childeric II. transferred his residence from Metz to Paris. This prince joined to the brutal passions of his degenerated race, the energetic character of his ancestors. Compelled, at first, to subscribe to the conditions imposed by the nobles who had crowned him, he observed them no longer than till he felt his strength; he combated the leudes by means of punishments, and confined Bishop Leger in the same monastery into which the latter had cast Ebrouin. Misfortune, for a time, reconciled these two great enemies, and they got up a conspiracy against the rash Childeric, who had dared to inflict upon one of his leudes, named Bodolus, the shameful

chastisement reserved for slaves. Bodolus and his fellow-conspirators surprised the king whilst hunting in the forest of Bondi, near the royal mansion of Chelles. Their vengeance was atrocious ; they slaughtered him, his wife, and his children. Ebrouin and Bishop Leger came out from captivity together, and were once more mortal enemies. Ebrouin, after a sanguinary war, at length prevailed over his formidable enemy, whom he deprived of sight, and whom he afterwards caused to be condemned to death by an episcopal synod. He drew from the cloister the imbecile Thierry, the blind and useful instrument of his despotic will ; he sought the support of the popular masses in his contests with the nobles, and for a length of time exercised a power without control : he employed every means to check the influence of the hereditary aristocracy ; he restored benefices to general circulation ; he deprived powerful families of the crown lands, which they had long considered as their patrimonial inheritances, and he shared them amongst new men ; thus interesting a numerous class of poor beneficiaries in the defence of his work.

A terrible storm, however, was gathering in Austrasia. After the death of Childeric II. that country had been again separated from the kingdoms of Neustria and Burgundy. Young Dagobert, son of Sigebert III., was recalled from the monastery in which he had lived concealed in Ireland. This young prince wished to make victims of the authors of his fortune, and his rashness was equal to his violences. An imitator of the last king, Childeric, he met with a similar end ; he was assassinated by the dukes of Austrasia. Among the murderers were several partisans and relations of the ancient mayor Pepin, of Landen, whose male posterity became extinct with Grimoald and his son, but whose family still preserved great influence. A daughter of Pepin, named Begga, had married the son of the noble Arnulfe, of Metz ; she had by him a male child, who received the name of his maternal grandfather, whom historians, to distinguish him from Pepin the elder, have surnamed Pepin of Heristal, from the name of a celebrated place upon the Meuse, where he dwelt. This young man, after the death of Dagobert, was acknowledged as one of the leaders of the aristocracy of the dukes and counts of Austrasia. The nobles triumphed in this country, whilst they were depressed in Neustria and Burgundy ; a multitude of the proscribed of these two kingdoms demanded vengeance of the dukes of Austrasia against

Ebrouin, and a first and terrible conflict took place in the fields of Latofao, already once fatal to the Austrasians. Neustria was again victorious there. Ebrouin triumphed, but did not gather the fruits of his victory ; a nobleman named Ermanfroi, who, having been culpable in the discharge of his duty, was threatened with death, forestalled Ebrouin ; he cleft his skull with a stroke of his sword, and fled away into Austrasia, where Duke Pepin loaded him with honours. The historians of the times, most of them mortal enemies of Ebrouin, describe him as pitiless and perfidious ; but his memory was honoured in many popular legends : "He repressed strongly," say they, "all the iniquities that are committed upon the face of the earth ; he chastised the offences of proud and unjust men and promoted peace ; he was a man of a great heart, but he was too cruel to the bishops." Ebrouin, without a sceptre and without a crown, reigned twenty years with a power that no king had possessed before him.

Waratho, and afterwards Berthaire, succeeded Ebrouin in his charge. After falling from his powerful arm, the reins of government were miserably slackened in their weak hands ; civil discords agitated Neustria ; hope returned to the exiled nobles ; they renewed their entreaties to Pepin of Heristal and the other dukes of Austrasia, and a fresh invasion was resolved upon. Pepin announced himself as the avenger of the noble Franks and of the priests of God who had been plundered by the mayors of Neustria, and was proclaimed leader of the war. He met the Neustrian army at Testry, in the country of Vermandois, gained a great victory, and made King Thierry prisoner. Feeling afterwards assured that no one was more fit than this weak prince to perform the part of the shadow of a king, he acknowledged him king of Neustria and Austrasia, and governed under his name, as mayor of the palace, suppressing the remains of the party opposed to the nobles. After the death of Thierry, Pepin successively placed upon the throne Clovis III. and Childbert III., the two sons of that prince, and after them his grandson, Dagobert III., he himself continuing during their reigns the true military leader, and the only supreme judge of the nation of the Franks. He revived the ancient national customs, which had been allowed to sink into neglect by Ebrouin ; the great *Mallum*, or annual assembly, which had fallen into desuetude, was regularly held on the calends of March. All the members of the noble nation of the

Franks were summoned to it. The king repaired thither in a chariot drawn by oxen, clothed in his royal insignia, and his long hair flowing over his shoulders ; he took his seat in the midst of the assembly, upon a throne of gold : there the monarch in effigy gave audience to foreign ambassadors, and rendered them the answers that had been dictated to him ; he pronounced a few words touching peace, war, and the duties of the government towards the Church and orphans, and then he returned as he had come, sent back by Pepin to one of the vast royal farms, there to be served, but more particularly guarded, with honour and respect. This grand scene was performed every year ; it attested the prestige that the memory of Clovis still held over the minds of the Franks, and to what a degree popular respect was attached to the blood of Merovius. This reverence for a degenerated race is a thing very difficult to be comprehended in our days, and we scarcely know which astonishes us most in these assemblies, the effrontery of the mayors, who, in the presence of a nation to whom the name of Merovingian was sacred, thus humiliated the last representatives of that family, or the base imbecility of the latter, who, though all acknowledged as kings, never took advantage of these solemn occasions to attempt to become such in reality.

The empire of the Franks evidently declined after the battle of Testry : the princes of the Saxons, the Frisons, the Almans, the Bavarians, and the Thuringians, till that time vassals of the Merovingian kings, regarded themselves as the equals of Pepin, when they had contributed to his victory. Pepin struggled against them, and had, till the end of his life, long and sanguinary wars to maintain upon all the northern frontiers, whilst the people of Burgundy and Provence were endeavouring to shake off his yoke in the south : those of Aquitaine, at the same time, rallied under the celebrated Eudes, duke of Toulouse, a descendant of Caribert : they gave him the title of king, and considered themselves almost independent of the Frank monarchy.

Pepin had two sons, Drogon and Grimoald, by his wife Plectrude, and a third, named Charles, by his concubine Alpaïde. He gave the duchy of Champagne to the eldest, who died in 708, and he invested, during his lifetime, his second son, Grimoald, with the post of mayor of Neustria. An implacable hatred divided the mothers of Charles and Grimoald, who became mortal enemies. Pepin grew old ; he fell sick, and when apparently at the last gasp, beheld his

son Grimoald slaughtered before his eyes: he arose from his bed of death, punished the perpetrators of the murder, and imprisoned his son Charles at Cologne, whom he suspected of being an accomplice in it. He then established Theodebald, the son of Grimoald, although not more than five years of age, as mayor of the palace. This energetic act, however, exhausted his strength; "he died," say the annals of France, "in 714, after having ruled during twenty-seven years and six months over the whole nation of the Franks, as well as over the kings Thierry, Clovis, Childbert, and Dagobert."

Pepin left at the head of the monarchy two children, one king and the other mayor, under the guardianship of the aged Plectrude, grandmother of Theodebald. The Neustrians, indignant at such a yoke, revolted against Plectrude and her son, and chose Raginfred for their mayor of the palace: then, in concert with the Frisons and Saxons, they attacked Austrasia, now defenceless. Pressed on all sides, the Austrasians, in their turn, abandoned Plectrude and her son; they drew from the cloister Charles, the natural son of Pepin, a youth endowed with heroic qualities, and acknowledged him with enthusiasm as their leader. Nevertheless, the name of the Merovingians still exercised a certain influence, and on both parts, after the death of Dagobert III., a pretended member of that imbecile race was taken from the cloister, and proclaimed king: Chilperic II. in Neustria, and Clothaire IV. in Austrasia. They nominally reigned, whilst the two mayors of the palace, Raginfred and Charles, prepared for war, and marched against each other. The victory was not likely to be long doubtful; the Franks of Austrasia, which bordered upon Germany, had lost but little of their warlike energy. The advantages they derived from the conquest were a powerful attraction for the neighbouring German tribes, and successive emigrations naturally kept up a more energetic military spirit, and habits much more warlike than in Neustria. Charles, though at first beaten, and forced to seek refuge in the Ardennes, got together some hardy bands and placed himself at their head: he surprised the Neustrians, made a fearful carnage, pursued them, and, by the memorable victory of Vincy, near Cambray, gained in 717, the whole of Neustria became his conquest. The Neustrians, beaten but not subdued, called to their assistance Eudes, king of Aquitaine, and offered him the sceptre. The Aquitans considered the

Franks of the Rhine as much more barbarous than those of the Seine ; they greatly feared that the fierce bands of Charles might desire, as those of Clovis had formerly done, to taste the fruits of the south ; they united, therefore, with the Neustrians, and marched against Charles, who defeated them near Soissons, and pursued them as far as Orleans. Clothaire IV., the phantom king of Austrasia, died just at that period ; Charles, the conqueror of the Neustrians and the Aquitans, caused Chilperic II., the imbecile king of Neustria, to be proclaimed sovereign of the whole empire of Clovis, and reigned alone in his name.

The battles of Vincy and Soissons were the last efforts of the Neustrians. The seat of the empire of the Franks was afterwards removed nearer to the Meuse and the Rhine, it being found necessary to do so in order to stop and drive back the devastating flood of fresh German immigration.

But a more terrible enemy threatened the empire of the Franks. Not more than a century before this time Mahomet had founded a new empire and established a new religion in Arabia, and already the Mussulman armies, electrified by religious fanaticism and the spirit of conquest, had invaded part of Asia, Africa, and Spain, and had advanced into Gaul. Never, since Attila, had a more formidable invasion threatened Europe. The torrent flowed over the Pyrenees, and poured down upon Septimania. Narbonne succumbed, and the fall of that city decided the fate of the country, where the Arabian domination replaced, as it had in Spain, that of the Visigoths.

The Mussulmans afterwards threatened Aquitaine, which then obeyed King Eudes, formerly duke of Toulouse, a descendant from Caribert, and the rebellious vassal of the three Merovingian kings whom Charles crowned. Eudes gained a great victory in the fields of Toulouse ; but afterwards, pressed by fresh legions of enemies, he purchased peace of one of their generals, named Munuza,* giving him his daughter Lampagie in marriage. Munuza departed, and was overcome soon after in a civil war against Abderame Wali, a leader of the Mussulmans in Spain ;† his wife, the daughter of King Eudes, fell into the hands of the conqueror, who, in his turn, invaded Aquitaine. Eudes was

* The Arabian name of this famous chief was Ebn-Abi-Muca, or, according to some, Abi-Nissa.

† This prince is known in the Arabian chronicles by the name of Abd-ul-Rahman.

carrying on war in the northern part of his states against the invincible Charles, the head of all the Franks, when he was threatened in the south by the enemies of all Christendom: he beheld his army destroyed by the Mussulmans before Bordeaux, that city consumed by fire, Aquitaine pillaged, and its inhabitants massacred;—then, finding himself too weak to contend with all, and constrained to submit to either the Franks or the Arabs, his religion decided his choice; he repaired, as a fugitive, to the warlike court of Charles, acknowledged his suzerainty, and obtained in return the assistance of the Franks. Charles made a martial appeal to all the warriors of Neustria, Austrasia, and western Germany; they flocked to his standard in crowds, and their formidable army met that of Abderame, in October, 732, on the plains of Poitiers. The destinies of the human race were then at stake, and to be played for in those famous fields: the army of the Franks was the only barrier in a condition to stop the Mussulman invasion, and the question to be decided was—should the world become Christian or Mahometan.

During seven days the two armies watched each other's motions, without coming to blows: at length the Mussulmans, whose numbers the chronicles raise to many hundreds of thousands, drew up in battle-array upon the plain. At the signal of Abderame, the light cavalry of the Arabians commenced the battle by discharging a cloud of arrows, and then poured down like a torrent upon the army of the Franks. The latter, immovably firm upon their powerful northern horses, and defended by their heavy armour opposed, for a long time, a wall of iron to the multiplied charges of the Saracens, and remained steady, in close and compact masses. All at once war-cries are heard in the rear of the Arabian army: it is the cry of King Eudes and the Aquitans, who have turned the enemy and fired their camp. A part of the immense army of Abderame face about upon the Aquitans; disorder, the effect of surprise, opens the ranks of the Arabs; Charles in his turn gives the signal, the wall of iron moves, the heavy masses of Germany fall upon the light squadrons of Abderame; the battle-axe and huge sword of the Franks mow down whole ranks; Abderame in vain tries to rally his troops, he falls, surrounded by the bodies of the bravest of his warriors, pierced by a hundred wounds, and crushed beneath the feet of the horses: the Arabs give way in every direction, and seek for refuge

in their plundered camp. Night falls, Charles stops the pursuit, and on the morrow, at break of day, the Franks see nothing around them to a vast distance, but heaped-up carcases ; darkness had protected the defeat of the Mussulmans ; the Christian cause has won.

The Arabians evacuated Aquitaine after their disastrous defeat at Poitiers, and this ever-memorable day, in which it was said that Charles had hammered (*martelé*) the Saracens, procured him the glorious surname of Martel, which posterity still accords him. But in delivering the southern provinces from Mahometanism, he saved them from neither pillage, conflagrations, nor massacres : devastation marked the steps of his army and stained his victory, for which the Aquitans gave him no thanks ; and a profound enmity was established between the more civilized nations of southern Gaul and the semi-barbarians of the north.

Charles suspended, during his domination only, the progress of the ecclesiastical authority. The army constituted all his strength, and to attach it more firmly to his interests, he seized the wealth of the Church, and distributed it among his warriors. He did not assume the title of king ; but he did not nominate any successor to Thierry IV., son of Dagobert III., whom he had crowned after the death of Chilperic II. His most dangerous enemies were the Frisons, the Almans, and the Saxons, constantly attracted towards the Rhine by the success of preceding invasions. Charles succeeded in driving them back by sanguinary and multiplied expeditions, and in restraining them by the terror of his name. He died in 741, after having portioned his authority among his three sons, Pepin, Carloman, and Griffo.

Pepin and Carloman deposed their brother and shared the paternal inheritance. They soon found that Charles Martel, with his power, had not transmitted to them the influence attached to his formidable name ; and in order to sustain their nascent authority, they drew from a cloister the last Merovingian, and proclaimed him king of the Franks, under the name of Childeric III. The two brothers afterwards contended with success against the Almans, the Bavarians, and the Aquitans. Carloman early conceived a disgust for the grandeur of this world ; he became a monk, and entered a monastery of Mount Cassin. Pepin, now sole master of the monarchy of the Franks, soon grew weary of reigning without a sceptre upon the steps of the throne ; he demanded and obtained the title of king from Pope Zacharias, and was

consecrated in 752, by St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany. He then assembled the general comitia at Soissons, and there, strong in his own power, in the name of his ancestors, and the sanction of the pope, he was elected king of the Franks. Childeric re-entered the cloister, from which his race never again issued ; and Pepin founded a second royal dynasty, which, from the name of his celebrated son, was called the Carlovingian.

BOOK THE SECOND.

GAUL UNDER THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY.

752—987.

CHAPTER I.

Pepin and Charlemagne. 752—814.

It was Pepin who first recognised in the pontiff of Rome the right of disposing of the crowns of the earth. The Lombards then possessed all the northern part of Italy, and their king Astolphus contested with Pope Zacharias the government of the city of Rome. Zacharias stood in need of a powerful support, and, reckoning upon the assistance of Pepin if he could render him favourable to his cause, he pronounced that the throne belonged to him, who, although he did not occupy it, performed the functions of king. The authority most respected at this period was that of the Church, and Pepin, feeling the necessity for giving an imposing sanction to his usurpation, revived at his consecration the ceremonies used for that of the Jewish kings: this example was followed by his successors.

Stephen II. succeeded Pope Zacharias: threatened by the Lombards, he repaired to the court of Pepin, and threw himself at his feet. The king was prodigal of honours and attentions, and the pope consecrated him a second time, with his two sons, Charles and Carloman. In the words which Stephen pronounced on this occasion, he supplicated the Franks never to elect a king of any other family than that of Pepin, and excommunicated beforehand any who should attempt to do so. From that day the pontifical power made great progress; the popes soon believed themselves to be masters of the earth; they required the obedience of the sovereigns they crowned and deposed at their pleasure or caprice, and rivers of blood were shed to support or combat these superb pretensions.

Stephen had implored the assistance of Pepin against

Astolphus, king of the Lombards : Pepin assembled an army, led it into Italy, was the conqueror, and yielded to the pope the exarchate of Ravenna.

Pepin continued to sustain long and sanguinary struggles with the Bretons, the Saxons, the Saracens, and the Aquitans. The last, in particular, made a furious resistance. Their vast province had for a long time and on several occasions, been detached by its dukes from the monarchy of the Franks. The families of the conquerors who had established themselves there, had adopted the language and the manners of the people, by origin either Gallic or Roman, and who spoke a corrupt Latin. The Aquitans, more civilized than the Franks, always detested the latter as barbarians ; the revolution, which, by elevating the Carlovingians, had surrounded the throne with fresh Austrasian and German bands, gave their government, in the eyes of the Aquitans, an appearance still more savage, and redoubled the horror it inspired them with. For about two centuries, the population of Aquitaine had been strengthened and in part renewed by the invasion of a mountainous people, descended from the ancient Iberians, who had taken refuge in the Pyrenees : these were the people of the Vascon or Gascon race, who had never yet submitted to the yoke of the Franks, and who gave the name of Vasconia or Gascony to a southern part of Gaul. Eudes, duke and king of Aquitaine, whose authority they recognised, might perhaps have reigned as sovereign over Neustria itself, if the Mussulman invasion had not compelled him to call in the succour of his enemy Charles Martel. After the defeat of the Saracens, the struggle was renewed between the Aquitans and the Franks ; Hunald, the son of Eudes, maintained the war with an energy so much the greater from his being himself descended from the Merovingians by his grandfather Caribert, and therefore considering Pepin as the usurper of the rights of his race. Nevertheless, in 745, Pepin, having invaded Aquitaine at the head of a formidable army, Hunald submitted in appearance, laid down his arms, and swore fidelity to the king of the Franks. This abasement before the enemy of his race concealed other thoughts, which were inspired either by the decline of his strength, or by the boundless pride and hope which he had infused into the mind of his son Guaifer or Vaire. This young man possessed all the qualities which constitute heroes, and Hunald saw in him the only man capable of defending the Aquitans against the Franks. He

resolved to abdicate, and having placed Aquitaine in the valiant hands of his son, he bade him adieu, clothed himself in the habit of a monk, and retired to the monastery of the Isle of Ré, where his father Eudes lay buried in his tomb.

War was suspended several years between Guaifer and Pepin; both watched each other, and assembled all their forces before hazarding an attack. Guaifer had opened his states to Griffo, the brother of Pepin, who had revolted against him; but he retained him there only a short time. The war of the Franks against the Lombards still continued; Griffo formed the project of going into Italy to King Astolpho; he quitted Guaifer, but perished on the way. Pepin, after having happily terminated the war of Italy, wished to conquer Septimania before coming to an open rupture with the son of Hunald: he subdued that country, enfeebled by the yoke of the Saracens, retook Narbonne, once more united the whole of the province to the French monarchy, and then turned his serious and undivided attention towards Aquitaine. A war of nine years was commenced by frightful devastations. Pepin carried fire and sword into Berri, Auvergne, and the Limousin: Guaifer paid the Franks destruction for destruction; but at last, having lost Clermont, Bourges, and the principal cities, he caused the walls of all the others to be levelled. He soon after perished, assassinated by his own people, and the grand duchy of Aquitaine was reunited to the crown of the Franks.

Pepin bestowed vast donations upon the clergy, and showed them the greatest deference during the whole of his life: he often summoned the comitia of the kingdom, to which assemblies he never failed to convoke the bishops, seeking to interest them in the success of his enterprises. He was short of stature, which procured him the surname of the short (*le Bref*); but he was said to possess great courage and prodigious bodily strength. History relates an example of it, which, although perhaps we may consider it ought to be placed in the rank of fables, at least paints the manners of these barbarous times. Combats of wild animals constituted one of the favourite amusements of the court of the Frank kings: Pepin was present at one of these, in which a lion contended with a bull: the latter was upon the point of being overpowered, when Pepin, pointing to the savage combatants, cried out to the lords of the court:—"Which of you will dare to separate them?" No one answered to his call: then,

springing into the arena, the king struck off the heads of the two ferocious animals ; and, casting his bloody sword before his astonished courtiers, exclaimed in a tone of triumph :—“ There ! am I not worthy to be your king ? ” In fact, at this period, it only required to be brave and vigorous to merit a throne. With these two qualities Pepin united moderation and prudence. He asked the advice of his nobles respecting the division of his states between his two sons, Charles and Carloman, and died in 768, after having reigned seventeen years.

The assembly of the nobles and bishops recognised Charles as king of the West, and Carloman as king of the East.

The first expedition of the two brothers was directed by common accord against Aquitaine, excited to revolt by old Hunald, who, after living in retirement twenty-three years, issued from his monastery, to avenge his son Guaifer. His efforts were powerless ; betrayed and vanquished, he was happy to find refuge with the king of the Lombards.

Ambition soon armed Charles and Carloman against each other ; but the death of the latter, which took place in 770, stifled the germs of civil war, and Charles unhesitatingly usurped the states of his brother, to the prejudice of his nephews, who, with their mother, sought an asylum in Lombardy. The whole nation of the Franks from that time acknowledged the authority of Charles, for whom his victories and his great qualities procured the glorious surname of Great, or Magnus, and who is only known in history by the name of Charlemagne.

During a reign of forty-six years, this prince extended his frontiers beyond the Danube, imposed tribute upon the barbarous nations of the Vistula, conquered a part of Italy, and made himself formidable to the Saracens. He first passed into Italy, at the request of Pope Adrian I., and marched to assist him against Didier, king of the Lombards, whose daughter he had repudiated. He made this king prisoner, and put an end to the Lombard domination in Italy, which had lasted two hundred and six years. Arigisus, son-in-law of Didier, continued, however, to defend himself in his duchy of Benevento. Charlemagne, in the course of this expedition, visited Rome, and presented himself humbly before the pope he had saved, kissing every step of the pontifical palace, as he ascended it. He deemed himself called upon to bring within the pale of Christianity all the barbarous nations of Europe ; and when he found persuasion fail in

procuring the triumph of the faith, he thought himself justified in having recourse to conquest and coercion.

The Saxons then formed a considerable nation, divided into a number of petty republics: like other races of the north, they were idolaters. Their colonies had for a long time possessed England, and had formerly subdued some districts of the north of Gaul. Their national assemblies were held every year on the banks of the Weser. In one of these, in 770, a priest, named Libuinas, pressed them to be converted to Christianity, threatening them, upon refusal, with a great king from the west. The only heed the Saxons took of his words was to massacre him; and they burnt the church of Dauter, with all the Christians who were in it. Upon learning news of this, Charlemagne immediately marched against them. A great man, named Witikind, commanded their army, but his heroism was unavailing; the Saxons were beaten and subdued. Charlemagne, after stifling many revolts, held a celebrated court (*plaid*) at Paderborn, where he obliged the Saxons to receive baptism, and divided their principalities among abbots and bishops: this is the origin of the ecclesiastical principalities of Germany. Witikind took refuge in the court of a northern king.

Conqueror of the Saxons, Charlemagne turned his attention towards the Saracens. This people, by subduing Spain, had introduced both civilization and knowledge; but civil wars began, as early as the eighth century, to shake their power there. The Mussulmans were divided between the family of the Abassides, who resided at Bagdad, and that of the Ommiades, who governed in Spain. This latter country was, however, agitated by factions, and one of them implored the aid of Charlemagne against Abd-el-Rahman, lieutenant of the Ommiad caliph. The great Frank monarch eagerly seized upon this opportunity to drive Islamism back beyond the Ebro, and thus extinguish, upon his own frontiers, revolts and troubles ever ready to break into a flame. He marched two powerful armies into Spain; Saragossa being appointed as the point of union; the Arabian emir who commanded that place having promised to deliver it up to the Franks. Charlemagne's expectations were disappointed; Saragossa did not open its gates, and was uselessly besieged; the whole province, upon the concurrence of which he had reckoned, rose up against him: the principal aim of this expedition was missed; and other cares calling him elsewhere, Charle-

magne ordered a retreat. The defiles of the mountains were then occupied by the Basque people, gathered together in Vasconia, a country subject to Duke Lupus II., son of the celebrated Guaifer, and grandson of Hunald. This prince had inherited the hatred of his race for the family of Charlemagne, and when he saw the Frank army retreating through the defiles of Roncevaux, seizing upon the advantages offered by nature, he, with the mountaineers, attacked them from the heights; and, in addition to the warlike missiles of the period, poured down upon the Franks blocks of stone, rocks, trunks of trees, everything that could crush them or impede their march. The disaster was immense, the rear of the army was destroyed to the last man: among them perished the famous Paladin Roland, who, although scarcely known in history, is so celebrated in all romances of chivalry.

The following year, Charlemagne completed the conquest of Saxony, which had again revolted. He once more subdued it in 782, and, in order to intimidate it by a terrible example, he caused the heads of four thousand five hundred Saxon prisoners to be struck off on the banks of the Aller. This act of cruelty exasperated their compatriots. Witikind had reappeared among them: they were twice beaten, with terrible slaughter, at Dethmod, near Osnaburgh, and remained quiet for several years. Witikind laid down his arms in 785, and repaired to Attigny-sur-Seine, to tender his homage to the king of the Franks.

The Frisons, the Bretons of Armorica, and the Bavarians next revolted; they attacked Charlemagne simultaneously, and put his power to a severe trial. Tassillon, duke of Bavaria, was son-in-law of Didier, and brother-in-law of Argisus, duke of Benevento: he called in the Avars and the Slaves to his assistance, and, in concert with Argisus, rose against the Franks; but he was conquered without a blow, accused of treason before the assembly of Ingelheim, condemned to death, and then shut up in the monastery of Jumiege: the nationality of the Bavarians was destroyed, as that of the Lombards had been. The duchy of Benevento, protected by the mountains of the south, alone escaped the conqueror.

Charlemagne gave Aquitaine, with the title of king, to his son Louis, under the tutelage of William au Court Nez*

* This was the age at which surnames began to be adopted, and it is more than probable that this is the origin of the Courtneys, emperors of the East, earls of Devonshire, &c. &c.—*Trans.*

(with the short nose), duke of Toulouse. Three other great provinces were equally placed under the authority of this young prince : these were, in the east, Septimania, or Languedoc, conquered by Pepin-le-Bref ; in the west, Novempopulania, or Gascony ; and in the south, the Marches of Spain : this name was given to the provinces conquered by the Franks beyond the Pyrenees. They were divided into the March of Gothia, which comprised almost all Catalonia, and the March of Gascony, which extended to the Ebro, in Arragon and Navarre. These last provinces had for commanders Saracen nobles, who, according to circumstances, by turns transferred their obedience to the king of the Franks, or to the Arabian ruler in Spain. This vast kingdom of young Louis, bounded by the Loire, the Ebro, the Rhone, and the two seas, was attacked in 793 by the Saracen general Abdelmelec, who defeated Duke William, at the passage of the Orbien, made a fearful carnage of the Christian army, and returned into Spain, loaded with an immense booty. Charlemagne postponed his vengeance, being then occupied with the affairs of the Church : the opinion of the faithful was divided between the second Council of Nice, which, in 787, had commanded the worship of images, and that of Frankfort, which, in 794, condemned them as idolatrous. Charlemagne maintained with energy the decision of the latter council, and defended it to the pope, in a treatise divided into four books, called the *Caroline books*. Adrian, who adopted the opinion of the council of Nice, nevertheless avoided deciding, and eluded the question, in order to avoid giving offence to his powerful protector.

Charlemagne next directed his efforts against the Avars, a race of indefatigable horsemen, intrenched in the marshes of Hungary. After several disastrous expeditions, undertaken to subdue them, Pepin, his son, penetrated into their country at the head of a Lombard and Bavarian army, and obtained possession of their famous fortified camp, called *Ring*, in which they had collected, during a number of years, the plunder of the East. These rich spoils Pepin bore away, and his father distributed them among his favourites and the nobles of his court.

The Saxons leagued themselves with the Avars in this war ; they burned the churches, slaughtered the priests, and returned in crowds to their false gods. Upon this, Charlemagne adopted a system of extermination : he established himself, with a large army, upon the *Weser*, delivered

Saxony over to fire and sword, bore off, or caused to be delivered up to him, a considerable part of the inhabitants, and, as either prisoners or hostages, transported them to the countries of the west and the south : but the Saxons were not definitively subdued before 804, when, after thirty-two years of contests, revolts, and massacres, Charlemagne, in order the better to watch over and restrain them, transferred his habitual residence to Aix-la-Chapelle, which he made the seat of his empire.

Leo III. had succeeded Adrian I. in 795, on the pontifical throne ; a conspiracy of priests dragged him from it : wounded and imprisoned, he contrived to escape their murderous hands, fled away to Spoleto, and implored the assistance of Charlemagne, who, for the purpose of re-establishing him, made his last journey into Italy—he restored Leo to the chair of St. Peter. This service received a splendid reward. Charlemagne, on Christmas-day, being on his knees and at prayers in the basilic of St. Peter, the pope approached him and placed the imperial crown upon his head : the people loudly saluted him in the name of Augustus, and Charlemagne from that time considered himself as the true successor of the Roman emperors of the West. He adopted the titles and the ceremonial of the court of Byzantium, and to re-establish the empire in its integrity, he had only to marry the empress Irene, who, after having procured the assassination of her son, then reigned at Constantinople. Such was the wish of Charlemagne ; but he could not accomplish it : Irene was dethroned, and died in exile.

The exploits and conquests of this great monarch, too frequently impressed with the barbarism of the times, are not his greatest titles to the admiration and respect of posterity. That which raises him above the sovereigns of his age, is the spirit of the legislator and the genius of civilization, both of which he possessed in an eminent degree. Charlemagne undertook to substitute order for anarchy, and knowledge for ignorance, in the vast countries which obeyed him, and to subdue to the laws, and to a regular administration, so many nations of still savage people, strangers to each other, differing in origin, language, and manners, and bound together by no other tie than that of conquest.

He convoked twice a year, in the spring and at the end of autumn, the national assemblies of the bishops, abbots, and nobles, to deliberate upon the situation and wants of the state. The assembly, which was held at the end of autumn,

discussed the interests of the nation, proposed remedies for abuses, and prepared matter upon which the following assembly was to deliberate. This latter, which was called the Field of May, alone made laws. It was not composed of the nobles and great alone ; Charlemagne ordered the people to form part of it, and commanded that every county should depute twelve representatives to it. It was thus formed of three bodies, the clergy, the nobility, and the people ; each of which discussed separately the affairs which concerned it : they afterwards united to deliberate upon the common interests. It was the nation itself that made the laws, or which sanctioned those of the sovereign. In the absence of these assemblies, Charlemagne issued ordinances, which were named *Capitularies*, parts of which we are still in possession of, and which, notwithstanding their confused phraseology, strongly evidence the wisdom of their author. His genius appears to have been capable of embracing everything ; he provides with equal intelligence for the most extensive interests of his people and the administration of his own private domains. His principal attention is directed towards the clergy, whose subsistence he assures by tithes, to make them amends for the spoliation of Charles Martel. He prescribed to ecclesiastics subordination among themselves, the obligation of instructing each other, to transmit their knowledge to the people, to reform abuses ; and forbade them to appear in arms or engage personally in warfare. But it would be of small advantage to make good laws without securing the observance of them. To obtain this end, Charlemagne divided the whole of his dominions into different districts, and confided the authority in each of them to three or four magistrates, named *missi dominici*, or royal envoys. They made their reports to the sovereign, who was thus informed of everything, and his authority was active at one and the same time over every point of his vast states.

Charlemagne was perfectly aware that the best mode of civilizing a people is to instruct them ; and he consequently tried to revive a taste for letters and arts : he encouraged the laborious cares of the monks, who preserved, by means of copies, the celebrated writings of antiquity ; he even obliged the princesses, his daughters, to employ themselves in this task. He founded and supported schools in a multitude of places ; he often instructed them himself, and by his personal interrogations ascertained the progress of the pupils : he created one of these in his own palace, and the following

words, addressed to the pupils of it, are attributed to him :—
“ Because you are rich, and are the sons of the principal men of my kingdom, you think that your birth and your wealth are sufficient for you, and that you stand in no need of these studies which would do you so much honour. You only think of dress, play, and pleasure ; but I swear to you, I attach no estimation to these riches or this nobility, which bring you so much consideration ; and if you do not quickly repair, by assiduous studies, the time you have lost in frivolity, never,—no never, will you obtain anything from Charles.”

In affairs of state, he always preferred employing such as had distinguished themselves in the sciences. He formed a library in his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle ; he had persons to read to him during his repasts, from esteemed works, or else he conversed with learned men ; at night he sat up to watch the course of the stars. He spared neither pains nor rewards to attract to his court well-informed men and skilful professors. Among those who enjoyed his favour, the most celebrated was the Saxon Alcuin, a prodigy of knowledge for the times in which he lived.

The principal occupation of those who were then addicted to letters was poetry, the study of grammar, theology, the Holy Scriptures, and the Fathers of the Church. Interminable controversies arose upon the nature of the honour to be paid to images : these disputes occasioned long wars in the East, and several times shook the throne of Constantinople. Geometry, astronomy, and medicine were cultivated ; but charlatanism and superstition disfigured the two latter sciences : imaginative or designing men pretended to become acquainted with the future by consulting the stars ; and this false science, studied under the name of astrology, was, for a long time, held in high honour. A taste for sculpture, painting, and working in metal began to appear ; but, among the fine arts, architecture was most successfully cultivated. A great number of the churches and monasteries still spread over the face of France date from this period. Charlemagne enriched his residence of Aix-la-Chapelle with the precious marbles of Ravenna and the spoils of several other cities of Italy ; he built fortresses, ports, and cities : the vestiges of the edifices of this age evince much more solidity than elegance in their construction.

Among the inventions of this period, we must not forget paper made from cotton, organs played by water, and Turkey

carpets. Clocks with wheel-work began also to be known in the West : the caliph Haroun-el-Raschid, one of the greatest princes the Mussulmans can boast of, sent a remarkable clock of great value to Charlemagne. The *Chant* of the Church contributed greatly to all its solemnities ; Charlemagne decreed that the Gregorian chant should be used in all the churches of his empire ; and under his reign, the custom was established of reckoning the year by the Christian era, that is to say, from the birth of Christ. This prince, possessed of very little learning himself, but worthy by his genius of participating in all that was great and useful, seconded the efforts of intelligence of all kinds by his assiduous care, his praises, and his rewards : it was thus he employed the intervals of his warlike labours.

To restrain and repulse the barbarians without, and to polish the manners and spread knowledge within, such was the labour of his entire life ; but his undertaking was above the powers of one man ; he alone gave life and vigour to so many efforts, and kept his people united and submissive by the ascendancy of his glory and the terror of his arms : his work was doomed to perish with him. It is quite a legitimate exercise of the human imagination to think what would have been the destinies of mankind, if such men as Charlemagne and Alfred, nearly contemporaries, had been followed by races of princes emulous of their great qualities, and carrying out their noble views with equal spirit and prudence. But this is not the course the Omnipotent ruler has ordained—folly is heir to the garnerings of wisdom—wisdom, never dying, rises again, and rakes from the ruins left by folly, precious means to carry on the great inscrutable scheme. In order that vast associations of men should subsist for a length of time with one common centre upon one immense territory, either the people must submit to an absolute authority, which would have disgusted the independent and haughty character of the Frank and German races, or knowledge and civilization must have made such progress among them, that they should recognise the necessity for their union and their laws, as well as the obligation for sacrificing individual interest to common interest. But such was not the state of the nations governed by Charlemagne ; besides which, they issued from races too different to allow the humiliation of conquest to be quietly forgotten, or the profound diversity of manners and customs easily to disappear. A few distinguished men in vain raised their

voices : the masses remained plunged in barbarism. It is not possible to make a people pass in a few years from the wild to the civilized state, from ignorance to knowledge : that is the work of ages. Charlemagne appeared in the world like a brilliant meteor, which leaves, on vanishing, nothing but the remembrance of its splendour and of the glorious light which it spread around it ; but this remembrance was not useless to the world, the example given by this great man bears fruits, to be gathered by the remotest posterity. He himself foresaw the decline of his empire, and was able to perceive many certain indices of an approaching dissolution. He was aware of the national hatreds which subsisted between the different peoples he had subdued : the calm they so long enjoyed was not that of a nation which reposes in its strength ; it was rather a calm of lassitude and exhaustion. Charlemagne, by his continual wars, had mown down almost one entire generation. His Capitularies rendered military service obligatory to every free man possessed of twelve acres of land, under pain of submitting to the enormous fine of sixty golden sous, or the loss of his liberty : a vast number preferred slavery. The greater part of the lands of the empire were given to the nobles and the bishops, and the right of possession of the inhabitants being then confounded with the property of the soil, a multitude of cultivators sunk into a state of serfdom : men, being overwhelmed by the weight of the imposts and of military service, and tired of so long a reign, were anxious to see the end of it ; they acquitted themselves of their duties of citizens with repugnance, and neglected, for the greater part of the time, to attend either assemblies of the Field of May or of their province. The expenses of the journey, and more particularly the presents which were expected of them, appeared to them, and with reason, an intolerable burden, and they evinced no zeal for the maintenance of institutions of which they acknowledged neither the wisdom nor the utility.

Such were the imminent signs, precursors of a rapid dissolution. The sad presentiments of Charlemagne were too well justified at the end of his days. New peoples from the north—the Danes and the Normans, infested the coasts of his empire. In order to repel them, he caused large barks to be constructed, which defended the mouths of the rivers : this barrier and the terror of his name were sufficient, during the life of Charlemagne, to keep off these barbarous invaders. One day, however, some ships, manned by Scandinavian

pirates, appeared unexpectedly in the port even of a city of Narbonnese Gaul, in which the emperor was at that time sojourning. He saw them, and, approaching a window to follow them with his eyes in their flight, he remained at it for a long time, his face bathed in tears ; then turning towards the nobles who observed him, he said : " Do you know, my faithful friends, why I weep so bitterly ? Certes, I do not fear that these pirates should injure me, but I am deeply afflicted that, whilst I am living, they have dared to almost touch this shore ; and I am tormented with the greatest grief, when I foresee what evils they will inflict upon my posterity and their people."

Domestic griefs embittered his latter years : he had to blush for the disorders of his daughters, and to weep for the death of most of his sons. He had given the kingdom of Italy to Pepin, the eldest : this prince died, leaving a son named Bernard, to whom Charlemagne granted, temporarily, the crown which his father had worn. At the same time, he associated with himself in the empire, his son Louis, king of Aquitaine, and designed him to be his successor. He survived these dispositions but a very short time, and died at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the forty-sixth of his reign, leaving large bequests to convents and monasteries.

CHAPTER II.

From the death of Charlemagne to that of Charles le Gros. 814—888.

VERY soon after the death of Charlemagne, the germs of a general dissolution appeared, and a long series of wars commenced, which only terminated, after two hundred years of calamities, by the total expulsion of the Carlovingian or conquering dynasty. The two principal results produced by this reaction were the complete separation of the peoples of different races, and the division of each of these peoples into a multitude of small principalities, bound together by no tie but that which was established by the feudal system.

In the partition made by Charlemagne, and in those which his son made after him, among his children, the empire was considered as forming but one great body, composed of many members, the principal of which were Neustria, Aquitaine, Italy, and Bavaria ; most of these states having for master

a king taken from the imperial family. All these kings were understood to be dependent upon the empire, and bound to acknowledge the supremacy of the head of the family, of him who had the title of emperor. It was against this subjection they revolted, and they finished by withdrawing themselves from a dependence which crippled their ambition and wounded the natural pride of their people.

Louis I., surnamed le Débonnaire, son and successor of Charlemagne, was soon overpowered by the burden his father had left him. Unskilful in conduct and weak of character, although animated by the love of justice and a desire to do good, he was eager to commence severe reforms, and before he had placed his authority on a firm basis, he punished powerful criminals, and attempted to destroy a multitude of abuses advantageous to the great. The oppressed people found in him an upright judge and an indulgent master. He protected the Aquitans, the Saxons, and the Christians of Spain, against the imperial lieutenants, and diminished their burdens at the expense of their governors. He reformed the clergy, obliging the bishops to confine themselves to the duties of their state, and subjecting the monks to the inquisition of the severe Benedict of Aniane, who imposed the Benedictine rules upon them ; at length, giving the example of good morals in his own person, he endeavoured to promote them in others, by driving ignominiously from the imperial palace the numerous concubines of his father and the lovers of his sisters ; but his superstitious devotion excited the contempt of his court and his warriors, whilst his weakness for his wives and his children occasioned long and sanguinary wars.

In the day of peril, all those whose interests he had so violently attacked, leagued against him. The first rising broke out in Italy : the emperor, with the consent of the Franks assembled at the comitia of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 817, had associated his son Lothaire* with him in the empire ; then he gave the kingdoms of Bavaria and Aquitaine to his two other sons, Louis and Pepin : his nephew Bernard remained king of Italy. This latter, whose father had been eldest brother of the emperor, witnessed the elevation of Lothaire with much jealousy ; he hoped, after the death of

* The second race adopted the name of the first, but the German tongue began to lose its roughness in Gaul : thus the name Clodwig, or Clovis, was pronounced Lovis or Louis, and the name of Clothaire became Lothaire, &c.

his uncle, to obtain the imperial crown in quality of head of the Carlovingian family. A great number of dissatisfied nobles and bishops pressed Bernard to put forth his claims and collect troops. Louis marched to meet his nephew, at the head of his French and German soldiery. At his approach, Bernard, abandoned by a part of his followers, accepted a safe-conduct from the emperor, and passed over into his camp, with several of the leaders of his army. Louis, urged on to unjust rigour by his wife Ermengarde, who coveted Italy for her sons, caused the accomplices of Bernard to be tried and executed : this unhappy prince was condemned to lose his sight, and did not survive the operation of his punishment. Some years later, the emperor, in a council held at Thionville, performed public penance for this crime, and asked absolution, prostrated at the feet of the bishops. From that time he showed nothing but weakness. His fierce warriors unreasonably beheld in this act of Christian humility an outrage committed on the majesty of the crown ; they conceived from it a contempt for his power, and the imperial authority was shaken by it. The nations upon the frontiers insulted the empire with impunity : the Gascons and the Saracens on the south, the Bretons on the west, and the Norman pirates on the north, committed frightful ravages,*and spread terror before them. Internal discords seconded their audacity ; the imperial troops were beaten, and the frontiers narrowed at both north and south ; it was then the kingdom of Navarre was formed at the foot of the Pyrenees.

Ermengarde, the wife of Louis, died in 819 ; and the emperor, the following year, took in second marriage Judith, the daughter of a Bavarian noble. He had by her a son, named Charles, for whom his mother demanded an apanage, and Louis promised one, although he had already given away everything. Judith, accused of dissolute manners, prevailed over the weakness of her husband, and blinded him with respect to her conduct. He loaded with favours the Aquitan Bernard, duke of Septimania, son of his ancient tutor, William au Court Nez : Bernard passed for the lover of Judith, and was said to be the father of the young Charles ; Louis made him his sole counsellor and prime minister. The public clamour became general ; a numerous party of malcontents was formed, composed principally of the nobles and bishops, whose injustices Louis had repressed ; and when, at the Diet of Worms, held in 829, the emperor gave Charles,

the son of Judith, the kingdom of Germany, formed from Swabia, Helvetia, and the country of the Grisons, his other children, irritated at his weakness, and jealous and anxious with regard to their own possessions, commenced a sacrilegious and impious war against their father. He fell into their power at Compiègne, and Judith was shut up in a convent ; Bernard took to flight, and the emperor was left under the direction of some monks, whilst Lothaire seized upon the government of the empire.

The people were divided between Louis and his children ; the latter were encouraged in their revolt by the inhabitants of Gaul, whilst the Germans remained faithful to the emperor, who convoked for the same year, the general assembly of the states at Nimeguen, one of their cities : this assembly pronounced in his favour against his sons. Lothaire became reconciled to his father by the sacrifice of all his partisans ; Judith and Bernard were recalled to the court of the emperor, and purged themselves, by an oath, of the crimes imputed to them. Louis resumed the reins of government, but soon again disgusted his people by his weakness. His sons, Lothaire, Louis, and Pepin, once more revolt, fly to arms, and march against their father ; the pope, Gregory IV., is with them, and seeks in vain to prevent the effusion of blood ; the two armies meet near Colmar : all at once that of the emperor abandons him, and the plain upon which this defection took place, was called the Field of Falsehood.

The unfortunate father fell at the feet of his son Lothaire, who, carried impiety so far as to make him undergo an infamous punishment under the pretence of a Christian and voluntary humiliation, in order to degrade him for ever. A council of bishops, devoted to Lothaire, was held for this purpose at Compiègne, presided over by Ebbon, archbishop of Reims, the inveterate enemy of Louis. In this unlawful council of iniquity, a list of crimes was composed, among which figured that of having marched an army in Lent, and having assembled a parliament on Holy Thursday. The captive emperor was compelled to make a public confession of these heinous offences. He appeared in the cathedral, pale and cast down by shame and grief ; he advanced trembling amidst a multitude of spectators, and in the presence of Lothaire, who came to enjoy the humiliation of his parent and his emperor. A cilicium, or hair-cloth, was spread at the foot of the altar ; and the bishop commanded the sovereign to take off his imperial ornaments, to unbuckle

and remove his sword and belt, and to prostrate himself upon the cilicium. Louis obeyed : with his countenance bowed towards the ground, he professed public penitence, and read with a loud voice a writing in which he accused himself of sacrilege and homicide. A legal document was drawn up of this disgraceful scene, and Lothaire led his father a prisoner to Aix-la-Chapelle, the seat of the empire, a place formerly the witness of his grandeur, but now of his ignominy.

Louis and Pepin declared themselves the avengers of their outraged father, much less from tenderness for him than from hatred and jealousy for their brother. The latter, abandoned by his followers, took refuge in Italy ; while the emperor, with the consent of the states assembled at Thionville, resumed the government. He pardoned Lothaire ; but in 835, at the sitting of the states at Kersy-sur-Oise, he a second time conferred advantages upon Charles, at the expense of his brothers.

Pepin, king of Aquitaine, died in the course of the year. He left a son of the same name, very dear to the Aquitans, who had seen him grow up amongst them, and they warmly and eagerly acknowledged him as king. This people always endured a foreign domination with great impatience ; they cherished the hope of one day forming an independent and separate nation ; and flattered themselves they should be able to stimulate young Pepin II. to revolt against the emperor, as they had more than once done with Pepin, his father.

The emperor, however, entertained different projects ; he secretly intended Aquitaine for his son Charles, and at the great assembly held at Nevers, in 839, after the death of his son Pepin, he divided his states into two parts, one in the east, and one in the west, by a line drawn from the mouths of the Meuse to those of the Rhone. The first of these divisions was promised to Charles ; the second to Lothaire : Louis retained Bavaria, his only heritage, and Pepin II. was left destitute. These two princes, injured by such a partition, flew to arms, and Louis, who was already advancing towards Aquitaine, stopped, being at a loss against which enemy to proceed first, his grandson or his son. At length, seeing the Bavarians, the Thuringians, and the Saxons all in arms at the voice of Louis of Germany, the old emperor directed his efforts against this prince, and he was marching into Germany to meet his son, for the third time a rebel, when he was attacked by a disease, which, at the end of

forty days, carried him to the tomb. "Alas !" said he, as he was expiring, "I pardon my son ; but let him remember he has caused my death, and that God punishes parricide children." He died at Ingelheim, aged sixty-two years.

Louis le Débonnaire was not born for a throne ; he possessed, however, some of the qualities of a great prince : his morals were pure ; he paid great attention to the administration of justice and the instruction of his people ; made useful regulations, and often consulted the *comitia* of the empire ; but he had neither strength of mind, nor dignity of character, qualities, without which the supreme authority is but a vain word. His imprudent weakness for Charles, the child of his old age, kindled wars which were only extinguished with his race. In order to secure him a large kingdom, he deranged all the frontiers of his states ; and this partition hastened the overflow of a flood of frightful calamities.

After the death of Louis le Débonnaire, the empire was plunged for ten years into terrible anarchy. His three sons, and his grandson Pepin II., levied troops in their respective provinces, and commenced a furious war upon each other. The emperor Lothaire joined with his nephew Pepin, against his two brothers, Louis the German and Charles, who afterwards was styled the Bald. The first only possessed Bavaria, the second was master of all Gaul. These four princes fought a bloody battle near Auxerre, on the plains of Fontenay, on which day it is said a hundred thousand men were slain. Lothaire was conquered, but the two conquering princes were so weakened by the contest, that they were unable to follow up their victory. They repaired to Strasbourg, where they renewed their alliance in presence of the people. The oath which Louis the German took in this instance, so as to be understood by the Neustrian and Gallo-Romance army of his brother, is the most ancient monument history has preserved of the Romance language.

A new division soon afterwards took place at Verdun between the three brothers, which separated in an irrevocable manner the interests of Gaul, as a power, from those of Germany. Charles had the countries situated to the west of the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhone, with the north of Spain as far as the Ebro ; Louis the German had Germany to the Rhine ; the emperor Lothaire, renouncing all supremacy, united to Italy the territory situated between the states of his brothers, from the mouth of the Scheld to

the Sea of Provence. This long territory, which comprised four different populations, and in which four different languages were spoken, formed an entirely factitious division, and, by its nature, incapable of being perpetuated. The two other divisions, founded on the real distinctions of races, were durable, and from that time it became customary to employ the denomination of New France, to designate the kingdom of Charles, in which the three great divisions of Neustria, Brittany, and Aquitaine were comprised. The people of these countries, particularly the Bretons, under their leader Noménoé, and the Aquitans, under Pepin II., were constantly hostile to Charles the Bald, and never laid down their arms till their individual nationality had been acknowledged.

So many commotions and combats completed the exhaustion of the kingdoms formed from the wrecks of the empire of Charlemagne. The little strength they had left was consumed in intestine wars : their frontiers were abandoned to strangers, their lands were uncultivated, famine mowed down whole populations, and ancient barbarism reappeared. The Normans on the north, and the Saracens on the south, subjected everything to fire and sword ; in their wake troops of wolves descended from the mountains, and penetrated to the hearts of cities ; Rouen, Bordeaux, and Nantes were the prey of conflagration ; the Normans reached Paris in 300 barks, and whilst terror held Charles shut up in St. Denis, they pillaged the capital, and only quitted it to reappear soon afterwards, more numerous and more terrible ; they ravaged all the cities of the interior which they found without defence, and either slaughtered their inhabitants, or drove them before them like herds of cattle.

Amidst this general desolation of the empire of Charlemagne, the clergy continued increasing in both wealth and power : the more miserable nations were, the more earnestly they directed their views towards futurity, and their respect towards men in whom they recognised the power of opening to them the prospect of a better world. This order, which became rapidly corrupted by wealth, to increase it, abused the superstitious credulity of the age ; they pretended to the power of bestowing celestial favours arbitrarily, and to the possession of the faculty of performing miracles. The real master of Gaul was Hincmar, archbishop of Reims. It was he who defended with most success the authority of Charles the Bald against those who preferred his brother, Louis the

German, to him ; the bishops supported the kings they had crowned ; they governed in both spiritual and temporal matters, in war and in peace ; it was Hincmar who, in the name of the king, convoked the bishops and counts to march against the enemy.

The emperor Lothaire I. died in a cloister, in 855, after having, ten years before, associated his son, Louis II., with him in the empire, and given kingdoms to his other sons ; Provence to Charles, and the country circumscribed by the Meuse, the Scheld, the Rhine, and Franche-Comté to Lothaire II. The latter division was called, after the name of its sovereign, *Lotharingia*, of which was made the French name it still retains of *Lorraine*. The decrees of councils concerning the marriages of Lothaire, occupied all Christendom during fifteen years. Separated, by mutual consent, from his first wife, Hintberga, and forced to take her again by Pope Adrian II., Lothaire came to Rome to justify himself. The pontiff called down upon him the vengeance of God if he did not amend his life : he died within a week after, and the whole of his train within a year. People saw in these events the judgments of heaven : Louis the German and Charles the Bald took advantage of them to share between them the states of Lothaire.

At the death of the emperor Louis II., which took place in 875, his uncle, Charles the Bald, assumed the imperial crown ; but this crown was, upon his head, already nothing but the shadow of that of Charlemagne : the weak sovereign lost in real power what he gained in titles, and the nobles completed the ruin of his authority, by forcing from him at Kersy, in 877, a celebrated edict, which rendered the inheritance of the counts legal. For a length of time the rights of property in the soil had seemed confounded with the rights of jurisdiction and administration possessed by the counts or officers of the emperor. These counts, taking advantage of the general anarchy, as well as of the ignorance and weakness of the sovereigns of the first and second races, had, at first, after the example of the possessors of benefices, contrived to render their charges irrevocable, and then had them, by their own authority alone, transmitted to their children ; but no law sanctioned this right of inheritance. Charles the Bald, in consecrating it by an edict, gave the last blow to the authority of the sovereigns ; from that period it was no longer the kings who appointed the counts, it was the counts who disposed of the throne. The dis-

memberment of the empire was rapidly completed, and a new order of things—the feudal system—was the consequence of this edict, the last important act of the reign of Charles the Bald, who died the same year, at a village of Mount Cenis.

The latter descendants of Charlemagne proved themselves, in weakness and nullity, emulators of the latter Merovingians. Louis le Bègue (the stammerer), son and successor of Charles the Bald in Italy and Gaul, lost successively, by revolts, Italy, Brittany, Lorraine, and Gascony ; he acknowledged that he only owed his title to the election of the nobles, the bishops, and the people ; he allowed the nobles to fortify their dwellings, and in the course of his short reign of two years, Pope John VIII., driven from Italy, passed over into France, and administered the government of the kingdom.

Louis III. and Carloman his brother, sons of Louis le Bègue, succeeded him without leaving a single trace in history. Charles le Gros, son of Louis the German, afterwards filled the imperial throne : he nominally united under his sceptre, Gaul, Germany, and Italy, and is only known by the strong light which the crown of Charlemagne threw upon his weakness, his cowardice, and his misfortunes. The Normans braved him, and pursued their audacious incursions before his eyes. Paris sustained a memorable siege against them, in which were greatly distinguished Eudes and Robert his brother, sons of a count of Anjou, named Robert le Fort, who had been killed twenty years before, fighting against the same enemies. Their valour secured the safety of the city, whilst Charles le Gros, at the head of an army assembled to save his people, compounded in a cowardly manner with the strangers, and abandoned to them the pillage of his richest provinces. A cry of indignation arose from all sides against him ; he was deposed at the diet of Tibur, in 888, and died the same year in indigence, deserted by everybody.

CHAPTER III.

From the death of Charles le Gros to the expulsion of the Carlovingian dynasty. 888—987.

THE definitive partition which completed beyond recovery the dismemberment of the empire, took place at the death of Charles le Gros. Italy became a separate kingdom : all the countries comprised between the Alps, the Jura, and the sources of the Rhine, formed, under the name of Superior or Transjuran Burgundy, a new kingdom, of which Rodolph Welf was the founder. Boson, brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, had already assumed the title of king of Provence, or Cisjuran Burgundy. This kingdom had for its limits the Jura, the Mediterranean, and the Rhone ; Aquitaine extended from the Loire to the Pyrenees ; between the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Saône, Reinier, count of Hainault, formed the duchy of Upper Lorraine ; and between the frontiers of these various states and those of Lower Brittany, that is to say, between the Loire, the Seine, and the Meuse, was the narrow territory which from that time preserved the name of France. About the same period the counts of Vermandois extended their power towards the north, whilst the powerful houses of Poitiers and Toulouse arose in Aquitaine, and opposed a barrier to the incursions of the Saracens. It is from this last dismemberment of the empire of the Franks that the historical existence of the French nation takes its date. There had been already manifested, in this newly-formed nation, a strong feeling of repugnance for the dynasty which, during a century and a half, had reigned over Gaul ; it aspired to withdraw itself from German influence, and to form an independent state : after numerous battles fought with this view, and the deposition of Charles le Gros, the French elected as their king, Eudes, son of Robert le Fort, in contempt of the hereditary rights of Charles, surnamed le Simple, a posthumous son of Louis le Bègue.

With the reign of Eudes commenced a new series of civil wars, terminated, after a century, by the definitive exclusion of the Carlovingian race. Young Charles, on being deposed, soon justified his exclusion from the throne in the eyes of France, by imploring the aid of Arnolph, king of Germany, against his own people ; but he was never able to triumph during the life time of King Eudes.

At the death of this prince, which took place in 898, Charles the Simple was acknowledged king of France. The most celebrated act of this reign, which was for some time peaceable, was the cession made by Charles, in 912, to Rollo, leader of the Normans, of the territory which received from them the name of Normandy. Rollo paid homage to the king, was converted to Christianity, and divided his vast territory into fiefs. Subjected by him to severe laws, his warriors became the fathers of a great nation, the firmest bulwark of France against German invasions.

Numerous revolts troubled the end of this reign. During sixty years the French were divided between two families of sovereigns,—that of Charlemagne and that of Eudes. Robert, duke of France, brother of the latter, and his son Hugh le Blanc, or the Great, count of Paris, maintained a furious war against Charles the Simple. Robert was proclaimed king, and after him, Hugh the Great gave the crown of France to his brother-in-law Raoul, or Rodolph, son of Richard, duke of Burgundy. Charles fell into the power of Heribert, count of Vermandois, who detained him prisoner at Chateau-Thierry; he afterwards lived for some time at the palace of Attigny, whither his enemies exiled him, without a shadow of power, and he died a captive at Peronne, in 929. King Rodolph survived Charles the Simple seven years, but only reigned nominally.

After his death, which happened in 936, the redoubtable Hugh the Great, duke of France and count of Paris, offered the sceptre to young Louis, son of Charles the Simple. This prince, who had taken refuge among the Anglo-Saxons, and who was surnamed Louis d'Outremer, returned into France, accepted the crown, and reigned at first under the tutelage of Count Otho the Great, the first of the name; the same year, succeeded Henry l'Oiseleur upon the imperial throne of Germany, and Conrad the Pacific to Rodolph II., upon that of Burgundy.

The king, tired of the yoke imposed upon him by Hugh, endeavoured to free himself from it, and made an enemy of the count. War, at the same time, broke out between him and the emperor Otho the Great: Louis was conquered, and the French lords, taking advantage of his misfortunes to render themselves independent, retired to their strong castles, which began to bristle the soil of France in all directions. The authority of Louis was confined to the single city of Leon; Count Hugh allied himself with the Normans against

him ; these people took the king prisoner, and shut him up in the tower of Rouen. Otho the Great, after having fought with him, defended him ; he marched to his assistance and delivered him ; but Louis IV. in vain proved by his courage that he was worthy of his ancestor Charlemagne ; he combated, during the whole of his reign, the rebel nobles of his kingdom, without ever being able to reign, and died of a fall from his horse at Reims, in 954. With him ended every hope for his race of issuing from the abasement into which they had fallen.

Lothaire, his son, protected by Hugh the Great, succeeded him ; he thought to obtain some popularity by declaring himself an enemy of the Germans, and insulted the emperor Otho II. The latter entered France at the head of a formidable army, presented himself before Paris, and made his soldiers sing the canticle of the martyrs on the hill of Montmartre. He retired, after committing great devastation, and Lothaire allowed the opportunity of conquering and crushing him to escape. The French murmured ; they imputed the safety of the enemy's army to their own sovereign, and made a crime of his weakness, without taking any heed of his hostile disposition towards the Germans. The family of Charlemagne had for a long time been condemned in the mind of the nation : its ruin appeared inevitable. No rebellion, however, shook the throne of Lothaire ; but his power decreased day by day, and passed entirely into the hands of Hugh the Great, named Hugh Capet, count of the Isle of France and of Anjou.

Louis V., surnamed le Fainéant, succeeded his father, and brought nothing but indolence to the throne. He nominally reigned, whilst Hugh Capet insinuated himself into the favour of the emperor Otho III., of the clergy, and the nobles of the kingdom, and prepared everything for his usurpation. Louis V. died at the end of two years, and Charles, his uncle, the brother of Lothaire, claimed the throne ; but then the head of the clergy of France, Adalberon, archbishop of Reims, consecrated Hugh Capet king. The great majority of the nobles and the people ranged themselves around him, and the pretended heir was left alone with a few partisans. He died in the city of Orleans, where Hugh Capet had imprisoned him ; his two sons, banished from France, found an asylum in Germany, and with them, as far as history is concerned, was extinguished the race of Charlemagne. Thus was finished in Gaul the domination of the

Germanic dynasty of the Carlovingians, and a national royalty was substituted for a government founded upon conquest.

The tenth century is an epoch the most obscure and the most disastrous of French history. Everything became weak at once, the pious zeal and virtues of the clergy, the authority of the laws, and the independence of the inhabitants of the cities. The Saracens, the Germans, and the Normans, desolated the fields and burnt the towns. The cities were no longer the seat of government, of the subordinate administrations, or the abodes of the rich. Strong castles became the only refuge against foreign invasions and civil wars; it was to them retired all who enjoyed any authority, and in them courts assembled and justice was rendered. Commerce disappeared, and with it the industrious citizen class: to the heads of manufactories, to independent men and rich proprietors, succeeded, in most of the cities, a trembling, servile population: the trader had no longer a fixed residence; he journeyed from manor to manor, carrying with him his pack, and carefully concealing his little property. Around each castle rose miserable cabins, inhabited by serfs, who exercised, on account of the lord, the mechanical arts, or cultivated his domains; almost the whole of the people were serfs, at the mercy of the great, and the victims of every political commotion. The frightful misery and general desolation appeared to justify the popular belief that the end of the world was drawing near, and would take place in the year 1000. Nevertheless, at the moment of this decline, and whilst the ancient social order was perishing, another was rising upon its ruins, founded by the small number of those who, sheltered by their fortresses, had remained free and powerful. This new order of things, which received the name of *feudalism*, had, during a century, taken deep root, and, in spite of immense abuses, it prevented the complete dissolution of every social tie, or the return of the barbarism of past times.

SECOND EPOCH.

THE FEUDAL MONARCHY.

FROM HUGH CAPET TO FRANCIS THE FIRST.

987—1515.

BOOK THE FIRST.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HUGH CAPET TO THE DEATH OF SAINT LOUIS.

Domination and gradual decline of the aristocracy—Progress of royal power—Conquests of the crown—Crusades—Enfranchisement of the communes—Establishment of the judicial order. 987—1270.

CHAPTER I.

Exposition of the Feudal System.

THE accession of a national chief to the throne, in the person of Hugh Capet, produced the double result of withdrawing France from Germanic influence and developing and consolidating the feudal system. Already, under the first race, the nobles had rendered the concession of benefices irrevocable and hereditary in their families : German customs authorizing possessors of lands to consider as their own property, not only the soil acquired, but all that existed or was found upon the soil at the moment of the concession or the conquest, they soon believed themselves possessed of the right of exercising civil, judicial, and military power in their domains, in virtue of their simple title of proprietors. Authority was therefore established by possession, and it was to the land itself, by a strange fiction, that power was attached. This usage was not at all changed when Charles Martel instituted a new species of benefices, by rendering them hereditary under the name of fiefs, charged with military service and homage to the prince on the part of the possessors : the new beneficiaries were named *vassals* : such was the origin of Feudalism in France.

Under the second race, the kings, always sacrificing the

future to the present, had successively abandoned to the dukes and counts all legal or royal rights, such as levying troops, rendering justice, coining money, making peace or war, and fortifying their residences ; and from the moment when they had, by the edict of Kersy, acknowledged the legality of the inheritance of charges or offices, the dukes and counts believed themselves possessors of the provinces, in which their will alone was law. Though independent, in fact, of the crown, most of them remained subordinate to it, bound by the tie of the oath of fidelity. They distributed, at will, domains to the nobles, who received them upon condition of fealty and homage, and the nobles themselves granted, by the same title, inferior benefices to free men. A great number of independent proprietors, rendered uneasy by the ravages of external enemies, and by the commotion of civil discords, became anxious for the support of powerful neighbours, and obtained it by paying them homage for their lands, and holding them afterwards, as fiefs, from those to whom they offered them, that is to say, clogging their future possession of them with the obligation of faithfully serving their suzerain. In this act, he who gave a territorial property in fief became the suzerain of him who received it on this title, and who was named *vassal* or *liegeman*. The lands were thus considered throughout the kingdom of France as *subject* or *vassal* to one another. This system, extending to provinces, as to simple private domains, established a connecting tie between all parts of the territory. Among the hierarchy of sovereignties, that which bore the title of kingdom was considered first : this title, in the coronation of Hugh Capet, was gained by the ancient duchy of France, which, by its central position, by the warlike character of its inhabitants, and by the extinction of title of king in the neighbouring states, became capable, in the end, of obtaining a real supremacy.

The feudal system rapidly embraced ancient Gaul, Italy, and Germany, and afterwards extended over the whole of Europe : it was it that prepared the formation of the great states, and which, during two hundred and forty years, was the substitute for social ties and for legislation.

The first part of this period resembled an interregnum, during which the king was not distinguished from the other nobles but by honorary prerogatives. Every fortress of any importance gave its possessor rank among sovereigns ; and civil discords making the great feel the necessity of attaching

to themselves a considerable number of men for their personal security, they divided their domains into a multitude of small portions which they granted in fief; they gave their vassals the permission to fortify their residences, which they themselves had obtained from Louis le Bègue, and a number of castles soon sprang up around the principal fortress. It was a general opinion that rendering homage for a fief conferred nobility, and nobility thus acquired, for the greater part, dates from the ninth and tenth centuries. The right yielded to subjects of providing for their own safety checked the devastation of foreigners, gave fresh energy to the national character, revived in men, members of a numerous class, a salutary self-esteem, and authorized them to require mutual consideration from those of whom they held their lands, as well as those to whom they granted any, the feudal contract being annulled by the violation of the obligations contracted on both sides. This new subordination reposed, in part, upon the faith of the oath; and respect for the *given word*, or *loyalty*, became one of the distinctive features of the character of the nobility.

The principal obligation contracted in this system towards the suzerain, was that of military service of forty days at every expedition. The ancient national courts (plaids) were replaced by those of the county, in which the vassals united themselves under the presidency of the count: the custom of judicial combats was resumed, and became the basis of jurisprudence between gentlemen. From that time the different codes of laws which had so long subsisted in the various indigenous or conquered nations of Gaul, completely disappeared. It was generally admitted that no one could be judged but by his peers, and by *peers* was understood vassals of the same rank. The great vassals of the crown,—the dukes of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Burgundy, the counts of Flanders, Toulouse, and Champagne,—were named *Peers of France*; to these six lay peerages were afterwards added six ecclesiastical peerages. When a peer of France was summoned before the tribunal of the others, the king presided in the court of judgment. All these laws, conventions, and usages, concerned only the nobility: the people were reckoned as nothing: the noblemen or gentlemen, separated from the people by their habitations, were still more distinguished from them by their costume and their arms, and never appeared abroad but on horseback and covered with heavy armour: it was thus they held in respect and fear miserable

populations entirely destitute of means of defence. A great change took place in the military art; cavalry became from that time the principal strength of armies; bodily exercises, horsemanship, skill in handling the sword and the lance, constituted the only employment of the nobility, and the sale of armour became the principal branch of commerce in Europe.

This first period of the feudal confederation gave birth to chivalry, respect for woman, and modern language and poetry: such were the principal effects of this system in that which concerns general policy and the interests of the nobility. We have now to examine its relations with the Church and with the people.

Religion, after the invasion of Gaul by the Franks, consisted principally, for the mass of the people, of the outward ceremonies and religious practices that were produced by the sight of relics, of images of the Virgin and of saints, and of pictures representing the mysteries of religion, the actions of Christ, the Apostles, and the first proselytes: the magnificence of the worship exercised a great influence, and the priests, under the Carlovingians, imposed upon the people, but still more upon the great, by their wealth and power. But the Church, which in the fifth and sixth centuries had alone resisted the invasion of barbarism, was less strong against the corruption produced by the excess of riches; barbarians had entered in great numbers among the clergy, whose virtues and knowledge almost entirely disappeared from the eighth to the tenth centuries; in their place, the only means the Church still had, in these unhappy times, of preserving an ascendancy over men's minds, was to be rich and powerful; and at the period of the progressive establishment of the feudal system, it saw with terror the great vassals encroach upon its domains. The clergy soon perceived, that as all authority was in the hands of the possessors of fiefs, it became necessary for them to form a part of the new confederation. They therefore paid fealty for the domains they possessed, then they divided them into small portions, of which they made so many fiefs, and thus procured for themselves both suzerains and vassals. The obligation of military service being inseparable from the possession of fiefs, the clergy were subject to it equally with all other vassals; they appeared in arms at the call of their suzerain, and compelled their liegemen to fight for him. From that time a great number of bishops and abbots lived the life of nobles; arms employed as much of their time as

their altars, and they abandoned the holy duties of religion for the license of camps. Wherever the members of the clergy did not embrace a warlike life, the temporal lords obtained an immense advantage over them, and it often became necessary for bishops and abbots to place themselves under the protection of a noble, who was paid to defend them : this protector had the name of *advocate* or *vidume*. The clergy, by their feudal organization, completed the perversion from the object of their institution ; the people more seldom received from them either consolation or help, and most of the dignitaries of the Church ranged themselves in the ranks of their oppressors.

The immense majority of the people lived in a servile condition : the class of freemen, as we have said, in a great measure disappeared under the Carlovingsians ; the citizen class became naturally weaker as the importance of the cities diminished ; and it may be said, that at the end of the tenth century, there was no middle class between the nobles, alone in possession of all the enjoyments of life, and the wretches whose cabins surrounded the foot of strong castles, and who were named serfs, or men of servitude, attached to the glebe, that is, to the earth they cultivated : they were bought and sold with it, without the power of freely quitting it to establish themselves elsewhere when they found themselves oppressed beyond endurance. Designated under the name of *villains*, they possessed nothing of their own, neither their cottages, nor their instruments of labour, nor their time, nor the fruit of their toil, nor even their children : everything belonged to the lord ; and if they had the misfortune to render themselves culpable in his eyes, they could not invoke in their defence any law or any authority ; the seignorial right of justice, of life and death, was absolute.

The condition of freemen, who were not holders of fiefs, but inhabitants of seignorial domains, appears almost as deplorable as that of the serfs ; they scarcely enjoyed the right of marrying as they pleased, or of disposing of their own property. All were gradually loaded with intolerable burdens, or subjected to humiliating obligations ; nothing protected them, and they were in constant dread of some fine, some new tax, or the entire confiscation of their property ; a great number took refuge in cities, whither evils quite as great pursued them. The counts there exercised over them an authority equal to that of the nobles on their estates ; tolls and dues of every kind were there multiplied to infinity ;

the cities became, in the end, subjected, as the country was, to an arbitrary impost called *taille* (a poll or land tax) ; they were obliged to maintain their lord and his train whenever he came within their walls : provisions, furniture, horses, carriages, everything was carried away by force from the inhabitants, at the caprice of the master or the men of his suite, without retribution or payment of any kind ; in a word, social strength resided entirely with the possessors of fiefs, who alone enjoyed liberty, power, or the comforts of life.

Such was the system which, under the name of Feudalism, oppressed Europe for ages : it drew her from the anarchy and chaos in which she was plunged, and was the first rude essay of social organization conceived by society itself after the fall of the Roman empire. In this vast system, the hierarchy often only existed in principle : the independence of the most strong was a fact, and from it incalculable evils resulted : the territory of ancient Gaul was for a long time a bloody arena open to the ambition of kings and nobles ; but the deficiency of union in the oppressors turned at length to the advantage of the oppressed, supported by royal authority, when the latter, by its conquests, prepared new and more happy destinies for France. An important progress towards a better order of things was in fact that which constituted a central force, sufficiently powerful to impose on all, and to destroy the tyranny of the nobles, and which, creating a middle class between the nobles and the serfs, accorded to a portion of the people the most precious rights of civil liberty. History shows us the French marching towards this double goal through long convulsions, amidst intestine discords and foreign wars : during centuries they drew near to it without gaining it ; they were indebted for their early progress to the concurrence of events raised up by Providence, as much as to their own efforts ; and these united causes brought about, as their first result, the rapid increase of the power of the kings, the decline of the seigniorial authority, the enfranchisement of the inhabitants of cities, and the awakening of industry.

CHAPTER II.

Reign of the first Capetian Kings, Hugh Capet, Robert, Henry I.,
Philip I. 987—1108.

HUGH CAPET.

FRANCE, properly so called, at the accession of the third race, only extended over a part of the territory comprised between the Loire and the Somme; it was bounded by Flanders on the north, by Normandy and Brittany on the west, by Champagne and ducal Burgundy on the east, and on the south by Aquitaine, Poitou, the Limousin, and Auvergne. Lorraine, Franche-Comté, and a part of Flanders were held under the Germanic crown; Brittany was a fief of the duchy of Normandy.

Hugh Capet and his three first successors did very little to increase their authority, and exercised no influence over their age. Hugh is only illustrious as the founder of a new dynasty, and this great event must be attributed much more to circumstances than to the force of his genius. His crown, according to the usage sanctioned by the feudal system, became transmissible by hereditary right, like those of his great vassals, the dukes and counts; nevertheless, the better to secure possession of it to his race, he thought fit to place it under the safeguard of the Church, and he caused his son Robert to be consecrated during his lifetime; he even himself admitted his absolute dependence upon the priesthood, by loading its members with honours and riches.

The course of his reign was marked by such cruel wars among his great vassals, and so many other frightful calamities, that people became confirmed in the opinion that the end of the world was approaching. A horrible pestilence ravaged Aquitaine and France, and such were the sufferings of this period that the expectation of universal destruction inspired in many hearts more hope than fear; numbers of valiant leaders and soldiers laid down the sword and cuirass to assume the frock and hair-shirt. Hugh Capet himself reigned without wearing a diadem; and either from doubting the validity of his royal title, or from a desire to set the people an example of humility and a respect for holy things, he continued through life to wear the cope of an Abbot of St. Martin of Tours, of which he bore the title. He died

recommending his son, above all things, to watch with care over the wealth of the abbeys, and to submit himself blindly to the will of the pope, in order to secure his salvation.

ROBERT.

Robert was faithful to these pious instructions : this king seems, by his rare mildness and indulgent benevolence, to belong to another age : profoundly affected by the sufferings of his people, he appeared to take upon himself the task of consoling the unfortunate by a boundless charity, and of disarming the anger of heaven by an angelic patience and the practices of the most fervent devotion. A crowd of touching instances are related of his simple, single-hearted goodness. A poor man whom he was feeding with his own hand, underneath his table, stole a portion of the gold fringe of the royal vestment ; Queen Constance, the wife of Robert, perceiving the robbery, became violently angry at it : " He who stole the fringe," said the good monarch to her, " had, doubtless, greater need of it than I have ! " Another day, whilst he was at prayers, a thief cut off half of his mantle : " Leave the remainder for another," said Robert, with mildness. This prince, whose pious zeal equalled his charity, composed sacred hymns, sang in the holy service, and directed the choir of St. Denis on the festivals of the Church : to his reign are due a great part of the Gothic churches and convents of France.

Among other strange traits of his somewhat questionable superstition, it is related that he believed no oath to be obligatory unless taken over relics of saints and martyrs, to which he rendered a special devotion. To avoid the sin of a violation of faith, he caused persons in whose truth he placed no confidence, to take their oaths, at a shrine which, without their being aware of the circumstance, contained no relics, and when he himself took an oath at such a shrine, he committed perjury without scruple. His fervent piety did not shield Robert from ecclesiastical censures, or from most violent persecutions of the court of Rome. The laws of the Church, at that time, composed the whole civil legislation ; the popes caused themselves to be acknowledged as sovereign arbitrators in doubtful cases of legality of marriages : they showed much praiseworthy courage in endeavouring to check the unbridled passions of kings, and their firmness powerfully contributed in preserving Christendom from afflicting disorders, perhaps even from polygamy ; but, abusing their

authority, they extended prohibitions of marriage too far, and proved terrible to those who dared to violate their frequently arbitrary and unjust regulations. Excommunication and placing a territory under an interdict were the means most frequently employed by the pontiffs to subdue sovereigns to their will; no Christian could eat, drink, or pray with an excommunicated person, under penalty of being himself excommunicated: when the Pope placed a country under an interdict, it was forbidden to hold divine service in it, to administer the sacraments to adults, or to bury the dead in consecrated ground; the sound of bells ceased, church pictures were covered, the statues of saints were taken down and laid upon beds of ashes and thorns. The court of Rome made of these two chastisements a most powerful and redoubtable weapon; they with it struck down all their enemies without pity or reservation; among whom, they never passed by invaders of ecclesiastical benefices, and, in their rigour, paid no more respect to kings than to their subjects: King Robert experienced this. Hugh, his father, rendered uneasy by the Normans established at Blois, who refused to acknowledge him king, gained them by making his son espouse the celebrated Bertha, widow of Eudes I. of Blois. This princess possessed claims upon the kingdom of Burgundy, bequeathed by her brother Rodolph to the empire, and might transmit her rights to the house of France. The emperor, Otho III., began to be alarmed at this, and Pope Gregory V., his creature, seized upon the pretext of a very distant relationship, to force Robert to give up his wife; upon his refusal, he excommunicated him. It is related that Robert was immediately abandoned by all his servants, and it was a popular belief, industriously kept up by the monks, that Queen Bertha was put to bed of a monster. Robert, being compelled to repudiate her, married the imperious Constance, daughter of the count of Toulouse. She reigned under his name, braving his authority, and with impunity put to death his favourite, Hugh de Beauvais, before his eyes.

Robert, in spite of his habitual mildness, took part in the cruel rigours of Constance with regard to heretics; twelve of these, dragged before a council held at Orleans under his presidency, were condemned to be burnt alive. Among them was a venerable man, who had been a confessor to the queen; the king thought he performed an act of piety in being present at their execution, and Constance, who placed

herself in the way to the pile, struck out one of the eyes of her former confessor with her riding-wand. This barbarous fanaticism, one of the characteristic features of this period, lasted during six centuries in Europe, and the Jews were, for far the greater part of that time, the objects of such execration, that an act of cruelty towards them passed for a meritorious work. They were almost everywhere outraged and plundered with impunity. God was thus supposed to be most properly honoured, and the people avenged themselves most cruelly upon these unfortunate beings for their own humiliations and sufferings. Victims of the perpetual discords of the great, the people beheld their harvests destroyed and their humble dwellings burnt ; for them there was neither repose nor safety. The inhabitants of the cities, however, began to endure the vexations and tyrannies inflicted by their lords with impatience, and grew dissatisfied with so miserable and precarious an existence. The cities which had preserved municipal institutions invoked ancient and neglected rights ; in others, corporations were formed, workmen organized themselves into a militia, fortified their walls, and guarded their gates. Great injustices caused too long suppressed resentments to break forth, and secret commotions were presages of revolutions, which, in the following century, brought about the enfranchisement of the commonalty. The inexhaustible charity of Robert only afforded an almost imperceptible relief to the evils of his people ; not rich enough to remove their misery, too weak to repress their oppressors, he died in 1031, wept by the unfortunate, and regretted by the clergy. During his reign, a wise and learned Frenchman succeeded Gregory V. on the pontifical throne, and renewed the alliance between the Holy See and the house of Capet. This was the illustrious Gerbert, who, among the Moors, obtained in the flourishing schools of Cordova, all the secrets of the sciences then known ; he studied the belles-lettres and algebra, learnt the art of constructing clocks, and passed for a magician in the eyes of his astonished contemporaries. First preceptor of the children of the emperor Otho, archbishop of Reims, and then of Ravenna, he at length became pope, under the name of Sylvester II., and exercised the triple authority of the pontificate, of science, and of genius.

HENRY I.

Henry I., son and successor of Robert, had at first to

maintain a family war against his mother Constance, who wished to raise his younger brother Robert to the throne. The Church declared for Henry, and the celebrated Robert the Magnificent, duke of the Normans, lent him the powerful support of his sword, and placed the crown more firmly upon his head. Henry conquered his brother, pardoned him, and granted him the duchy of Burgundy, of which Robert founded the first house. A famine committed terrible ravages in this reign in Gaul; in many places the men were reduced to the frightful necessity of eating each other. After this scourge had performed its mission, troops of wolves devastated the country, and the nobles, more to be dreaded even than wild beasts, continued their barbarous wars in the midst of universal desolation: the clergy could scarcely prevail upon them to suspend their fury, by laying before them the judgments of heaven, and by affirming a multitude of miracles. At length various councils commanded all to lay down their arms, and, in 1035, published the *Peace of God*, threatening with excommunication those who should violate so sacred a law. When a council had established this peace in each province, a deacon gave notice of it to the people assembled in the churches. After reading the Gospel, he mounted the pulpit and denounced against all who infringed the peace, the following malediction:—"May they be accursed, both they and those who aid them in evil-doing; may they be banished with Cain the fratricide, with the traitor Judas, with Dathan and Abiram, who entered alive into hell; and may their joy be extinguished at the aspect of the holy angels, as these lights are extinguished before your eyes." At these words, all the priests, who held lighted wax-candles in their hands, turned them towards the earth and extinguished them, while the people, seized with fear, repeated as with one voice,—“May God thus extinguish the joy of those who will not accept peace and justice!”

But passions were too violent, ambitions too indomitable, to allow the evil to be thus totally uprooted. The *Peace of God* multiplied perjuries without diminishing the number of assassinations. Five years later, another law, known under the name of the *Truce of God*, was substituted for it. The councils which proclaimed it no longer endeavoured to put an end to all human passions; they attempted to regulate them, to submit wars to the laws of honour and humanity; an appeal to force was not interdicted to those who could invoke no other right; but the employment of this force

was subjected to wise restrictions. Every military attack, every effusion of blood, was forbidden from the setting of the sun, on Wednesday evening, until its rising on Monday morning, as well as on festivals and fast-days; a perpetual safeguard was granted to churches, unarmed clerks and monks; the protection of the truce extended to peasants, their flocks, and their instruments of labour. Promulgated at first in Aquitaine, this wise and beneficent law was adopted almost throughout all Gaul, where the nobles swore to the observance of it: although it was often violated, and fell too soon into desuetude, it did great good to the nation, whose manners it softened, and was the noblest work of the clergy of the middle ages. A report prevailed that a horrible disease, called the *sacred fire*, punished all who broke the Truce of God. The weak king Henry, from a senseless pride, refused, almost alone, to recognise it in his states, under the pretence that, in wishing to establish it, the clergy encroached upon his authority.

This king has left no honourable remembrance in history. It is said that, in order to avoid marrying a wife, who, without his knowledge, might be allied to him in blood, he sought one at the extremity of Europe, and that this motive caused him to marry, in his third nuptials, the Princess Anne, daughter of Jaroslas, grand-duke of the Russian nation. The Russian nation had embraced Christianity only about a century before; it was composed of almost savage races, scattered over its immense territory. Nevertheless, its two capitals, Kief and Novogorod, contained already germs of an advanced civilization. He had three sons by this marriage, and caused Philip, the eldest of them, to be consecrated during his lifetime. He maintained an unfortunate war against his vassal William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, and died in 1060, after a reign of twenty-nine years.

PHILIP I.

Philip, at eight years of age, succeeded his father under the tutelage of Baldwin V., count of Flanders. The greatest event which took place during his minority, and in which he had no part, was the conquest of England. The Norman knights distinguished themselves above all others by their immoderate love of warlike adventures, and by their brilliant exploits. Some of them, who had landed sixty years before, as pilgrims, on the southern coast of Italy, had assisted the besieged inhabitants of Salerno in repulsing a

Saracen army. Animated by the success of their compatriots, the sons of a simple gentleman, Tancred of Hauteville, followed by a troop of adventurers, conquered Apulia from the Greeks, the Lombards, and the Arabs, and maintained with success an unequal contest against the emperors of Germany and Byzantium, leagued together to exterminate them. They took prisoner the German pope, Leo. IX., who was devoted to the family of the emperor Henry III., then humbling themselves before their captive, they obtained permission to keep their conquests as a fief of the Church: Robert Guiscard completed the subjection of Apulia and Calabria, and his brother Roger conquered Sicily: it was thus that in 1052 the kingdom of the Two Sicilies was founded by the Normans, and the pope obtained the suzerainty of it.

Nothing was talked of in Europe but the Norman valour; and when William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, and son of Robert the Magnificent, collected an army for the conquest of England, warriors from all parts flocked to his standard, full of confidence in his fortune. Great Britain, or England, which, six ages before, had been subdued by the Saxons, was then governed by King Harold. Some time before he was king, a tempest had cast this prince upon the coast of Normandy. A prisoner to William, he was constrained to yield to him his claims to the throne; but when he had obtained his freedom at this price, he conceived himself liberated from an oath which had been extorted by force. It was the custom of those times to consider shipwrecked persons as delivered up by the judgment of God to the lord of the coast upon which the tempest had thrown them; the lord had power to detain them as captives, and to torture them to obtain ransom. William reminded Harold of his promise, referred, moreover to the will of Edward the Confessor, the last king of England, and declared he would place the decision of the matter in the hands of the Church. The Consistory, assembled at the Lateran, pronounced in his favour, and, at the instigation of the monk Hildebrand, it adjudged England to him by sending him, with a standard that had been blessed, the diploma of sovereign of that country. A great battle, fought in 1066, near Hastings, between the two rivals, decided the war. Harold lost his life in it, and England, after an obstinate struggle, became the conquest of the Normans. William distributed all the lands, as fiefs, to his barons and knights: from that time

feudalism extended the net over this country, with which it had already covered France, Germany, and Italy.

This great event inflamed men's minds and disposed nations to undertake adventurous expeditions into distant countries; it was the precursor of the crusades or wars undertaken for the deliverance of the Holy Land; but these last expeditions had a more noble motive than the others; it was the enthusiasm of an exalted piety that gave birth to them.

A great revolution, the principal author of which was the celebrated Hildebrand, was then being accomplished in the Church. Many causes, the principal of which were the scandals of the court of Rome and the ignorance and corruption of the ecclesiastics and monks, had for a long time held the clergy in a disgraceful abasement: the tenth century particularly had been for the Church an epoch of desolation; the seat of St. Peter had become the prey of intrigue and violence: the emperors, a ferocious populace, and courtesans had by turns disposed of the pontifical crown; the marquises of Tusculum had sold it, and several had assumed it themselves: three popes, Gregory VI., Sylvester III., and Benedict IX., were all reigning, if reigning it could be called, at the same time: the last of these was proclaimed at twelve years of age, and became a monster. These disorders were not the only evils that afflicted the Church. From the time the clergy, to defend their domains, had so eagerly entered into the feudal hierarchy, they humbled themselves before the authority of the princes and their great vassals: the bishops of France almost all held fiefs of the Crown; and in the course of the eleventh century, there was carried on an infamous traffic of the domains and dignities of the Church, granted, not as formerly, to the most worthy, but to the highest bidder and to the most covetous. Such was the situation of the Church under the reign of Henry III., emperor of Germany, and at the accession of Philip I. to the throne of France. Nicholas II. at this time occupied the pontifical seat. He had for counsellor a monk, who was indignant at the vices of the ecclesiastics, the degradation of the Church, and the encroachments of temporal power over spiritual authority: this monk, this man so celebrated in ecclesiastical history, was Hildebrand. He resolved to deprive princes and nobles of all kinds of influence over the clergy, to strengthen the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and to raise the pope above the kings of the earth,

hoping thus to make the Church recover its virtues, its splendour, and all its power. Such a project of universal domination, which would be senseless in our days, was, in the time of Hildebrand, a conception of genius. This great man had consulted the spirit of his age. The rights of humanity were then respected nowhere; the people, oppressed by a thousand tyrants, had then no representatives, no natural defenders but the clergy: most of the members of this order issued from the inferior classes; ecclesiastical dignities, the tiara itself, were often the lot of men of the most obscure birth, and the voice of the Church combating temporal power, might be considered, in some respects, as the energetic protest of nations against their oppressors. There was merit and greatness, under the feudal system, to endeavour to regenerate the world upon a Christian basis, by giving it for a head and a guide him who was universally recognised as the visible head of Christendom. The honour of Hildebrand is, to have wished to free the spiritual authority of the Church from all temporal servitude; his error is, to have listened too much to his own ambition, when endeavouring to render the political government of princes subservient to ecclesiastical authority.

Many bishops and priests contracted, by marrying, ties which placed them in a state of dependence upon princes. Nicholas II. broke these ties; he forbade the marriage of priests, and pursued concubinary monks to extremity. The emperor, Henry III., seconded these reforms, and thus contributed to give to spiritual power a strength that became terrible to his successors.

Hildebrand was chosen, in 1073, by the people and the clergy of Rome, as successor to Pope Alexander II. He at first asked, with deference, his confirmation of the emperor, Henry IV.; and when he had obtained it, he quickly displayed, under the name of Gregory VII., his lofty genius and indomitable character. He withdrew the nomination of the popes from the influence of the emperors, by establishing the College of Cardinals, specially charged with the election of the pontiffs; he renewed the bull which condemned the marriage of priests, he forbade emperors, kings, or great vassals, to bestow ecclesiastical investitures upon bishops; and at last published the famous sentences known under the name of *Dictatus Papæ*, in which, carried away by pride beyond the bounds of reason or of his ministry, he asserted his rights to depose emperors, to make monarchs kiss his

feet, to judge without appeal, and to be sanctified by his ordination.

Philip I., king of France, and Henry IV., emperor of Germany, at that period were both leading a life full of scandals and violence. To provide for their boundless wants, they carried on, in spite of the prohibitions of Gregory, a most shameful traffic in benefices of the clergy. The angry pontiff threatened Philip with excommunication, and absolutely pronounced it against the emperor : a furious war immediately ensued between the two rivals. It is known in history by the name of the War of the Investitures, because in it the pope maintained his right to forbid princes to give investitures to bishops, and reserved this faculty to himself alone. In this celebrated war the principal auxiliaries of the pontiff were the Normans of Apulia and Sicily, and the Countess Matilda, sovereign of Tuscany. Gregory VII. released the subjects of Henry from their oath of obedience : the emperor was abandoned by them, and was reduced to the hard necessity of imploring pardon of his haughty conqueror : he presented himself as a suppliant, in the month of January, 1077, at the castle of Canossa, the residence of Gregory : the latter insulted his misfortunes, and before he would grant him absolution, he obliged the emperor to remain in an open court of his palace, three days and three nights, exposed to a rigorous cold, and standing barefooted in the snow. At length he deigned to absolve him ; but so many outrages disgusted all crowned heads, and enraged the partisans of the empire. Henry IV. avenged himself, and Gregory VII. died in exile. The colossal edifice raised by this pontiff did not die with him, his successors consolidated it ; he had founded the universal monarchy of the popes upon a durable base, upon the reigning spirit of his age, and this domination did not attain its highest period till a hundred years after him. The crusades materially contributed to the strengthening of it ; he conceived the plan of them, but it was not given to him to carry it into execution : the first of these memorable events took place in the time of Philip I. and under the pontificate of Urban II.

Palestine, or the Holy Land, held for several centuries by the Mussulmans, had been one of the first conquests of the disciples of Mahomet, and from that time the bondage of this country had been a subject of indignation and grief to the Christians. It was thought that a particular virtue was attached to the places where Christ was born, where he had

undergone death for the salvation of men, and where his tomb was still to be seen. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem was considered as the most efficacious action for the expiation of sins, and a great number of pilgrims repaired singly or in bands to Palestine, to offer up prayers upon the tomb of the Saviour. Adventurous knights, seeking out of Europe fresh fields for their exploits, had already gone to defy the Mussulmans ; but most of them had perished : however, some few returned into Europe, where the accounts of their dangers and their glorious feats of arms filled the minds of men with an ardent and pious emulation. Such was the public feeling, when an enthusiast, known under the name of Peter the Hermit, quitted the city of Amiens, his country, to accomplish a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The sight of the holy places excited his pious fervour to the highest degree ; he returned into Europe, and instantly repaired to Italy, to exhort Pope Urban II. to place himself at the head of the European nations, combined for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre, and to rescue the holy places from the hands of the Mussulmans. He prevailed with the pontiff, and received from him letters for all the Christian princes, with the mission of stimulating them to this noble enterprise. Peter perambulated the West, inflaming the imagination of kings, nobles, and peoples ; he spoke to them of their own salvation, he promised them heaven if they would march to Palestine, and in 1095, two years after his return, a council, convoked by Urban, was assembled at Clermont, in Auvergne. A prodigious number of princes, lords, nobles, and all classes repaired thither, and three hundred bishops were present, presided over by the pope. After having regulated the affairs of the Church, Urban drew a pathetic picture of the desolation of the holy places, he expatiated with much feeling upon the evils which the Christians of Palestine endured, and the attentive assembly broke forth in tears and sobs : the pontiff then described the audacity and insolence of the enemies of Christ, he expressed his indignation at so many outrages, and in an inspired tone cried out : “ *Enrol yourselves under the ensigns of God ; go, sword in hand, like true children of Israel, into the land of promise ; charge boldly, and opening yourselves a path through the battalions of the infidels, and over the heaps of their slain, do not doubt that the cross will be victorious over the crescent ; make yourselves masters of those beautiful provinces which they have usurped, extirpate heresy and impiety from them : in a word,*

act so that their country shall only produce palms for you, and that with their spoils you may raise magnificent trophies to the glory of religion and of the French nation." At these words the excitement became general, the auditors trembled with indignation and impatience; all were eager to arm; all were anxious to set out: "March! march!" they cried, "God wills it! God wills it!" "Go, then," replied the pontiff, "*go, brave knights of Jesus Christ, avenge his quarrel; and since you have cried all with one voice, God wills it! let that be the war-cry of your holy enterprise.*"

The distinctive mark common to all these warriors was a cross of red stuff worn upon the right shoulder, from which the expedition took the name of *crusade*. The princes and nobles received similar crosses from the hands of the pope; the people presented themselves in crowds, the cardinals and bishops distributed them to all, and assumed them themselves: to take the cross was to vow to make the pious voyage.

The Crusaders separated to prepare for their departure, and to communicate their pious ardour to others. The general meeting was fixed for the spring of the following year. The enthusiasm extended even to the lowest classes; every one became eager to merit salvation by escaping from a miserable state of existence, and to experience a life of adventures in distant, unknown countries. An immense number of serfs, labourers, vagabonds, women and children, quickly assembled; their frantic impatience was blind to obstacles, and would brook no delay: they set out in two bands, one conducted by Peter the Hermit, and the other by a knight, named Walter the Penniless. Their furious zeal signalized itself on the way by a massacre of Jews; they devastated, for their subsistence, the countries they passed through, roused all the indigenous populations against them by their conduct, and almost all perished with hunger, fatigue, and misery, without reaching the Holy Land. But the flower of European chivalry had taken up arms with the cross, and nobles impawned their estates to provide for the expenses of the enterprise. They were divided into three formidable armies, the first commanded by Robert Courte-Heuse, son of William the Conqueror; the second by Godfrey of Bouillon, the hero of his age; and the third marched under the banners of Raymond, count of St. Gilles. Godfrey, whose force consisted of ten thousand knights and seventy thousand foot-soldiers, was proclaimed commander-in-chief; his warriors were from France, Lorraine, and Germany. Constantinople,

then governed by the emperor Alexius Comnenus, was the place fixed upon for the general meeting. The emperor received them with suspicion and dissatisfaction, and hastened to supply them with vessels to transport them across the Bosphorus, after having artfully obtained from them an oath of homage for their future conquests. The Crusaders at first obtained possession of Nice ; then, after sanguinary conflicts and triumphs, of Antioch, and at length completed the great object of their wishes in the conquest of Jerusalem. In 1099 a Christian kingdom was founded in Palestine, and Godfrey of Bouillon was acknowledged king of it by the title of baron of the Holy Sepulchre. Feudalism was organized in the East ; three great fiefs were created of the crown of Jerusalem : these were the principalities of Antioch and Edessa, and the county of Tripoli. There was a marquis of Jaffa, a prince of Galilee, and a baron of Sidon ; and the name of Franks became in Asia the common name for western Christians. Such were the principal facts of this first and celebrated crusade. There only returned to Europe about a tenth part of those who had quitted it : almost all the foot-soldiers perished ; either by battle, famine, disease, or shipwreck.

Philip I. took no part in this expedition ; he associated himself in none of the great enterprises which signalized the times in which he lived, and his reign presents the historian with little worthy of being recorded. In 1072, the widow of his guardian Baldwin count of Flanders, having been despoiled by his brother Robert the Frison, she had recourse to Philip ; the king took up arms in her cause, marched against Robert, and experienced, before Cassel, a shameful defeat. He maintained also, for twelve years, a war against William the Conqueror : this war was not marked by any memorable event. William corrupted the counsellors and partisans of Philip by offering them the bait of great domains in England ; Philip, on his side, promised protection to all the malcontent Normans, and took the part of Robert, eldest son of William, when he rebelled against his father. After a truce, and during a sickness of the duke, the king, laughing at his extreme corpulency, asked at what time he expected to be put to bed : William, upon hearing this joke, became furiously angry, and swore to bring him more wax-lights at his churching than would be agreeable to him. He assembled a formidable army, and was preparing to invade the territories of Philip, when he fell ill at Rouen, where he died, in 1087. Scarcely was he dead, when the nobles who sur-

rounded him set off in haste for their castles, his domestics plundered the place of everything, even to the bed he had died on, and left the body of the conqueror upon the bare floor. A poor knight found him in this condition, and, moved with pity, covered him with death-clothes at his own expense, and prepared to have him buried. He had pronounced the funeral service, and the body was already in the grave, when a Norman, named Anselm, advanced and said :— “ This earth belongs to me, the man whose praises you have just pronounced robbed me of it. Upon this very spot was my paternal mansion ; that man obtained possession of it against all justice, and without paying me the value of it. In the name of God, I forbid you to cover the body of the ravisher with earth that is mine.” A memorable example of the vanity of an existence full of grandeur and iniquity ; a striking and precursive sign of the justice with which he was threatened, on his entrance to another life, who had founded his power upon rapine, and upon the extermination and mourning of nations. This William, conqueror of a great kingdom, and ravisher of immense domains in a foreign country, only obtained by pity a grave in his own native land : the assistants at his funeral were obliged to pay down the money for it upon his coffin-lid. Not one of his three sons rendered him the last duties ; but they immediately commenced a furious war for his heritage. William Rufus succeeded him in England, and afterwards got possession of Normandy, whilst Robert was fighting in Palestine.

The death of the redoubtable William was a great subject of joy for Philip, and allowed him leisure and impunity to continue his indolent and scandalous career. He had espoused Bertha, daughter of the count of Holland ; he grew tired of her, and shut her up in a convent ; then he carried off Bertrade, wife of Foulque le Rechin, count of Anjou, and married her. Pope Urban ordered this marriage to be dissolved, and upon Philip's refusal, a council held at Autun, 1094, pronounced sentence of excommunication upon him. Philip submitted to being from that time deprived of the external marks of royalty ; he was afflicted with painful infirmities, in which he recognised the chastisements of God ; and in 1100 he associated his son Louis with him on the throne, and no longer reigned but by name. A horrible fear of hell got possession of his mind ; he renounced, from humility, being buried in the royal tomb of the kings, at St. Denis, and died in 1108, in the habit of a Benedictine monk.

CHAPTER III.

Reigns of Louis VI. and Louis VII. 1108—1179.

LOUIS VI.

THE reign of Philip I. and his immediate predecessors had been nothing but one long anarchy : nevertheless, France had not remained stationary ; towards the end of the eleventh century it had made great progress. The cities were more numerous, more populous, more industrious ; the citizens began to obtain their freedom, and defended their liberties with arms ; the French language and French poetry were born ; the clergy favoured with their most earnest efforts the progress of scientific and literary instruction ; and they loaded with wealth, and raised to the highest dignities, all who distinguished themselves by their attainments ; but they gave a narrow and false direction to studies, which consisted principally of idle and subtle discussions upon logic and theology.

The early Capetian kings remained strangers and almost indifferent to the progress of France under their reign, and, out of it, had exercised no personal influence. Louis VI., named at first *l'Éveillé*, then *le Gros*, and afterwards *le Batailleur*, understood the spirit of his times better : he was the first knight of his kingdom, and it was helm on head and lance in hand that he sought and obtained the esteem of all.

His states, almost confined to the cities of Paris, Orleans, Etampes, Melun, Compiègne and their territories, were bounded on the north by those of Robert the Jeroslymitan, count of Flanders, and on the east by the states of Hugh I., count of Champagne. The domains of Thibaut, count of Meaux, of Chartres, and of Blois, and those of Foulque V., count of Anjou and Touraine, pressed in upon this feeble kingdom of France, which was surrounded on the west side by the vast possessions of Henry I., son of William the Conqueror, king of England and duke of Normandy. Louis had to contend, during the whole of his life, with his powerful neighbours, the most formidable of whom was Henry I. After a first struggle, without any important result, for the castle of Gisors, he embraced, against Henry, the defence of his nephew, William Clinton, son of Robert Courte-Heuse,

dispossessed, as well as his father, of the duchy of Normandy. Louis VI. was conquered at the battle of Brenneville, fought in 1119.

He immediately made an appeal to the militias of the cities and the Church, and found them disposed to second him; the bishops ordered the curates to arm their parishioners, and these, led by their pastors, ranged themselves under the royal standard, entered Normandy with Louis VI., and committed great ravages. A council, at which the pope, Calixtus II., presided, was assembled at Reims, with an intention of putting an end to this ruinous war; Louis presented himself before the assembly, and exposed his griefs. The conditions of the peace were regulated by this council; and Henry was left in possession of Normandy, for which his son rendered homage to the king of France.

In addition to this important war, Louis le Gros was doomed to a perpetual struggle with the nobles of his kingdom, and, among others, with Thomas de Marles, son of Enguerrand de Coucy. They infested the roads of Orleans and Paris, like brigands, pillaged the villages, and robbed travelling traders. The king, by force of arms, reduced many of them to obedience, or, at least, diminished their means of doing wrong, and procured public safety in his states; but such was then the weakness of a king of France, that Philip I. had during the whole of his life vainly attempted to make himself master of the *tower* of the Sieur de Montlhery, at six leagues from the capital. This noble was guilty of open brigandage, and was generally feared: Louis le Gros conquered him in his stronghold, and, by exchange, united this lordship with his own dominions.

The king associated his eldest son Philip with him in the throne. This young prince gave brilliant hopes: he perished, however, by accident, and the king substituted for him his second son Louis, surnamed the Young. He afterwards continued an unsuccessful war against Henry I. till the death of that prince, in 1135. A sanguinary contest for the succession of the English monarchy was carried on between Stephen of Boulogne, his nephew, and his daughter Matilda, widow of the emperor Henry V., and wife, by a second marriage, of Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou, the source of the celebrated house of Plantagenet, which reigned so long over England. William X., the powerful duke of Aquitaine and count of Poitou, supported the pretensions of Geoffrey, and, with him, laid Normandy waste with fire and

sword : both left the country loaded with the maledictions of the people. William, penetrated with remorse, undertook a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostello, in Spain, and offered his daughter Eleanor to Louis VII. This alliance promised to double the domains of the king, who hastened to conclude it : he sent his son with a brilliant train into Aquitaine, and the marriage was celebrated between two funeral pomps, that of William X., who died on his pilgrimage, and that of Louis le Gros, which took place in the same year, 1137.

We may perceive in this reign, particularly after the battle of Brenneville, an appearance of an alliance between the king and the Church, and the king and the commonalty of the kingdom. The support of the king was necessary for the Church, and for the nascent municipalities in the struggle against the oppression of the feudal nobility ; it is to this community of interests that the kings of France owed, in a great degree, at first, the conservation of their crown, and afterwards their preponderance and their conquests. The sanction given by Louis VI. to the enfranchisement of several communes illustrated his reign ; nevertheless, he only legitimated accomplished revolutions ; he never exerted himself so far as to redeem vassals from the obedience due to their lords : he almost always sanctioned, for a pecuniary compensation, arrangements or treaties of peace entered into by the nobles and the citizens ; he was neither the founder of the liberties of the people, nor the enemy of the privileges of the nobility. An illustrious man, Abbot Suger, at this period acquired a great reputation as a statesman of political ability, and as a profound scholar ; he obtained, by merit alone, the abbacy of St. Denis, the sanctuary of the first patron of the kingdom. "*Montjoie et St. Denis*" was for ages the battle-cry of the French ; the banner under which the vassals of the abbey fought became the national standard. Louis le Gros and his successors went devoutly to take it from the altar when they set out on an expedition, and brought it back with great pomp at the end of the war : it was called the *oriflamme*, because the staff was covered with gold, and the outward edge of the stuff of the flag was cut in the shape of flames.

The schools of Paris acquired great celebrity during this reign. It was the epoch of the famous quarrels between the philosophical sects of the *realists* and the *nominalists*. The first admitted no reality but in that which they termed

universals, that is to say, *general ideas*, *collective beings*, and attached themselves to the Platonic philosophy ; the second saw in *universals* nothing but words, names, simple abstractions of the mind, and chose Aristotle as their leader. These two sects had for chiefs men of great renown. Roscelin of Compiègne maintained with great reputation, in the twelfth century, the doctrine of the *nominals*, whilst his *realist* adversary, William de Champeaux, directed the school of the cloister of Notre Dame, at Paris. At this time appeared the Breton Abelard, as celebrated by his unfortunate love for Heloise as by his knowledge and his immortal genius. A profound logician, without a rival in dialectics, and of wonderful eloquence, Abelard shone in the highest rank among the *nominalists*. His prodigious success in philosophy did not at all shake his religious and Christian faith ; but he was desirous of submitting the Catholic dogma to analysis, and strengthening it by reason. His principles on various points of theology, among others, upon *free will*, appeared to be opposed to the decisions of the councils, and he was condemned, in the first instance, by the Council of Soissons, for having taught without the previous approbation of the pope and the Church. Abelard returned to the solitary *Landes* of Champagne, where he built with his own hands an oratory of stubble and reeds, which afterwards became the celebrated abbey of the *Paraclete*. His disciples, among whom was the illustrious Arnold of Brescia, discovered his retreat ; they flocked to him from all parts ; they braved the austerities of the desert to follow their master, to hear his word, to pray and meditate with him. Persecuted, condemned afresh, Abelard sought a more secure retreat in the abbey of St. Gildas, in Brittany ; then, all at once, braving his enemies, he reappeared with greater splendour than ever at Paris, whither his reputation attracted an immense number of students from all parts of Europe ; his books flew from hand to hand, his doctrines were spread from the capital to the extremities of the kingdom, his glory was at its height, when a redoubtable antagonist struck him down with the thunders of the irritated Church. This man was St. Bernard, the founder of the celebrated abbey of *Clairvaux* ; an illustrious enthusiast, who carried monkish austerities to the most unheard-of rigour, living a life rather ecstatic than terrestrial, bearing in a weak frame, extenuated by vigils and abstinence, an incomparable vigour of soul ; supporting his words and acts with an authority derived from a conviction of a holy

mission and a supernatural inspiration ; no man, in an age when the faith of nations was so strong and their reason so weak, exercised more influence over his contemporaries. The pope, the emperor, kings, bishops, peoples, all bowed to the authority of his genius : at one time he extinguished a schism, or drew up, in the depths of his cell, the constitution of a religious order ; at another, directing at will the swords of kings, he ordered their armies to the east or the south, according to the interests of the Church. *His word*, it was said, *was as a law of fire which issued from his mouth*, and nothing was talked of but the miraculous cures that accompanied his footsteps. This prodigious man taxed with pride every attempt of reason to fathom mysteries ; he became violently irritated with Abelard for explaining inexplicable dogmas, and cried out in the bitterness of his soul : "*They are searching to the very entrails the secrets of God.*" A new council was assembled at Sens, and the two great rivals appeared there in the presence of the king, the nobles, and the bishops ; but Abelard, doubtless foreseeing that the discussion would not be free, declined the solemn debate, and referred the matter to the pope : he was condemned to seclusion in a convent to the end of his days. Then, bowing his head, he confessed himself conquered, and concealed his existence in the monastery of Cluny ; he terminated it in 1142, in a priory near Chalons, where he died reconciled with St. Bernard. He had a more powerful adversary than even this great man to contend with. Abelard struggled, during the whole of his life, against the dominant spirit of his age, which regarded as a culpable insurrection every effort of human reason that was not authorized by the Church. The genius which animated him survived him ; but several centuries passed away before a part of Europe ventured to proclaim and admit the great principle of which Abelard was unable to procure the triumph—liberty of examination and discussion in matters of conscience and faith.

LOUIS VII.

Louis VII., called le Jeune, announced on ascending the throne a character as warlike as that of his father. He supported Geoffrey Plantagenet against his competitor Stephen, and assisted him in conquering Normandy, for which Geoffrey paid him homage. England was left to Stephen, with his recognition of his concurrent as heir to his crown. Louis restrained within the limits of their duties both the nobles

and the clergy : he opposed the usurpations of Pope Innocent II., and refused to acknowledge the archbishop of Bourges, elected by that pontiff, who thereupon placed under an interdict every place at which the monarch should reside. Louis VII. was the fourth Capetian king thus struck by the thunders of the Church. No family had shown more deference towards the court of Rome, and none had been treated with more rigour.

The most memorable event of this reign was the second crusade, preached with immense success by St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, and commanded by the king in person. Louis fancied he had a great crime to expiate : in a war with Thibaut, count of Champagne, his soldiers had set fire to the church of Vitry, and thirteen hundred persons perished in the flames. Terrified at this disaster, he demanded absolution of the pope, and only obtained it of Celestine II., the successor of Innocent. This was not enough to restore calm to his conscience. Edessa, in Palestine, had yielded to the arms of the sultan Zinghi ; nothing was talked of in Christendom but the fall of this famous city, and of the massacre of its inhabitants ; and from all parts arose cries of fury and vengeance. France was first roused by the voice of St. Bernard, and communicated the movement to Europe. Louis VII. assumed the cross ; he asked permission to set out, of Suger, abbot of St. Denis, from whom he held Vexin in fief, and received the oriflamme from his hands. He confided the regency of his kingdom to this great and good man, who may be said to have been constrained to sanction the expedition, and set forward at the head of a hundred thousand French. Here ended his reputation as a king or a knight. Conrad, emperor of Germany, had preceded him with an army quite as formidable. Greek guides betrayed him in Asia Minor, and his troops were surprised and destroyed in the defiles of Lycaonia : Louis VII. gathered together the wrecks of this army, but lost more than half of his own in the mountains of Laodicea. He in vain attempted numerous enterprises ; every one of them was marked with failure : at length the whole expedition of Louis VII. was resolved, as far as the king was concerned, into a devout pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. He returned into Europe with the crusade princes, bringing back only a few soldiers—his entire army was annihilated. In all these surprising, and, to us, unaccountable enterprises, such was the case ; amidst perils of sea, and imprisonment from

enemies and rivals, many of the leaders got back to Europe ; but scarcely any of the common or foot-soldiers ever regained their homes.

The deplorable result of this crusade deprived Louis of all his popularity ; his character even appeared weakened by it, and from that time he exhibited more of the monk, than the king. Queen Eleanor, a high-spirited woman, who had accompanied him to the Holy Land, and had there added to his discomforts by the freedom of her conduct, became indignant at his increasing imbecility ; she despised him, and procured a dissolution of their marriage under the pretext of relationship. She soon after gave her hand to Henry Plantagenet, heir of the sceptre of England, and brought with her, as dowry, Aquitaine, of which this fatal divorce deprived France. Louis VII. tremblingly beheld half of his states pass over to his rival, and in vain tried every means to create an obstacle to this marriage. The new husband of Eleanor succeeded Stephen on the English throne, and became the celebrated Henry II. He subdued Ireland, threatened Scotland, and was also the most redoubtable and powerful of the sovereigns of the continent, as possessor of Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Poitou, Aquitaine, and Normandy. He at first treated Louis with much consideration, and united his son, seven years of age, with the daughter of Louis, still in the cradle. War broke out on the subject of the dowry of this princess, and, all at once, Louis met with a powerful auxiliary in the English clergy, roused against Henry II. by the famous Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate, at first a courtier, then chancellor of the king of England, and designated by him, as his creature, to occupy the highest episcopal seat of his kingdom, scarcely found himself safely placed thereon than he forgot his obligations towards Henry, and abandoned the pleasures of the court for the austere duties which he regarded as inseparable from his new situation. He took in hand that which Gregory VII. had maintained to the period of his death,—spiritual authority against temporal authority ; and while Pope Alexander III. was contending with great difficulty against the anti-pope Victor, and the powerful Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, Becket constituted himself, in the West, the most intrepid champion of the Church, of which Henry II., by the edict of Clarendon, had violated the privileges, in suppressing ecclesiastical tribunals and *benefit of clergy*. These privileges gave rise to great abuses, and

secured impunity to many of the guilty ; but such were the barbarous ignorance and odious venality of the public tribunals of the twelfth century, that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction alone inspired any confidence in the people, and the least heavy yoke was still that of the Church. Becket, pursued, by the resentment of Henry II., took refuge in France, where Louis welcomed him with great favour, and the war between the two kings was carried on in the most disastrous manner for their people. Thomas à Becket returned into England, and the exasperated Henry one day exclaimed, in a transport of rage, "Will none of the cowards I support deliver me from this priest?" These words were heard ; and four knights, devoted to the king, assassinated Becket at the foot of the altar.

A cry of malediction immediately arose from the whole Church against the homicide monarch, and the canonized prelate became more fatal to Henry II. after his death than he had been during his life. Every one withdrew with horror from the king, who, to appease public clamour, submitted to a humiliating penance. The most redoubtable prince of Christendom was seen imploring pardon, fasting and barefooted, during forty-eight hours, in the cathedral in which the murder had been committed, and submitting to be beaten with rods, by the clergy, the monks, and the choristers of that church.

Henry II. enjoyed no happiness afterwards ; his wife Eleanor, irritated by his infidelities, excited his three sons to revolt, and, according to the shameful custom of the times, Louis VII. supported them in their impious war. They paid homage to him for Normandy, Aquitaine, and Brittany, but were conquered by their father : the two kings became reconciled. Louis VII. caused his son Philip Augustus to be crowned, and performed a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas à Becket : he at length died, leaving the reputation of a devout king, full of respect for the holy orders, and of mildness towards his subjects, but entirely destitute of greatness or political ability. He lived too long for his own glory or the prosperity of France, which lost in the second half of his reign the provinces acquired in the first part by his marriage, and which were only definitively recovered after ages of conflicts and disasters.

During the reign of this king, Frederick Barbarossa commenced a furious contest with the cities of Lombardy, which, for a long time, inundated Italy with blood, and weakened

the imperial power by increasing the influence of the sovereign pontiffs. This famous war is known in history as the war of the Guelphs and the Ghibelines; the latter were supported by the emperor, the former were of the pope's party, and fought for the independence of the Lombard cities. The popes then contended for the liberty of the peoples against the despotism of kings and of the feudal aristocracy.

CHAPTER IV.

Reigns of Philip Augustus, and of Louis VIII. 1179—1226.

PHILIP II.

WHEN Philip II., surnamed Augustus, mounted the throne, the territory of which France is at present formed was held almost entirely of powerful monarchs. Most of the provinces, at first independent, had recognised the suzerainty of a monarch; those of the west in a great measure obeyed the king of England; those of the east, the emperor of Germany; and those of the north, the king of France; Provence and a part of Languedoc, were fiefs of the king of Arragon. Philip saw all these rival crowns eclipsed by his own, and it was his glory to have been the first of his race who caused his influence to be felt from the Scheld to the Mediterranean, and from the Rhine to the ocean. Great events marked the course of his reign: these were the third and fourth crusades; the sudden increase of the monarchical power by the confiscation of the continental provinces of the king of England, and the destruction of the Albigeois, or heretics of Languedoc and Provence.

Before the age of fifteen years, this king signalized his accession to the throne by a frightful persecution of the Jews, whom he plundered and drove from his kingdom; he proved still more cruel to a sect of heretics called *Paterins*, whom he condemned to the flames. Blasphemers found in him a pitiless judge; the rich were forced to pay a fine of twenty golden sous; the poor were cast into the river. A series of battles and negotiations with the great vassals of the crown occupied the early years of this reign. Philip married the daughter of the count of Flanders, and obtained by this marriage the city of Amiens and the barrier of the Somme, so important to the defence of his states, to which

he afterwards added the cities of Mans and Tours ; he exhibited his skilful policy by employing culpable means in fomenting civil wars among his neighbours, and by exciting, till the death of Henry II., the sons of that monarch to rebel against their father. Henry died of grief, at Chinon, after having signed a humiliating treaty with Philip Augustus and his son Richard, and learnt the revolt of John, his third son. Richard succeeded him on the throne of England, and merited by his rash, impetuous valour, the surname of Cœur-de-Lion.

The kingdom of Jerusalem at this period experienced great disasters. Yielding to the effects of the climate and the manners of the East, the Christians residing there had the appearance of a degenerated race. Most of their leaders had brought their misfortunes upon themselves by believing themselves exempt from keeping faith with infidels, forgetting, or rather being ignorant, that the best proof of the superiority of a religion consists in respect for virtue and truth. Guy of Lusignan was then king of Jerusalem, and Saladin, surnamed the great, ruled over the Saracens in Egypt and Syria. Christian Europe was moved a third time ; but before the arrival of the Crusaders in the East, Lusignan had allowed himself to be conquered, Saladin had gained the celebrated battle of Tiberias, and Jerusalem and its king had fallen into the power of the conqueror. This terrible news filled Christendom with consternation and mourning ; a formidable expedition was prepared ; the three greatest sovereigns of Europe—Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, Richard, king of England, and Philip, king of France,—took the cross, and each led a numerous army into Palestine. The effects responded but very ill to such great preparations : Frederick, before reaching the Holy Land, was drowned in crossing the river Selef, near Seleucia ; Philip and Richard quarrelled at the siege of St. Jean d'Acre ; the first was jealous of the amazing exploits of his rival ; the second was indignant and angry at the superiority which Philip affected towards him as his suzerain lord, and endured very impatiently the feudal yoke. The king of France returned to his kingdom, leaving part of his army under the orders of Richard, and swearing, on quitting him, not to undertake anything against him, but to defend his states as if they were his own. Richard pursued his heroic career in Palestine ; he gained brilliant but fruitless victories, and fatigued the Crusaders, who, murmuring and dissatisfied at their long

absence from their homes, at length forced him to quit the Holy Land. Saladin offered the Christians peaceful possession of the plains of Judea, and the liberty of coming as pilgrims to Jerusalem : Richard treated with him on these conditions, and embarked for Europe. He landed in Austria, upon the territories of Duke Leopold, his mortal enemy, who gave him up to the emperor Henry VI., whose hatred Richard had excited : Henry imprisoned him closely in the castle of Diernstein, and immediately informed the king of France of the circumstance.

Philip had returned to his dominions full of animosity against the king of England. His first care had been to address the pope, in order to be freed from the oath he had taken : upon the refusal of the pontiff, and after learning the captivity of his rival, Philip, impatient to violate his faith, looked about for some pious compensation for his breach of faith. Before he attacked the states of his brother in arms, he caused eighty Jews to be cast into the flames before his eyes, and, flattering himself he had thus compounded with Heaven, he then began the war. Richard was, at the same time, betrayed by his brother John, who seized upon part of his states, and, in conjunction with Philip, offered enormous sums to the emperor to detain the English monarch prisoner. But the captivity of this prince, the hero of the crusade, excited the indignation of all Europe, and the expression of public feeling constrained Henry VI. to restore him to liberty ; but not without exacting enormous sacrifices. He required of him, in a diet of the empire, homage as to his suzerain, and released him after ruining him by the exorbitant ransom he insisted upon. Richard returned unexpectedly to his dominions, quickly reduced his brother to submission, and avenged himself on Philip by allying himself with the powerful counts his enemies. The war was carried on by these two rivals with various success ; they at length signed a truce for five years, and Richard was shortly afterwards killed at the siege of the petty fortress of Chalus-Chabrol, in Poitou (1199).

John, Henry II.'s last son, seized the crown of England, and Philip, in opposition to him, supported the just pretensions of his nephew, Arthur of Brittany : this young prince promised Philip homage for all his possessions in France, and yielded Normandy to him. A sanguinary war ensued, in which Arthur and his knights were taken prisoners by King John, and died assassinated. It is said that his uncle re-

paired by night to the castle of Rouen, where he held him captive, and after having in vain endeavoured, by promises and threats, to induce him to give up his claims, he plunged his sword into him, fastened a heavy stone to his body, and, with his own hands, precipitated it into the river. This frightful crime excited universal indignation, and its chastisement proved beneficial to France. It produced a measure which was serviceable to the interests of the crown, as well by its immediate results, as by the idea it gave of the power of the French monarch, and of the dependence of his great vassals. John, king of England, vassal of the crown, was cited by Philip, his suzerain, before his peers, to answer, among other principal accusations, for the murder of his nephew Arthur. He did not dispute the jurisdiction, but dreading the sentence of the tribunal, he did not appear: the court of peers condemned him to death as contumacious; Normandy, and all the lands he held in fief of France, were declared confiscated, and acquired by the king, as reverting to the crown. This reunion did not, however, take place without numerous conflicts and a horrible effusion of blood. In this war John was his own principal enemy. His cruelties, exactions, and avarice disgusted and roused his people against him; he attacked the clergy in their property, and was consequently excommunicated; and Pope Innocent III. offered his states to Philip, who collected an army and meditated a descent upon England. John, alarmed at the threatened storm, became as humble to the Church as he had been insolent; he submitted to the pope, and paid him homage for his crown. Philip then marched against him in virtue of the pontifical sentence; but the baseness of John had changed the views of the Holy See, they had been for Philip, but they were now in favour of the king of England. Pandulph, the legate of the Roman pontiff, went into France, and forbade Philip to cross the sea; then, to calm his indignation, he directed his attention to the county of Flanders, as a rich prey promised to his army, which would be quite compensated for their disappointment by the plunder of so many opulent cities: Flanders was to pay for England. This advice was followed: ancient bickerings and grief divided Ferrand, count of this province, and Philip; the king was determined to obtain satisfaction. Ferrand hastened to conclude a treaty with John, king of England, and with his relation, Otho of Germany. The French army met that of the enemy between Lille and Tournai; and a great battle

was fought at the Bridge of Bouvines. The emperor and the king of France commanded in person, and the latter gained a brilliant victory. Five counts, among whom was Ferrand of Flanders, fell into his hands. The communes of fifteen French cities sent their militias to this battle, and they rivalled the knights in their exploits and glory. Philip was received in Paris amidst the acclamations of his people, and the glorious battle of Bouvines, in which he vanquished three sovereigns, greatly raised the consideration and renown of the Capetian dynasty in the eyes of Europe.

John had never contemplated, when laying his kingdom at the foot of the Church, to make any sacrifice of his criminal passions. He rendered himself so odious and contemptible, that his barons formed a league against him, and forced him, arms in hand, on the 15th of June, 1215, to sign the charter which became the basis of the liberties of the English nation, and which is known under the name of the great charter of England. The king, by it, engaged not to despoil widows and minors confided to his guardianship, never to levy taxes without the consent of the Great Council, and never to imprison, mutilate, or condemn to death freeholders, merchants, or peasants, without the sentence of twelve of their peers. These clauses appeared intolerable to the despotic king, and he only swore to the observance of them, in the hope of being released by the pope; which, in fact, he soon was; and the barons then offered the crown to Louis of France, son of Philip Augustus. This prince, in spite of the wish of his father and the prohibition of the pope, whose legate excommunicated him, passed over into England, where he was received with open arms by the barons, and took possession of part of the kingdom: but at this critical period John died, and his partisans immediately proclaimed his son Henry king. The English people embraced the cause of this child, partly from habitual feelings towards the descendant of their kings, but more from their dislike and dread of a foreign yoke; and Louis, abandoned by those who had invited him over, returned into France, after having contributed to the establishment of the liberties of England upon more solid bases.

Philip Augustus experienced, in excommunication, the common fate of almost all his race. It was inflicted upon him in consequence of his third marriage with Agnes de Meran, during the lifetime of his second wife, Ingeberga of Denmark. He endeavoured to resist, but all his possessions were struck by the interdict; the people of his states were

not allowed to marry, to communicate, or to bury their dead ; they were seized with terror, and the king, in the end, was forced to submit, much more from necessity than either scruple concerning the offence or respect for his judge.

A fourth crusade took place during this reign. It was preached by the enthusiast, Foulque of Neuilly. The powerful counts of Flanders and Champagne set the example and were crossed ; they were followed by the Dampiers, the Montmorencys, the famous Simon de Montfort, and a crowd of nobles from the north of France, to whom the Venetians supplied fifty galleys for the transporting of the army. The marquis of Montferrat and the count of Flanders were the ostensible leaders of this expedition, but which was, in reality, directed by the old blind doge Dandolo. Under the pretext of obtaining the price of their transport, he led the crusaders to the conquest of Zora, the capital of Dalmatia, of which he took possession in the name of the Venetian republic ; then, availing himself of a civil war which desolated the Byzantine empire, and of the promises of a young Greek prince, who came to the camp of the crusaders and implored their aid to re-establish his father, Isaac Comnenus, on the throne, Dandolo pointed out Constantinople to them as a rich prey, easy to be seized, and induced them to commence the crusade by that conquest. In vain the pope threw obstacles in the way of this adventurous expedition ; in vain a great number of the crusaders separated themselves from the main body and went directly to Palestine, Dandolo led the army upon Constantinople, which disputed with Venice the empire of the sea. The crusaders took this famous capital twice ; and the second time, the imperial family of Byzantium was deposed by them, the empire shared among them, divided into fiefs, and Baldwin, count of Flanders, descended from Charlemagne, was elected emperor of Constantinople. The Venetians required, as their part, three of the eight quarters of the city, and obtained, besides, most of the islands and the sea-board of the empire ; the marquis of Montferrat had the kingdom of Thessalonica ; the Morea became a principality, and the territory of Athens a feudal duchy.

Whatever was the importance of this great event, that which most deeply agitated Europe during the reign of Philip Augustus, was the war of the Albigeois, or the crusade undertaken against the sectaries of the south. These were found in great numbers in Provence, Catalonia, and particularly in Languedoc, counties that were then all fiefs

of the crown of Arragon. The inhabitants of these provinces were industrious, ingenious, addicted to commerce, to the arts, and to poetry ; their numerous and flourishing cities were governed by consuls, with forms very closely approaching to republican. All at once this beautiful region was given up to the furies of fanaticism, its cities were ruined, its arts and its commerce destroyed, and its language degraded back into barbarism. The preaching of the first religious reform gave birth to the devastation of these rich countries. The clergy were not there distinguished as in France and the northern provinces, by their ardour to gather knowledge themselves, and to spread it among the people ; they signalized themselves by great disorders, and every day sunk into deeper contempt. The need of reform had been long felt by the Provençal populations, and several active reformers had already appeared ; for some time associations had been formed, whose aim was to purify the morals and the doctrines of the Church ; these were the Paterins, the Catharins, and the Poor of Lyons, and most of them had obtained the sanction of the popes, who considered them as so many orders of monks, fit to rouse and keep alive public fervour. But the reforms which were operated extended gradually, dogmas even were attacked, priests were insulted by the people, and the domains of the church were invaded. Such was the state of things when the famous Innocent III., at the age of thirty-nine, ascended the pontifical throne, in 1198 ; he brought to it the talents of an ambitious man, and the energies of a violent and inflexible character. This pontiff, who dominated over Europe, by means of indulgences and excommunications, watched for and punished every free exercise of thought in religious matters ; he was the first to be sensible of all that the freedom of mind, which already degenerated into revolt, announced that was serious and menacing to the church of Rome ; he observed with inquietude and anger the new tendency of men's minds in Provence and Languedoc, and at once proscribed the reformers, the most numerous of whom, and who gave their name to all the others, were called Vaudois or Albigeois. Some among them were Manicheans, that is to say, they admitted the two principles ; but the bulk of them, known under the name of Vaudois or Albigeois, professed doctrines differing but very little from those which, three centuries later, were preached by Luther. They denied transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Eucharist, rejected confession,

and the sacraments of confirmation and marriage, and taxed the worship of images with idolatry. The principal focuses of reform were Toulouse, Beziers, and Carcassonne ; Toulouse in particular, a vast, powerful, and industrious city, and which had as count, Raymond VI., the richest prince in Christendom ; his nephew, Raymond Roger, a young man full of ardour and courage, was viscount of Beziers : both of them held their fiefs of the crown of Arragon, and, without breaking with Rome, they had favoured the new doctrinaries.

Innocent III., impatient to stifle the heresy, at once sent inquisitors into the province of Narbonne, where they were badly received : the legate, Cardinal Peter Castelnau, succeeded them ; he excommunicated Raymond, who, terrified by the menaces of the Roman pontiff, was forced to submit, and allow the persecutions. A gentleman, a vassal of the count, indignant at the humiliations of his suzerain, and at the ferocity of the legate, assassinated the latter, and by this murder furnished an excuse for the pope to order a crusade to be preached against the states of Raymond VI. and his nephew. The monks of Citeaux seconded the vengeance of Innocent ; they offered ample indulgences to all who would bear arms for forty days against the sectaries. These indulgences promised to efface all sins committed since the birth of the crusaders, however enormous, or however numerous they might be. A multitude of English, French, and Germans, eager to gain heaven at so little expense, flocked to the standard of the pontiff. The immense preparations of the crusaders struck Raymond with terror ; weakened by age, and in no condition to offer a vigorous resistance, he submitted, and repaired to the abbot of Citeaux, the pope's new legate. The abbot allowed him to be reconciled to the Church, upon the hard conditions of flagellating himself with rods at the foot of the altar, leading the columns of his enemies to the very centre of his states, and yielding up to them his best and strongest castles. The young count of Beziers, the nephew of Raymond, indignant at the pusillanimous conduct of his uncle, declared war against him, and determined to bury himself and his knights under the ruins of his strong places, rather than submit to such degradation. The crusaders precipitated themselves in a mass upon his states, seized his castles, burnt all the men they found in them, violated the women, and massacred the children. They next threatened Beziers, and carried it by storm : a prodigious number of the inhabitants of the surrounding coun-

try had taken refuge within the walls of that city ; the legate, upon being consulted by the conquering knights upon the fate of these unfortunate people, a part of whom only were heretics, pronounced these execrable and never-to-be-forgotten words : "*Kill them all ! kill them all ! God will distinguish and take care of his own !*" A frightful massacre followed this reply, and the city was reduced to ashes. The army of the crusaders then advanced upon Carcassonne, but were repulsed with loss by the viscount of Beziers. This young hero went to the legate to treat for peace, but was arrested with three hundred of his knights, notwithstanding a safe-conduct, in virtue of the maxim "*that no one is bound to keep faith with heretics or infidels.*" The inhabitants of Carcassonne evacuated the city by subterranean passages, unknown to the crusaders ; four hundred and fifty of them were, however, taken, and hung or burnt : the crusaders themselves, sated with horrors, and loaded with plunder, wished to retire at the end of their forty days. The legate made useless efforts to detain them, and gave up the whole of the conquered country to the ferocious Simon de Montfort, together with the unfortunate viscount of Beziers, who was poisoned.

One part only of the Albigeois had been subdued and destroyed by this first crusade : the states of the count of Toulouse still remained untouched, and it was against these that the monks of Citeaux preached fresh crusades throughout Europe, in the following years. In vain the unfortunate Raymond endeavoured to avert the storm ; the council of St. Gilles imposed infamous conditions upon him, insisting upon his delivering up to the stake and the pile all whom the priests should denounce. Old Raymond then remembered his heroic nephew and the tens of thousands of slaughtered men whose blood cried for vengeance ; his indignation revived his virtue, and he prepared for war to the death. The crusaders arrived from all parts ; Simon de Montfort placed himself at their head, and signalized himself by frightful cruelties : immense piles were prepared, the legate and Foulquet, bishop of Toulouse, fed them with suspected Catholics as well as with heretics, and, according to the expression of the writers of the day, *burnt them with an infinite joy*. The fatal battle of *Muret*, fought in 1213, assured the triumph of the clergy : Don Pedro, king of Arragon, perished, the Albigeois were conquered, and this defeat was the mortal blow to their cause.

The conquering executioners, after their victory, quarrelled over their spoils, and made war upon each other ; the people once more took courage, and Toulouse was again in arms ; but Montfort made himself master of it by a horrible piece of treachery, devised and executed by Bishop Foulquet : the latter proposed to all the inhabitants, in the name of the God of peace, to go forth to meet De Montfort ; this atrocious commander received them at the head of his knights, *and made prisoners of all*. The war continued with various success : at length the whole of Languedoc rose as one man, and Montfort was killed before Toulouse, which he was besieging. Count Raymond was once more recalled, and entered the city amidst the acclamations of his people ; but he shortly after died, *and the priests refused his body sepulture*. His coffin remained for many years exposed outside the door of a church. His toleration was his principal crime in the eyes of his persecutors ; but a great part of his misfortunes must be attributed to the weakness of his character. Such were the most remarkable events of the war against the Albigeois ; but this was by no means the end of the troubles of this fine country. The clergy would have wished, if possible, to annihilate the very soil which had produced the reformers : the popes caused fresh crusades to be preached against Raymond VII., son and successor of old Count Raymond, and frightful calamities were again inflicted upon these peoples. Their cities were destroyed, their country was laid waste, and at length, after twenty-two years of atrocities, when the beautiful language, the arts, and the industry, of these provinces had disappeared with the reformation, the executioners became weary of their odious work, and the war terminated under the following reign, to the great advantage of France. Raymond VII. yielded to this country a part of his states by the treaty of Paris, in 1229.

Philip Augustus took no active part in this war of extermination. He, on the contrary, sought to repair the disasters of it. Whilst fanaticism was deluging the southern countries with blood, he extended his states and rendered them flourishing. The national assemblies were fallen into desuetude ; Philip called together his principal barons, to form his council and sanction his decrees.

He conquered Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou from the king of England, Picardy and Auvergne from the counts who were in possession of them, and further reunited Artois to his crown by a marriage with Isabella of

Hainault. These acquisitions were as much the fruit of his policy as of his valour. He made his great vassals bow before him, and, by his victories, obtained over them the superiority which was accorded to him by public opinion in right of his royal title. The citation of King John to his tribunal, and the sentence pronounced against him, were mortal blows to the feudal aristocracy ; and the equilibrium of the powers was broken.

Philip Augustus employed all his life in wars, treaties, reformatations, laws concerning property, fiefs, the duties of vassals and the rights of lords ; he was the first to introduce a regular order in these matters, which had, till his time, been abandoned to all the caprices of arbitration. The military art owed some progress to him, soldiers received regular pay ; and to defray this he established the first permanent taxes. He equipped three maritime armaments, and was, in fact, the principal founder of the feudal monarchy. He obtained the respect of sovereigns and their peoples, and was the first among the kings of his race to show any energy when under the displeasure of the Holy See ; but his disputes with Rome did not render him unjust towards the Church, it being he who attached to it the privileges of the *University*. This, in its origin, was the name given to a meeting of men devoted to the study of the sciences ; most of its members being ecclesiastics. The university afterwards comprised all the students, who were divided, according to to their country, into several sections, entitled *Sections of France, England, Normandy, and Picardy*. Paris then witnessed the institution of a number of colleges, many of which acquired great celebrity. All the schools were placed under the authority of the provost of Paris, and Philip Augustus confirmed a bull of Pope Celestine III., by which the scholars were exempted from the civil, and placed within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The university advanced rapidly under the double patronage of the Holy See and royalty ; it was alone possessed of the right to confer the grades of bachelor, licentiate, and doctor in the various faculties of letters and the sciences, and although these franchises and privileges were often the source of great disorders, the university acquired a high reputation, and became one of the powerful bodies of the state. By far the greater number of the students then devoted themselves to the priesthood : the Church of France, at this period, sought with incredible erudition and patience for the scattered monuments of

ancient literature, and kept up a constant struggle against barbarism and ignorance. Philip well understood the great object of the nascent university ; he encouraged its studies with all his power, and was desirous that the abode of those who gave themselves up to them, should become an inviolable asylum. So many cares for an object of general interest did not divert his attention from details of secondary importance. Paris, in particular, owed several useful changes to him. All the streets of that capital were till that time, in rainy weather, nothing but infectious channels of mud and filth ; the chief of them were, by his order, paved and embellished. Philip enlarged the city, inclosed it within a belt of walls, constructed markets, and surrounded the cemetery of the Innocents with cloisters ; he built a palace by the side of the great tower of the Louvre, and caused the cathedral, which had been begun before his time, to be continued. By his institutions and conquests, he fully merited and obtained the esteem of his contemporaries, and died at Nantes, in 1223, after a reign of forty-three years, leaving a moderate portion of his immense treasures to the priests and crusaders, and bestowing upon the poor much more considerable gifts.

LOUIS VIII.

Louis VIII., son of Philip Augustus, only reigned three years : this prince was, on the female side, descended from Charlemagne, and appeared, in his person, to unite the rights* of the Carlovingian and the Capetian houses ; he had, in his father's lifetime, been acknowledged king of England by the barons opposed to King John, but was abandoned by his partisans, and forced to quit that country. He took Poitou from the English, and in concert with Simon de Montfort, commanded the second crusade against the Albigeois. He only signalized his reign by this last expedition, which he undertook in order to complete the subjection of this unfortunate population : all the principal cities opened their gates to him, and he was marching against Toulouse, when an epidemic fever attacked his army. He died at Montpensier, struck by this fatal malady, or, according to some accounts, poisoned by Count Thibaut of Champagne, who was passion-

* By this link of the great chain, Queen Victoria may claim Charlemagne as one of her ancestors, Edward II. having married Isabella of France.—*Trans.*

ately in love with the queen, Blanche of Castille, whom Louis VIII. left a widow, with five children of a tender age. The eldest of his sons was St. Louis.

CHAPTER V.

Reign of Louis IX., called Saint Louis. 1226—1270.

LOUIS IX., justly revered under the name of Saint Louis, was only eleven years old at the death of his father, and the regency of the kingdom was disputed by Queen Blanche, his mother, and his uncle Philip *Hurepel*, son of Philip Augustus and Agnes de Meran, whose marriage the Church had refused to recognise. A great number of nobles supported the pretensions of Philip, and Henry III. of England declared himself their head; but the devotedness of the powerful Thibaut, count of Champagne, secured the advantage to the queen-mother, and determined a part of her opponents to submit. Blanche possessed a great, lofty, and Christian spirit; she gave excellent masters to her children, and brought them up carefully in the fear of God. "My son," said she to the young king, "you know how dear you are to me, and yet I would rather see you dead at my feet, than that you should be guilty of a mortal sin." This pious queen also possessed great political talents, and restrained with firmness the malcontent nobles, who had endeavoured to oppose the coronation of her son; surprised by their troops, she called to her aid the citizens of Paris, who came in arms to her deliverance. It was Blanche who enabled France to derive advantage from the horrible wars of the Albigeois. The treaty of Paris, signed in 1229, secured a great part of the states of Count Raymond VII. to the crown; the possession of Lower Languedoc was secured to France. Toulouse received a French garrison; that city and its county were the dowry brought by Jane, daughter of Raymond, to the third son of Blanche. This queen afterwards enforced the obedience of the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy, in spite of the support afforded by Henry III.; and a truce, which terminated this civil war, was signed at Saint Aubin du Cormier, between her, the barons, and her brother-in-law.

Louis IX. at nineteen years of age, married Marguerite of Provence, who was only thirteen. Queen Blanche sepa-

rated the young couple for six years, and even then was jealous of the influence of Marguerite over the king. The sister of that princess, a few years after, married the king of England, and Henry III. thus became the brother-in-law of Louis IX. The picture presented by France from the treaty of Saint Aubin du Cormier to the majority of the king, is that of a general peace ; but Louis IX. had soon to contend with the great vassals and nobles, upon whom Philip Augustus, his grandfather, had already inflicted some heavy blows. The counts de la Marche, of Foix and Toulouse, joined with Henry III., who crossed the sea with an army, and claimed the provinces taken from John Lackland. The English and their allies were conquered by Louis at the bridge of Taillebourg, and afterwards before the city of Saintes, which he united to the crown with a part of Saintonge, by the treaty of Bordeaux. The revolted nobles submitted, and Henry returned to England.

At this period the whole East trembled at the expectation of a fearful catastrophe. The Mogul Tartars were in motion, and their innumerable hordes issuing from upper Asia, exterminated everything in their passage. Their van invaded the Holy Land, and gained a bloody victory over the Christians and Mussulmans, whom terror had united ; five hundred Templars were left upon the field of battle, and Jerusalem fell into the hands of the ferocious conquerors. Saint Louis was sick and apparently dying when the account of this disaster arrived in Europe. As soon as he felt himself better, to the great astonishment of all, he commanded that the red cross should be affixed to his bed and to his clothes, and he made a solemn vow to go and fight for the tomb of Christ. His mother and the priests themselves supplicated him to renounce this fatal design, but it was in vain ; and scarcely was he convalescent, than he called his mother and the bishop of Paris to his bedside, and said to them :—“ Since you believe that I was not in my senses when I pronounced my vows, there is my cross, which I tear from my shoulders, I give it you back again ; but now you must be aware that I am in the full possession of my faculties ; restore my cross to me then ; for He who knows all things, knows also, that not one morsel of food shall enter my mouth, until I have been again marked with his sign ! ” “ It is the hand of God ! ” cried all who were present ; “ let His will be done ! ”

The religious enthusiasm of Louis grew with his years,

and dominated in his mind over all other sentiments. It is in his conscience and not in his interests that we must search for the motive of all his actions : he united an enlightened reason to a tender, pure, and generous heart ; but his ardent faith was too often blind : a false scruple on his part caused the greatest misfortunes. Determined to lead an army to the Holy Land, he felt that a great part of the safety of that army must depend upon the route he should choose for it ; the most easy being that of Sicily, a country subjected to Frederick II. But this emperor had been excommunicated by the pope, his implacable enemy ; and Louis, after useless efforts to get him absolved, was afraid to stop in the states of a reprobated monarch, and resolved to direct his course towards Egypt by Cyprus, instead of going into Syria by the way of Sicily : this pious error proved the destruction of his enterprise. After having regulated all the affairs of his states, and committed the regency to the hands of his mother, Louis assumed the staff and scrip of a pilgrim, with the oriflamme, at St. Denis, and left Paris on the 12th of June, 1248, to embark at Aigues-Mortes, a city he had founded at great expense, in order to have a port upon the Mediterranean.

The king sojourned for a year at Nicosia, the capital of the isle of Cyprus, and then set out for Egypt. When arrived within sight of Damietta, he leaped sword in hand into the sea at the head of his knights, repulsed the enemy, and took possession of that strong city and its immense resources.

It then became important to march to Cairo, and subdue Egypt by a rapid invasion ; but the rising of the Nile alarmed the king, and he remained five months inactive in Damietta. He at length left that place, and arrived, without having taken due precautions, near Mansourah. The Turks surrounded him on a burning plain, and launched upon his camp and his machines, flaming pitch, known under the name of the Greek fire. Louis, in this desperate situation, determined to make a violent effort, and gave the signal for battle. The count of Artois, his brother, rushed on imprudently towards Mansourah, and surprised the city ; but he was quickly enveloped, and killed with all the knights who had followed him : the king, who was unable to relieve him, fell back upon the camp of the Saracens, took possession of it, and prepared to defend it : his position, however, was no less dangerous than it had been before. Disease and

multiplied assaults carried off half his soldiers, and he himself fell dangerously ill. He then commanded a retreat to Damietta, where he had left the queen with a strong garrison. But the Turkish galleys impeding his passage, he found himself completely without resources, and at length, with all his nobles and knights, became a prisoner to the Mussulmans. A great many of his soldiers apostatized to avoid death, but he preserved, even in irons, and under atrocious insults and threats, the majesty of a king and the resignation of a Christian. Queen Marguerite proved herself at Damietta worthy of her husband: upon learning the reverses of the army, she trembled at the idea of falling into the hands of the Turks, and required of an old knight who never quitted her, to grant her one grace, which was that of running his sword through her rather than allow her to be taken by the Mussulmans: "*I meant to do so, Madam,*" replied the old warrior; but Damietta was not taken by storm; Marguerite held that place as a pledge for the safety of the king: it was promised, with four hundred thousand livres for the royal ransom; and at this price Louis recovered his liberty. Most of his barons returned to France; for himself, he remained four years longer in Syria, employing his treasures in fortifying Tyre, Sidon, and all the other places of Palestine which belonged to the Christians. He called in vain upon the knights of Europe to come to him: very few presented themselves; but before the news of his deliverance was spread, a crusade of a new kind was commenced. The people had as much love for him as they entertained hatred for the nobles who oppressed them. A man on a sudden appeared, affirming to have received from the Virgin Mary a letter which he always held in one of his closed hands. "She commanded him," he said, "to collect all the Christian shepherds and herdsmen he could find, and to march at their head to procure the deliverance of the king; victory was denied to the powerful, and promised to the weak and the humble." This man, though ignorant and uneducated, possessed a kind of eloquence; very soon a multitude of shepherds followed his banners, and outlaws and brigands as quickly joined them. The priests excommunicated this undisciplined multitude, who avenged themselves by massacring a great number of ecclesiastics at Orleans. Queen Blanche, who had at first shown favour to this association, in the hope that its enthusiasm might extend to the higher ranks of knights and nobles, from this time employed

all her authority to dissolve it. The preachers of the shepherds excited the people against the priests: they were accustomed to preach surrounded by armed men, to defend them from the authorities, then become anxious to suppress them. One day, by the orders of Blanche, an executioner introduced himself among the crowd, glided unnoticed behind the leader, and, with a single blow, struck off his head before the eyes of the horror-frozen spectators. A troop of knights galloped up and completed the dispersion of the shepherds, who, the tide of favour being turned, were massacred by the people who had previously paid them so much honour.

Queen Blanche died in 1253, after a wise and spirited regency: this was a great loss to the king, and afflicted him deeply. The commonest observer must be aware that the characters of most distinguished men have received their first impulses from their mothers, and no king in the pages of history was more fortunate in this respect than Louis IX. Blanche dictated or sanctioned most of the beneficial acts of her son, and opposed the great error of his life, his insane crusades, with all the affection and authority of a parent. Upon learning this melancholy news, he was forced to return to France, and made his public entry into Paris in the month of September, 1254, bearing deeply imprinted upon his countenance, remembrances of all his disasters.

After his return, Louis employed himself actively in the reform of his kingdom, and displayed the high qualities of a legislator. He put an end to the sovereign authority of the nobles, by depriving them of the right of arbitrarily administering justice. An important discovery seconded his efforts. The code of Roman laws, designated by the name of the Pandects of Justinian, and by which the empire of Constantinople was governed, became known to the French at this period: this justly celebrated collection had such vast superiority over every other code then known, that it was hailed as written reason or justice. It gave a lively impulse to men's minds, and the application of it was immediately demanded; but the ignorance of the nobles was so great that they were obliged to call in the aid of men versed in the study of the law to explain it. St. Louis was the first who introduced these civilians into a Parliament, which he constituted a court of justice. This court was composed of three high barons, three prelates, nineteen knights, and eighteen clerks or men of law pronouncing the decrees: these last succeeded

in getting all the business into their own hands, driving the barons from their duties by the tediousness and disagreeable nature of the proceedings : they usurped also a portion of the royal authority, and were desirous of rendering it absolute, seconding St. Louis energetically in all his projects of reform and encroachments upon feudal rights. This pious and humane monarch attempted to put an end to private wars between his barons, and forbade judicial combats. He decreed that after an offence had been committed, the two parties, before having recourse to arms, should observe a truce of forty days, called *the king's quarantine*. He ordered that judicial combats should be displaced by judicial discussions, and considerably increased the authority of his crown by establishing *royal cases*, in which he took upon himself causes between his subjects and their lords : the legists gave the greatest possible extension to these appeals. Under the name of *les établissements* of St. Louis is designated a collection of ordinances instituted by this monarch for the people of his domains. This celebrated collection contains useful and wise laws against the venality of justice, the greediness and harshness of creditors, constraint of the body, and usurious gains. Louis likewise proved the independence and firmness of his judicious mind by publishing the *pragmatic sanction*, which became the basis of the liberties of the Gallican or French church. This famous ordinance forbade the levying in the kingdom, without the sanction of the king, of any money for the court of Rome, and fixed cases in which it was permitted to appeal from ecclesiastical justice to royal justice. In short, notwithstanding his great piety, he knew how to keep a tight rein upon the extravagant zeal of the bishops. "Several prelates," says Joinville, "came to the king in his palace," and the bishop of Auxerre said to him, 'Sire, these lords who are here, archbishops and bishops, have desired me to tell you that Christianity is perishing in your hands.' The king crossed himself, and asked how that might be ! The archbishop resumed : 'Sire, it is that so little heed is taken of excommunications nowadays and every day, that excommunicated persons allow themselves to die without obtaining absolution, and will not make any atonement to the Church. The prelates request, sire, for the love of God, that you give orders to your provosts and magistrates, that all who remain excommunicated a year and a day shall be constrained, by the seizure of their property, to obtain absolution.' The king replied that he would wil-

lingly so command as far as regarded all such as it could be proved to him were in the wrong ; and the prelate said it did not belong to the king to be a judge in their causes ; but the king replied that he would order it no other-wise ; for it would be against God and against all reason if he were to constrain people to absolve themselves when the clerks were in the wrong. ‘ And of this,’ added the king, ‘ I will give you as an example the count of Brittany, who pleaded during seven years, excommunicated all the while, against the prelates of Brittany, and made his case so clear that the pope condemned them all. So, then, if I had constrained the count of Brittany to absolve himself after the first year, I should have acted wrongly towards God and him.’ ”

The last reform of St. Louis was of the coinage. Twenty-four nobles possessed the right of coining in their own domains ; Louis fixed the value of the coins of every one of them, and promoted the currency of his own.

So many cares given to the prosperity of his kingdom and to the salutary strengthening of his authority, did not absorb the faculties of his great mind, or turn him aside from occupations of more general but not less useful interests. He established a public library in Paris, instituted the hospital of the *Quinze-Vingts*, destined to receive three hundred blind persons ; and in his reign, Robert de Sorbon founded the college that bears his name, the *Sorbonne*, which became the seat of the celebrated faculty of theology, whose decrees were so much respected that it was called *the perpetual council of the Gallic nations*.

The piety of this truly great and truly Christian king did not alone consist in the observance of the external practices of the Church, it sprang from his heart, and consisted above all in an humble love of God, and in the inward sanctification of his mind. Joinville relates, on this head, a touching conversation which he held with this prince :—“ ‘ Senechal,’ said the king to me, in presence of some ecclesiastics, ‘ what is God ? ’ and I answered him, ‘ Sire, it is so good a thing that nothing can be better.’ ‘ Truly,’ replied the king, ‘ that is very well answered ; for the reply you have made is written in this book which I hold in my hand. Now, I ask you,’ said he, ‘ which you would like the better, to be leprous or to have committed a deadly sin ? ’ And I, who never spoke falsely to him, replied that ‘ I would rather have committed thirty sins than be a leper.’ And when the monks were

gone, he called me to him quite alone, made me sit down at his feet, and said :—‘ How was it that you said that ? ’ And I said, ‘ that I could but repeat it again ; ’ and he replied, ‘ You speak without reflection, like an inconsiderate person, for there is no leprosy so vile as that of being in mortal sin, because the soul therein is like to the devil of hell. This is why no leprosy can be so hideous : when man dies, he is cured of the leprosy of the body ; but when the man dies who has committed mortal sin, he is not certain that he may have so repented of it that God will pardon him. Therefore he should entertain great fear that this leprosy may last as long as God shall be in Paradise. I pray you, then,’ added he, ‘ as earnestly as I can, that you will have at heart, for the love of God and me, to prefer that any kind of malady may seize upon your body, rather than mortal sin should find entrance into your soul.’

“ He asked me if I washed the feet of the poor on Holy Thursday. ‘ Sire,’ said I to him, ‘ never could I wash the feet of those vile creatures.’ ‘ Truly,’ replied he, ‘ that is very ill spoken ; for you ought not to hold in disdain that which God has done for our instruction. Therefore, I pray you, for the love of God and of me, that you accustom yourself to wash the feet of the poor.’ ”

Uniting with this touching piety a great zeal for equity, Louis himself taught the respect which is due to the laws : he loved to render justice to his subjects in person : “ Many times,” says Joinville, “ it happened in summer that he would go and seat himself in the wood of Vincennes, after mass, and leaning against an oak, and making us all sit round him, such as had anything to ask him or affairs to transact, came and spoke to him freely, without impediment from ushers or others.”

More than once he pronounced severe sentences upon members of his own family and the nobles who lived most intimately with him. And yet, notwithstanding so much wisdom and such pure zeal, he committed many faults, arising from errors that belonged to his age rather than to himself : he pronounced cruel penalties upon Jews and heretics, and a hundred and fifty bankers of Asti were seized by his orders and cast into dungeons, for having lent money on interest, although at a moderate rate. A scruple, fatal to France, tormented the mind of this holy monarch. The conquests of his grandfather Philip, and the confiscations made upon the crown of England, oppressed him, and appeared like

usurpations in his eyes ; he concluded at Abbeville, in 1259, against the advice of his barons and his family, a treaty, by which he restored to Henry III., Perigord, the Limousin, Agen, Quercy, and Saintonge, whilst Henry, on his side, renounced his right over Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou. The prejudices and scruples of Louis alone induced him to conclude this unfavourable treaty, which the English monarch would never have been able to obtain by force of arms. This prince was then at war with his barons, who forced from him concessions known under the name of the *Provisions of Oxford*, by which they exercised a great part of the royal authority. Such was the reputation of Louis, that he was chosen as arbitrator between them and their sovereign. He decided in favour of Henry III., and the Provisions of Oxford were annulled.

Louis had lost his eldest son, and several members of his family seemed disposed to be turbulent, and dangerous for France : Charles of Anjou, his brother, an ambitious and cruel prince, heir by his marriage with Beatrix of Provence, to the powerful county of that name, gave the king serious uneasiness, and, with the intention of removing him to a distance, Louis favoured his projects upon Naples and Sicily.

The illustrious house of Swabia was quite depressed ; Frederick II., the last emperor of that family, had just died, whilst struggling against the pope, who sold his inheritance, and offered the kingdom of Naples, over which Manfred, the bastard of Frederick II., then reigned, to the king of France. Louis refused it for himself, but allowed his brother to accept it. Charles of Anjou quitted France with an army of Provençals, and six years later, in 1226, the battle of Grandella, in which Manfred perished, placed the crown of Naples and Sicily firmly upon his head.

The East now fixed the attention of Louis more strongly than ever. The Latin empire of Constantinople was at an end, the Greeks had retaken that city in 1261. Profiting by the divisions of the Christians of Syria, Bendocdard, sultan of Egypt, had made rapid conquests in Palestine : Casarea and Antioch had fallen into his power : a hundred thousand Christians had been massacred in the last-named city. Upon hearing of this frightful disaster, Louis made a vow to take the cross a second time ; he went on a pilgrimage to the principal churches of his kingdom, embarked once more at Aigues-Mortes in 1270, and set sail for Tunis. He appointed the walls of ancient Carthage as the place of

meeting with his brother Charles of Anjou ; he landed opposite that ruined city, and had to undergo infinite miseries arising from the dryness of the soil and the heat of the sun, as well as the showers of arrows of the Moors. The plague soon carried off a great part of his army, which he kept in a fatal state of inaction : the disease seized his second son, the count of Nevers ; and, at the end of a month, he himself became its victim. He employed his last moments in giving useful counsels to Philip, his third son and heir : " Fair son," said he to him, " the first thing I teach you is to love God, for without that no one can be saved. Keep a kind and pitiful heart for the poor and the weak, comfort them and aid them as much as may lie in your power. Maintain the good customs of your kingdom and destroy the bad ones. Covet not the property of thy people, and load them not with imposts or tolls. Have care to keep in thy company prudent and loyal men, such as be not full of covetousness ; fly from and avoid the company of the bad. Listen willingly to the word of God, retain it in thy heart, and seek willingly prayers and pardons. Love thy honour, and hate ill, of whatever party it may be. Be loyal and firm in rendering justice to thy subjects, without turning to the right or to the left ; but aid and maintain the quarrel of the poor until the truth shall be apparent. Preserve the customs of thy country, and if there be anything to be amended, amend it and correct it. Give the benefices of the holy Church to good persons of spotless life, and in this act by the advice of worthy men. Beware of commencing a war against Christian men without great necessity. Take care that the expenses of thy household be moderate. And, beloved son, cause masses to be sung for my soul, and prayers to be put up for thy kingdom. I give thee all the benedictions that a good father can bestow upon his son. May God grant thee his grace, always to do his will, so that after this mortal life we may be with him, my son, and praise him together."

The king then gave himself entirely up to religious practices : he commanded that before he expired he should be taken from his bed and laid upon ashes : he thus died, constantly holding his arms crossed. " On the Monday, the good king stretched forth his clasped hands towards heaven, and said : ' Sire, God, have mercy upon these people who are here, and conduct them back to their country ; let them not fall into the hands of their enemies, and let them never be constrained to deny thy holy name.' A little before his

death, and whilst he appeared to sleep, he sighed, and said in a low voice : ' Oh, Jerusalem ! oh, Jerusalem ! ' " His last thoughts were with God, the Holy City, and France, and he rendered up his spirit the 25th of August, 1270, after having named as regents Matthew of St. Denis and Roger of Nesle. No king was more worthy of the admiration of mankind, and of all his race he alone obtained from the Church the honours of canonization.

CHAPTER VI.

General considerations upon the state of France, and upon the events accomplished during the three centuries which passed between the accession of Hugh Capet and the death of Louis IX.

THE two hundred and ninety years of which we have traced the principal events, were for France abounding in calamities as well as in progress. Of the latter, the facts most worthy of attention are the rapid and yet gradual increase of the royal authority, and the birth of the bourgeoisie, or third estate, which, though almost imperceptible at the end of the tenth century, announced itself all at once as a social power, towards the year 1100, the time of the first communal revolutions, and finished by becoming almost the entire nation.

We have exposed in the preceding chapters, the gradual and successive progresses of royalty : we have seen it grow greater under Louis le Gros, then acquire reality under Philip Augustus, by the prodigious extensions given to the possessions of the crown and by the abasement of the great vassals, and the superiority over these accorded to it by opinion, in virtue of an ancient right attached to the royal majesty and title. Still later, we have seen it add to its attributes, by the wise ordinances of Saint Louis, and bear away from the lords, by the restrictions imposed upon private wars, but more particularly by the establishment of a court of justice, the essential rights of feudal power. The people recognised in the authority of the monarch the only force capable of contending with success against the tyranny of their numerous oppressors ; they wished that it should be powerful and redoubtable, hoping, in case of need, to find support in it, and they applauded with joy its rapid progress, which was then of high and incontestable utility ; in fact, Louis le Gros restored to royalty its character of a public

and protecting power. Philip Augustus reconstructed his kingdom, and gave to the peoples subject to his sceptre the feeling of nationality ; Louis IX. impressed upon his government a character of equity, of respect for rights, and love for public good unknown till his time. At this period the development of the royal power was then a blessing for France ; but the progress of this power, when considered as connected with the true interests and prosperity of the nation, stopped at Saint Louis, and was afterwards suspended for more than a hundred and fifty years.

This prince did not consider his authority as absolute ; nevertheless, it had no precise limit, and the inclination towards despotism was easy : royalty, by abandoning itself to it, created great perils for both France and itself. Before we recall these new destinies, we must cast a glance over the results for civilization and the manners of the French produced by the great events which had agitated Europe during these three centuries. One of the most remarkable facts of this important period, is the rapid development of the middle classes. It will be better in the first place, in order to give an account of it, to examine the principal constitutive elements of the communes of France, and the mode by which most of them succeeded in obtaining their charters of enfranchisement.

Ancient Gaul was then divided into two distinct parts by language. The provinces of the north, in which the Romance Wallon was spoken, were called the provinces of the *Langue d'Oïl*, in consequence of the word *oil* (oui), of which the inhabitants made use for affirmation : they were governed by customs. The provinces of the south, where the Provençal Romance was spoken, received from the monosyllable *oc*, the sense of which was equally affirmative, the name of the provinces of the *Langue d'Oc* : they were governed by the Latin or written law. A great number of cities, particularly of the southern provinces, had preserved the municipal administration which they held from the Romans ; others had for a long time lost the liberties which this administration had conferred upon them ; as to those of recent origin, they had risen up under the auspices of the most powerful noble of the province or the neighbourhood, and the inhabitants only enjoyed the civil rights and liberties that it had pleased this noble to grant or guarantee them. At the period of the establishment of the feudal system, the lay and ecclesiastical lords withheld the municipal franchises with

all their power; they substituted for them, in a great measure, their own authority where the franchises existed, and usurped all the rights of them where they were destroyed or unknown. They even who, in the hopes of increasing the population of their fiefs, had guaranteed rights and liberties to the men who would come and establish themselves in them, for the most part afterwards violated their engagements and their charters; almost all levied arbitrary taxes in the cities, forbade the citizens to arm for the common defence, and usurped the right of high and low justice (*haute et basse justice*). They thus disposed of the lives and fortunes of the citizens, and their oppression soon became intolerable. Reduced to despair, the oppressed had recourse to remonstrances and prayers; they invoked their rights, demanded their ancient franchises or guarantees for their property and their persons; but all was in vain. Then they united, counted their numbers, and swore to be free: they sacrificed everything for this object, and even profited by the avidity of the nobles, to purchase or conquer their liberties.

The epoch at which the energy of the inhabitants of the cities was awakened corresponds with that of the first crusade: this event had a powerful though indirect influence upon their enterprises, and was favourable to them. The nobles were in need of money for their distant expeditions, and a great number of them consented, for large sums, to part with an authority which most of them had usurped: they quitted France for a considerable time, taking in their train a multitude of knights, who, under their orders, had been the terror of the cities and the country. The absence of the oppressors, or the lessening of their numbers, favoured the citizens in their attempts to obtain independence: but they did not everywhere succeed so easily. Several cities, after having purchased their franchises, were obliged to have recourse to arms to preserve them. These liberties differed but little from those assured by municipal institutions; but they gave a certain extension to these, and offered more security: the citizens gained by them the right to form *conjurations* or *communes*, that is to say, to defend themselves by force of arms, to name their mayors, their *échevins*, their *notables*, to assess their taxes, to administer justice, and to govern themselves at their own discretion. The engagements they formed among themselves indicated a profound feeling of the rights of humanity; and their oath bore the stamp of a grand character of independence and energy.

They assembled in the great church, or market-place ; there they swore, by things held sacred, to support each other : all who bound themselves in this manner, took the name of *communicants* or sworn-men, and these titles expressed clearly ideas of reciprocal devotedness. The liberties they demanded were not, however, political liberties as we understand them at the present day ; they claimed no power to make laws or to participate in the government of the state, their aim was to obtain strong securities against slavery, and to escape from an insupportable tyranny ; they claimed the right of acquiring and preserving the privilege of living in security under the established laws ; in short, that civil liberty which social progress now secures to every citizen in most of the countries of Europe.

The first act of a constituted commune was to choose a tower or a belfry, in which to fix a bell, and the first clause of the oath taken by the inhabitants was the obligation to repair to the public place in arms as soon as the sound of this bell should be heard. The communes enfranchised by the nobles, in general engaged to give them a portion of all the crops or harvests, a quit-rent or poll-tax for each person, another for every chamber of their house, the monopoly of the mills and ovens ; the inhabitants were all bound to render personal service during a certain number of days ; and lastly, merchants and tradesmen were to open a credit account to their former master, up to a stipulated sum. Notwithstanding these hard conditions, and oaths of the most solemn nature, a great number of the nobles were anxious to evade these treaties, as soon as they had spent the price of them, or when they felt themselves strong enough to break them with impunity. The citizens almost everywhere struggled with courage to maintain their rights, but they soon became aware of the necessity for obtaining a sanction which would be respected by the nobles themselves ; and they addressed themselves to the kings, supplicated them to grant them charters of enfranchisement, and to take them under their protection. The kings of France perceived, for themselves, in this request a source of riches, and a means of direct patronage against the lords, whom they hated : they sold, then, their support to the communes of the kingdom, and, by so doing, vastly increased their own authority. Louis VI. was the first who gave charters ; but he neither created communes nor enfranchised their inhabitants. The cities gained their own liberties, and the king did no more than legitimate

privileges already obtained, by selling to them his supreme sanction. These royal acts, whatever might be the motive of them, strengthened the monarchy, by uniting its cause with that of the people. But the kingdom of France, properly so called, only, as yet, comprised the country between the Somme and the Loire, and the only cities to which Louis VI. sold charters were Beauvais, Noyon, Laon, Soissons, Amiens, Saint Riquier, Saint Quentin, and Abbeville. In other parts of present France, the kings had no share in maintaining the liberties of the communes; the counts would not there permit royal intervention. In the cities of the southern countries, the establishment of the communes met with much fewer obstacles than in the north, the contest was shorter, and success more decisive: the feudal system had weighed less heavily upon them; most of them had preserved their municipal institutions in their integrity;* some of them, such as Arles, Narbonne, and Toulouse, were flourishing, and had kings for their allies: in these, the communal system only developed and guaranteed liberties already acquired.

Cambrai, Le Mans, Amiens, Laon, Reims, and Vezelay distinguished themselves most among the cities which evinced greatest energy in the conquest of their commercial liberties. This revolution abounded in happy results; the country people nearest the cities envied the lot of their inhabitants; a great number of them abandoned the seignorial lands to become members of the communes, and many cities which increased their population by this means were obliged to extend their walls. It was thus that by degrees the powers of the cities increased, whilst that of the castles became weaker. When every one had obtained in the cities security for his life and property, with the free enjoyment of the fruits of his labour, industry was born, commerce was extended, the citizen class became every day more strong, more rich, more respectable, general comfort was augmented, and civilization made rapid steps. This progress was more sensible and more prompt in Flanders than in the other countries of the north; the neighbourhood of the sea and the maritime situation of the great cities contributed to it, by favouring the establishment of manufactures, which enriched the citizens, and by accustoming them at all times to unite their efforts against the ravages of the waters: after

* Municipal magistrates were called consuls in the cities of the south.

having learned that it only required them to associate in order to subdue the ocean, they were quite prepared to unite to contend against feudal oppression—and they triumphed over it.

But among the events which characterize the eleventh and twelfth centuries, those which dominate over the period, and which exercised the greatest influence upon the minds of men, the manners, and the existence of all classes of the nation, were the *crusades*. Till that time the fierce valour of the warriors of the West, excited by the thirst for dominion and riches, had only had material conquests as its aim; the crusades to the Holy Land did not at all soften this warlike rudeness of manners, but they held out a more noble and elevated object for courage, they spiritualized the source of it: men accustomed themselves to fight, to support the most cruel privations, to give their lives for something immaterial and ideal, for a cause which elevated their minds, and they felt themselves men born for some other end than that of gratifying their gross passions. These foreign expeditions, by transporting innumerable multitudes to so great a distance from their country, weakened the national hatreds and prejudices of the different classes: it was impossible that so many men, armed in the same cause, should shut their hearts against every feeling of fraternity. The manners of the nobility, in particular, gained very happy effects from the crusades. Religious enthusiasm gave birth to chivalry, which shone with the greatest splendour at the end of this period. To serve God, to love and respect his lady, to defend intrepidly, lance in hand, against all, this double object of an enthusiastic worship, such was the devoir of a true knight. Domesticity was reputed noble service; the courts of suzerains, the castles of nobles became schools in which young gentlemen learned to serve, under the name of varlets, damoiseaux, and squires, and thus themselves became worthy of the supreme honour of knighthood. The study of letters or the sciences formed no part of the education of the gentleman, who passed for accomplished when he had learnt to pray to God, to serve the ladies, to fight, to hunt, to manage his horse, and handle his lance; beyond these, his ignorance was absolute; and we cannot but attribute to this want of all intellectual instruction, the strange mixture of fanatical superstition, brutal violence, sincere piety, enthusiasm for the fair sex, and courtesy and ferocity, which the chivalric character so long presented.

It is to the first crusade the nobility owe the use of family names. It was necessary in those immense assemblages of men of many nations, that every knight should be known by a name entirely his own, and most of them adopted that or their fief. Coats of arms and heraldic emblems are of the same date ; that is to say, in a great degree, as heraldry, like most arts and sciences, can scarcely be traced to one exact time or place. When Plutarch tells us that Alcibiades had the figure of a Cupid bearing a thunderbolt painted on his shield, we have as characteristic a device as the uprooted tree upon that of Ivanhoe, or the fetter-lock on that of Richard. An extraordinary splendour was, in the public mind, attached to the exploits of the crusaders. The nobles, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of them, placed in their castles, and in the most conspicuous parts of them, the banners under which they had fought in the Holy Land ; they were the monuments of their glory ; and families, when forming alliances, communicated to each other these signs of illustration ; ladies embroidered the image of them upon their furniture, upon their clothes and upon those of their husbands ; the warriors caused them to be painted upon their shields, and they were supposed to indicate, in an abridged manner, the exploits which these standards recorded : an arch signified a bridge defended or carried ; by a battlement was designated a tower ; by a helmet, the complete armour of a vanquished enemy. Each of these distinctive images became the escutcheon of a family, and upon all occasions of ceremony the domestics appeared with them worked upon their clothes. Blazonry was the art of interpreting those emblems ; it was, in principle, a species of language, which proclaimed alliances and published the titles of the owners to public esteem.

The first flights of French poetry are of this time. The crusaders, on their return from Palestine, visited the castles to convey to them news of those they had left in the East ; they related the feats of prowess of which they had been witnesses, and augmented the wonders of them. They called *Trouvères* in the countries of the north, and *Troubadours* in those of the south, the persons who put these noble actions into verse ; *Chanters* and *Minstrels*, those who sang them and accompanied them with instruments.

Tournaments had their birth at the same time ; that is to say, as regards the arms with which the combatants contented, and the regulations by which these meetings were

governed, as few nations, of the most remote or the most barbarous periods, have been without their warlike games. These military sports were intimately connected with chivalric manners. The times which preceded or followed chivalry exhibit nothing exactly like them. People flocked to them from all parts, as to national festivals, gentlemen fought in them armed at all points with lances, battle-axes, and swords, the edges of which were blunted : sometimes, however, the contest was in earnest. Knights endeavoured to surpass each other in these games, as much in magnificence as in strength, skill, or courage. They appeared, distinguished by their devices, before the eyes of kings, princes, and dames, of whose applause they were highly ambitious : the ladies bestowed the prizes upon the conquerors. Tournaments were governed by a particular code of laws, the principal author of which was Geoffroy of Preilly.

The most celebrated religious military orders were founded by the French on the occasion of the first crusade, and from France they spread through all Europe. The two first were the Hospitallers of St. John and the Templars ; they devoted themselves humbly to the service and the defence of the pilgrims of the Holy City, and, from military monks, as they were at first, they became sovereigns. Besides these there were the Teutonic knights, who originated the dominions of Prussia ; and the Antonines, who consecrated themselves to the attendance upon such as were attacked by a species of plague, called the *holy fire*, or St. Antony's fire. It was to Christian charity that humanity owed the foundation of the ecclesiastical orders, which, for the most part, when afterwards enriched by superstitious devotion, deviated from their proper object, and degenerated from their holy origin. The order of the Hospitallers, instituted for the redemption of prisoners made by the infidels, and for the relief of the sick, was founded at a later period, as well as were the celebrated order of the Dominicans or *Les Frères Prêcheurs*, and that of the Franciscans or Cordeliers, so called because they wore a cord as a girdle. These two last were also named mendicant orders, because they made a vow of poverty and lived upon charity, according to the express intention of their illustrious founders, St. Francis of Assisi, and St. Dominic de Guzman : they in a short time acquired a formidable power : in virtue of papal commissions, they preached, administered the sacrament, directed the consciences of kings and nations, and thus usurped all the functions of the bishops

and the secular clergy : "*Having nothing, they possess all things,*" said the chancellor Peter des Vignes to the emperor Frederick II. : they sapped the foundation of the ancient hierarchy of the Church, for they annulled in some sort the power of the bishops, whose authority they braved. They wished also to direct the schools by getting possession of the chairs of the university, in which the secular clergy still dominated ; the latter, however, resisted, and maintained an obstinate struggle. The quarrel lasted thirty years, and was prolonged into the reign of St. Louis ; at length, after long storms and reciprocal excommunications, the University was constrained to yield by Pope Alexander IV. The mendicant orders obtained some chairs in the schools, and the University conferred the degree of doctor upon two illustrious members of these orders, the Franciscan Bonaventura, and the Dominican St. Thomas Aquinas, who was surnamed *the Angel of the School*, and whose writings excited the enthusiastic admiration of his contemporaries.

The religious movement of the crusades was very favourable to this prodigious increase of the power of the monks, and produced a multitude of pious foundations ; the monasteries of *Cluny* and *Cîteaux*, vast and magnificent, overflowed with wealth ; they served as places of assembly for the nobles, and their abbots were admitted to the councils of kings.

The crusades communicated in all things a strong and lively impulse to minds and to manners. Propitious to the enfranchisement of the communes, they still further favoured the progress of the bourgeoisie by the encouragement they afforded to commerce. The luxuries of the East gave birth to new wants ; merchants, till this time despised, acquired more consideration, and formed the link between Europe and Asia. Maritime commerce, in particular, almost nothing before the crusades, obtained vast development. European industry progressed with the conquests of the crusaders. Silk stuffs, spices, perfumes, and other treasures of the East had been known in Europe from the age of the Carlovingians ; but they were only seen in the courts of princes or the habitations of the great. As soon as in part, by the effect of the crusades, the cities had become the centres of free activity, of commerce, and of riches, this luxury spread on all sides. The manner in which people clothed themselves, furnished their houses, or covered their tables, became different, and comfort was augmented with the noble as well

as the citizen. Among the principal conquests of industry due to the crusades, we must not forget the art of weaving silk and the improvements in dyeing : or the discovery of the sugar-cane, with the mode of extracting that precious substance from it : saffron and indigo were likewise at this time first brought into Europe.

The last and most numerous class of the nation was that which derived the least advantage from these expeditions ; nevertheless the unfortunate serfs were not totally strangers to their results. The popes decided that no Christian, in whatever condition he might be born, could be prevented from taking the cross and setting out for the Holy Land : this was breaking, at one blow, the ties which attached the serfs to the glebe, or the land of their lord ; this was admitting them to a sort of fraternity of arms, and increasing in their eyes the consolatory feeling of their individual dignity as members of the human family. But although these peasants, by becoming soldiers of the Church, had acquired their enfranchisement, there could not result from it a class of free peasants. Of the multitude of men who left Europe for Palestine, only a very small number again saw their homes ; almost all of them perished of misery, fatigues, excesses, famine, disease, and shipwreck, or else were mown down by the cimitars of the Mussulmans.

Many sciences are indebted to the crusades for great progress : among others, the military art, navigation, history, and geography. The sight of so many different countries, the observation of manners new and various, the comparison of a multitude of usages, extended the ideas of the peoples, and rooted up a great number of errors and prejudices. Nevertheless most of the ameliorations of which the crusades were the cause, manifested themselves but very slowly, and some did not even bear all their fruit till long after Europe had renounced these religious enterprises : these were accompanied and followed by a great number of calamities, and we are forced to acknowledge as one of their most fatal effects, the character of fanaticism and cruelty which they appeared to communicate to Christianity, a character directly opposite to that of its divine founder. Christian nations had, it is true, for a long time considered as accursed of God all who did not partake their faith : the crusades strengthened this fatal tendency of Christian minds, and superstition soon pursued nations reputed heretical with as much fury as it had persecuted Jews or slaughtered Mus-

sulmans. The extermination of the Albigeois rendered infamous these cruel dispositions, and opened a field for a long series of atrocious wars. The weakness of the progress of Christianity in the East, and many of the disasters of the Christians in Palestine, must, in a great degree, be attributed to the barbarities of the crusaders, who conceived that everything was permissible towards infidels, and believed themselves to be under no obligation to keep their word with them, which lesson was even taught them from the pontifical chair. They forgot that the best proofs men can give of the superiority of their civilization, or of the holiness of their worship, is the respect they show for virtue, humanity, and truth.

BOOK THE SECOND.

FROM THE DEATH OF SAINT LOUIS TO THAT OF CHARLES VII.

Despotism of the royal government and authority of the civilians.—
Accession of the Valois to the throne.—War of a hundred years
with the English.—Celebrated States-General.—Disasters of France.
—Great schism of the West.—Anarchy.

1270—1422.

CHAPTER I.

Reigns of the successors of Saint Louis to the accession of the
Valois.—Philip III.—Philip IV.—Louis X.—Philip V.—Charles
IV. 1270—1328.

PHILIP III.

THE third son of St. Louis, surnamed, without any known motive, Philip le Hardi (the bold), did not follow the glorious footsteps of his father; he reigned only among his domestic servants, entirely given up to the observance of superstitious practices.

On the very day Louis died, he received Charles of Anjou, his uncle, who entered the port of Carthage with a fleet and an army. In spite of this reinforcement, the crusaders remained in a state of inaction, accusing, with reason, Charles of Anjou of having led his brother to Tunis for his own interest, in order to force the Moorish king to pay him the tribute imposed by ancient treaties. Peace was concluded this year, upon the payment of a large sum by this king, and the liberation of all captives. Shortly after the signing of this disgraceful peace, the army was joined by Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Henry III., who, in his admiration for Louis IX., had determined to accompany him to the Holy Land. Filled with sorrow at learning the death of the monarch, he refused to take any part in the treaty of peace, and confined himself to his tent in grief and disgust. The following spring he went with a small force to Palestine, where he acted in a manner worthy of the character he afterwards obtained as a king, and of the fame of his father's

uncle, Richard. The French army returned to Europe, reduced to less than half its number by heat, fatigue, and pestilence. A tempest swallowed up, in sight of the coast of Sicily, eighteen of the French vessels, together with the rich tribute paid by the king of Tunis. Many of the crusaders viewed this as a chastisement from God, for having abandoned their enterprise without visiting the Holy Land. Philip returned to France preceded by five coffins : that of his father, his wife, his son, his brother, the count of Nevers, and his brother-in-law, Thibaut, count of Champagne and king of Navarre. His uncle Alphonso, count of Toulouse, died shortly after, without children. These losses, however grievous in themselves, brought great accessions to the crown of France, as Philip became heir of Poitou and the counties of Foix and Toulouse : this latter county, notwithstanding the disastrous war of the Albigeois and several dismemberments, being still the richest and most considerable fief of France. Gregory X., one of the most remarkable men that ever occupied the pontifical throne, had just been elected pope ; Philip ceded to him the county of Venaissin, to which he himself had but doubtful rights, and then commenced wars of succession against Navarre and Castille. Alphonso X., king of that country, had died without having his grandchildren, born of Ferdinand de la Cerda, his eldest son, and Blanche, a daughter of St. Louis, recognised as successors. Philip supported their claims to the throne of their grandfather. The Cortes of Segovia, however, chose as the successors of Alphonso, Sancho, his second son, already known by his warlike talents : their decision controverted all the principles of hereditary succession.

A thick cloud conceals the personal actions of Philip III. : he appeared neither to see nor to act but by the means of Peter de la Brosse, who had been his chamberlain, and who, elevated by base intrigues to the post of prime minister, had drawn upon himself the hatred of the nobles. A bloody catastrophe terminated the days of this favourite. Jealous of the influence of Queen Mary of Brabant, second wife of the king, he accused her of the death of Prince Louis, eldest son of his first wife : Philip ordered the affair to be investigated. It was then believed that the perpetrators of a crime could not be discovered without torturing the accused, or by the intervention of the celestial or the infernal powers. Philip consulted those whom the superstition of the times caused to be considered possessed of the power of reading the

future. The vidame of the church of Laon, a Sarabaïte,* and a Beguine of Neville were said to have revelations. All three at first contributed to gain credence for the reports spread against the queen, but afterwards they retracted, and placed the king on his guard against Peter de la Brosse. Two years after this a monk one day brought to the king, at Milan, some letters sealed with the seal of the minister. The contents of these letters remained a mystery ; but La Brosse was immediately arrested and imprisoned in a tower. Philip assigned him as judges three of the greatest nobles of the court, bitter enemies of the suspected favourite, and La Brosse, being by them found guilty, was condemned, and hanged upon the gibbet of Montfaucon, in 1278.

The reign of Philip left no glorious remembrance for France, either foreign or domestic ; but the period was marked by frightful disasters, which overthrew the French government in Sicily. Charles of Anjou, after having condemned to death and caused to be executed young Conradin, son of Conrad IV. and grandson of Frederick II., believed himself firmly seated on his new throne. Conradin was the last prince of the house of Hohenstauffen, and his death leaving the field quite clear for Charles of Anjou, he, from that time, thought it in his power to oppress Naples and Sicily in a frightfully tyrannical manner, with impunity. But vengeance was breeding in the hearts of the Sicilians : John de Procida became the soul of the conspiracy ; he secured the support of the Greek emperor, Michael Palæologus, and of Don Pedro III., king of Arragon. The latter monarch secretly assembled a fleet, which he confided to the command of the celebrated Roger de Loria, his admiral, with orders to wait the event on the coast of Africa. All at once, on the 30th of March, 1282, the people of Palermo rose in a body at the moment vespers were rung : at the sound of this tocsin, the French were massacred in the streets of Palermo, and a month after they were indiscriminately slaughtered throughout Sicily. Charles, in a paroxysm of fury, attacked Messina, but Roger de Loria hastened thither and destroyed his fleet before his eyes. Charles uttered cries of rage, and called upon his nephew Philip to assist him in his vengeance. The pontiff, Martin IV., supported his cause warmly ; he declared Don Pedro deposed from the throne of Arragon, in

* This was the name given to monks who did not live in a community, who were subject to no rules, but who wore the tonsure and gave themselves out as rigorists.—*Du Cange, Glossary.*

order to punish him for having assisted the Sicilians, and, by the same bull, he named Charles of Valois, second son of Philip, successor of Don Pedro, against whom he preached a crusade. Philip III. commanded it, but this expedition was unfortunate; Girone opposed a long resistance to the French arms, whilst the king of Arragon, with his faithful *Almogavares*,* a half-savage soldiery, occupied the neighbouring mountains: his sudden and frequent attacks, together with want of provisions and fevers, rapidly thinned Philip's army; he returned to France, sick and almost alone, borne in a litter, and died in the course of the year. Charles of Anjou died a short time before him of grief at having lost Sicily, and Philip was closely followed to the tomb by Martin IV. and the king of Arragon.

During this reign, a simple gentleman, named Rodolph, count of Hapsburg, was elected emperor, in 1273, and became the founder of the new house of Austria. One of the most remarkable events of this period was the momentary reunion of the Greek and Latin churches, effected in 1274, by Gregory X., at the second œcumenic council of Lyons. The emperor, Michael Palæologus was received by the pope among the number of the faithful; but the Greeks took no part in this reconciliation, which cost the emperor his life.

PHILIP IV.

Philip IV., surnamed *le Bel*, was sixteen years of age when he succeeded to the throne of his father, Philip *le Hardi*. His youth gave rise to no trouble, and such was the progress of the monarchical spirit in France, that the great men of his kingdom, instead of pretending to become his equals or his masters, surrounded him as his servants. Philip at first carried on the war commenced by his father against Arragon, in which country Alphonso inherited the crown of Don Pedro. This prince consented to release the son of Charles of Anjou, who had been a prisoner two years, and whom the pope crowned king of Naples, under the name of Charles II. The war between France and Arragon lasted many years without any important results.

The first ordinances of the new reign were favourable to the bourgeoisie and the Jews; but Philip, of a hard, irritable, and avaricious character, set no bounds to his pride and cupidity: he pressed his subjects without pity, and in his

* This name, borrowed from the Arabians, was, in Catalonia, given to the light-armed foot-soldiers.

exactions employed unprincipled lawyers, known for their skill in the arts of chicanery as well as for their base servility. These lawyers were under him the tyrants of France ; the Pandects were their supreme law, and they proceeded, with a cold and impassable perseverance, in the imitation of the Roman law and the imperial fiscality ; they demolished with texts and quotations the social order that had been created by Roman Catholicism and the feudal system. It was these men, however, who organized monarchical centralization, and who became the true founders of the civil order of modern times ; they beat into ruins both ecclesiastical law and feudal jurisdiction ; they extended their own over coinages, forests, and magistracies : the parliament, fixed at Paris in 1302, became the seat of their power ; and it was there that all authority came by little and little to grow weaker and dissolve away beneath royal authority. The lawyers called in among them the bourgeoisie, or third estate, and endeavoured to render serviceable to themselves an order which, in a great degree, owed to them the increase of its influence. In order to support this new form of government, to make the decrees of the lawyers respected and procure their execution, an imposing force became necessary : the king had to keep a judicial and administrative army in pay ; the maintenance of the foot and horse serjeants alone cost immense sums. Industry was scarcely in existence, and this money had to be extorted by violence from a wretchedly poor population : thence the despotism, and the long and cruel miseries which for a length of time almost outweighed the advantages of the substitution of central and monarchical power for the barbarous system established by the feudal government. No prince more unscrupulously employed these iniquitous and odious means to fill his treasury than Philip le Bel. History records a thousand instances of his cruel and violent extortions : the revenues of several provinces were pledged to two Italian brothers, very rich merchants, for supplies with which they had furnished the king : in order to release himself, Philip caused all Italian bankers and merchants to be arrested on the same day, under the pretext of their carrying on a usurious traffic, and compelled them by torture to regain their liberty at an enormous price. He repeated this execrable expedient upon the French traders, and the servile tribunals were the accomplices of his violences.

This king, very little inclined to war, beheld with indifference the disasters of the Christians and the capture of

St. Jean d'Acre, their last bulwark in Palestine. He had obtained from the pope permission to levy tenths upon the clergy, for the purpose of undertaking a crusade ; but this impost was only profitable to himself, for he appropriated the whole produce of it. The successes of Edward I., king of England, affected him more. This prince, at the death of Alexander III., king of Scotland, had caused himself to be chosen as arbitrator between the pretenders to the crown, and had decided in favour of John Baliol, with whose weakness of character he was acquainted. He was threatening to invade this kingdom, when Philip cited him, as his vassal for Aquitaine, before the parliament of Paris. Peace had reigned for thirty years between France and England, and Philip, in summoning his powerful rival to appear, alleged as a pretext the troubles occasioned by the commercial rivalry between the sailors of the two nations. Edward, highly indignant, stirred up, as enemies to France, Adolphus of Nassau, king of the Romans, and Guy de Dampierre, count of Flanders ; but Philip got possession of the daughter of the count, by treachery, and kept her as a hostage ; he seized upon Guienne, induced Baliol to take up arms, and supported the celebrated Scotchman William Wallace in his struggle with the English monarch.

He afterwards made an alliance with the revolted Flemings, and induced Albert of Austria, son of Rodolph of Hapsburg, to take arms against Adolphus of Nassau, emperor and king of the Romans ; the minority of the electors seconded him ; Adolphus of Nassau was killed, or perhaps assassinated in a battle : Albert of Austria succeeded him in the empire, and in his turn defended the interests of France. Philip le Bel in all negotiations displayed remarkable talent. Edward I., pressed on all sides, proposed to Philip to submit their differences to the arbitration of the pope, Boniface VIII. This pontiff, in some respects, owed the tiara to the king of France, who, without hesitation, agreed to abide by his decision. Boniface pronounced in his favour, and only ordered the restitution of a part of the territories confiscated from Edward : he imposed a long truce upon the two kings, and united them by marriage. The king of England left the county of Flanders to its fate, and Philip gave up the protection of Scotland, of which Edward took possession a second time. The French monarch then invited, with the most flattering promises, the count of Flanders, to place himself in his power ; this unfortunate noble repaired with confidence to the court

of the king, but was instantly cast into prison, and all his states were seized by Philip, who gave the Flemings the count de St. Paul as governor. The count and his French gentlemen despised the citizens of this industrious country, and believed they had a right to plunder them. The horrible tyranny they displayed, again excited the people of Flanders to revolt: the corporate bodies of the trades assembled, massacred the French in Bruges and other cities, and restored independence to their country. The following year the Flemish militia occupied Courtray, when the French army came and encamped before that place. The Flemings marched out in battle-array and awaited the enemy bravely. They heard mass and communicated together. The knights who were with them gave the accolade to the leaders of the trades bands. They expected no quarter from the French, and it was repeated among them that Chatillon came with casks filled with cords to strangle them with. The constable, Raoul de Nesle, proposed to turn the Flemings, and cut them off from Courtray; but the cousin of the king, Robert d'Artois, indignant at this prudent counsel, asked him whether he was afraid of the Flemings, or whether he had an understanding with them. The constable, son-in-law of the count of Flanders, replied haughtily: "Sir, if you will follow where I lead, you will go far enough;" and rushed forward blindly at the head of his cavalry. Every one wished to follow him, those who were behind urging on the front ranks. On approaching the Flemings they met with a ditch five *brasses* wide (thirty French feet), into which they fell in confusion, one upon another, staking themselves upon the pikes of the enemy. To this frightful grave came all the chivalry of France, Artois, Chatillon, Nesle, Dammartin, Dreux, Tancarville, and a crowd of others. The Flemings had only the trouble of killing them, knocking them on the head with mallets of iron and lead. This horrible defeat weakened the feudal power in France, and strengthened royalty. Philip resolved to revenge in person the defeat of his nobility at Courtray, and entering Flanders with a formidable army, occupied Tournay: his fleet, united with a Genoese squadron, beat the Flemings at Zirczee, and his chivalry carried off a brilliant victory at Mons-en-Puelle, where six thousand Flemish citizens were left upon the field of battle; but when he believed this people subdued, he saw with surprise, beneath the walls of Lille, which he was besieging, a fresh army of Flemings, sixty thousand strong, advancing to meet him: these were the

valorous citizens of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and the other cities of Flanders, who had engaged themselves by oath, never to revisit their hearths or their homes without having obtained a good peace or won a glorious victory : " Better," said they, " die on the field of battle than live in slavery." Defied in his camp by this formidable army, the king listened to the counsels of prudence and the advice of his generals. He signed a treaty by which the Flemings abandoned to him French Flanders, as far as the Lys, with the cities of Lille and Douai ; Philip set at liberty Robert de Bethune, son of Guy de Dampierre, the new count of Flanders, and recognised the independence of the Flemings.

The pride of the king had already been deeply wounded by the haughty Boniface VIII., who revelled in ambition, violence, and cupidity. Founding his power, in part, upon his wealth, he had, at the expiration of the thirteenth century, re-established the *centenary jubilee*, promising entire remission of sins to whomsoever should visit all the churches of Rome during thirty consecutive days. A prodigious multitude of pilgrims flocked to the Eternal City, and laid rich offerings at the foot of the pontiff. Boniface then stretched forth his hand towards the sceptres of Europe, in the character he assumed of lord and disposer of all : he offered to sell Sicily to Charles II., king of Naples ; he summoned Albert of Austria to his tribunal for the murder of Adolphus of Nassau ; he protected the children of La Cerda in Castille ; he supported the Scots against Edward ; and enjoined the bishop of Pamiers, whose bishopric had been instituted without the participation of the king, to examine the conduct of Philip with regard to the Church, and to interpose his mediation between the Holy See and the court of France. Philip had already, by his own authority, levied tenths upon the clergy : irritated by the pretensions of the pope and the reproaches of the bishop, he caused the latter to be informed against by some of those men of law who were most devoted to his will, among whom were Peter Flotte, his chancellor ; Enguerrand de Marigny, his confidant ; William de Plasian ; and William de Nogaret. These men, always skilful in finding those persons guilty whom the king wished to prove so, soon discovered sufficient charges against the bishop to warrant his being arrested. Philip ordered this to be done, and demanded his degradation of the pope ; but Boniface, highly indignant that the *arbalétriers* of the king should have dared to lay their hands upon the bishop,

refused to comply with Philip's desire, took the judgment of the matter upon himself, and warned the king of his misdoings by the Bull *Ausculta, Fili*. Philip, rendered furious, being supported by the university of Paris, convoked the first States-General, in which the deputies of the cities were summoned with the barons and the bishops, and after making them acquainted with this bull, burned it in their presence. Boniface avenged himself by excommunicating the king, and the two rivals prepared for a furious contest, by reconciling themselves with all their enemies, and by sacrificing every other interest to that of their mutual hatred. The pope formed an alliance with Albert of Austria, and Philip restored Guienne to Edward as a fief. Convoked by him, the barons of France assembled at the Louvre, and William de Nogaret, his procureur, in the presence of the meeting declared the pope *heretical*. He obtained a sentence against him, which he took upon himself to see executed; he repaired to Anagni, where the pope resided, and gained possession of his person: Sciarra Colonna, who accompanied Nogaret, struck the old man with his iron gauntlet. Nevertheless, Boniface astonished his enemies by his courage:—"Here is my neck, here is my head," said he to them, "betrayed as Christ was, and ready to die, at least I will die pope." Delivered by the people, he expired a month after, at Rome, of a fever produced by excitement and passion.

The death of Boniface did not at all appease Philip; master of the election after the decease of Benedict XI., in 1305, but obliged to choose one of three candidates selected from among the creatures of Boniface, his choice fell upon Cardinal Bertrand de Goth, who had been his enemy, but with the venality of whose mind he was perfectly acquainted. Philip promised to influence the French cardinals in his favour, provided he would engage to stigmatize the memory of Boniface VIII., his benefactor; to grant to the king the tenths of the property of the clergy for five years; and to render him an important service, which Philip would claim and point out when the proper time should come. This bargain, which the people designated the *diabolical bargain*, was, it is said, concluded in a forest of Saintonge, near St. Jean d'Angely. Bertrand de Goth accepted it, consented to everything, promised to come and place himself at the discretion of the king at Avignon, and became pope under the name of Clement V. He was not allowed to leave France before he had fulfilled all his promises. The secret

service which Philip required, proved to be the suppression of the order of Templars. Their power offended the pride of the French monarch, at the same time that their immense riches strongly tempted his cupidity. Before they could have the least suspicions of his intentions, he caused every one of the order that was to be found in his dominions, to be seized and closely imprisoned ; and then was commenced against them a frightful course of proceedings, in which tortures produced the proofs, and in which men of law, in the pay of Philip, performed the part of judges. The king confiscated the property of the victims, whom he stigmatized with horrible imputations, without producing any legal proofs. The Templars perished by the axe, by fire, and by starvation, retracting at the moment of death all the confessions that torments had forced from them : James Molay, their grand-master, distinguished himself by his courage and firmness ; he protested his innocence in the midst of the flames, and, as it is said, cited both the monarch and the pope to appear before God within twelve months.

Philip was then the most powerful king in Europe. He advised all sovereigns to follow his example. Edward II. of England, and Charles II. king of Navarre, complied with his wishes, and caused all the Templars in their states to be seized ; fifteen thousand noble families were struck by this terrible measure. Philip IV., amidst the atrocious acts of his policy, continued his odious vexations upon his people ; he levied enormous taxes, he deteriorated the coinage, and, after its issue, refused to take it back again thus altered by himself. He caused all the Jews in his dominions to be poisoned in one day, sweeping the whole of their wealth into the royal coffers. He was the most absolute despot that ever reigned in France, and yet it was he who, the first of his race, accorded the right of representation to the communes. He showed a sort of favour or deference to the citizens, consulting their deputies more freely than he did those of the nobles : he knew that the former were so proud of being reckoned as something, that they would make but little opposition to his will, and it was from among these obscure men that he chose his favourites and ministers, the most celebrated of whom was Enguerrand de Marigny. The king stood in need of support for his cruel and perfidious measures, and upon calling the citizens to the States of the kingdom, he felt himself strong enough to fear nothing from a liberty which was only apparent : prodigal of frightful punishments,

he kept the nation in subjection by terror. Towards the end of his days, he directed his rigours against his own family : the wives of his three sons were all at the same time accused of adultery ; he cast them into prison, and caused the unfortunate victims suspected of being their lovers to be flayed alive. He soon after expired, *recommending piety, justice, and clemency to his sons* ; his accomplice, Clement V., followed him quickly to the tomb ; the emperor, Henry VII., having died the preceding year.

At the end of the thirteenth and the commencement of the fourteenth centuries, the French existed under a yoke of iron, and notwithstanding the heroism displayed two centuries before in the communal revolutions, they remained, generally speaking, strangers to the spirit of independence which prevailed in many of the European countries nearest to them, and to which Italy and Flanders owed their arts and their industry. Robert Bruce, in Scotland, and William Tell, in Switzerland, had freed their countries ; and yet the great movements which then shook some European states, arose less from the spirit of individual liberty, than from a love of national independence : thus most of the peoples of Europe, after being stimulated by energetic minds to constitute themselves as nations, sank back again under a yoke as hard as that which they had shaken off.

LOUIS X.

Philip IV. left two brothers, three sons, and one daughter. The eldest, Louis X., surnamed le Hutin, on account of his disorderly life, was twenty-five years of age at the death of his father, and had already worn the crown of Navarre fifteen years. His two brothers, Philip and Charles, like himself, were addicted to vicious courses ; and his sister Isabella, married to Edward II. of England, only distinguished herself by crime and infamy.

Philip le Bel had, from policy, confided the great posts of the state to obscure men, who owed everything to his favour ; his family blamed this system, and one of the first acts of the reign of Louis X. was to arrest and bring to judgment the Chancellor Peter Latelli, who was acquitted, and Enguerand de Marigny, first minister of the late king. Charles of Valois, uncle of the monarch, solicited, in revenge for a personal injury, the arrest and death of Marigny : this minister, rendered responsible for the tyrannical acts of his master, and at the same time accused of sorcery, was condemned and

hanged on the gibbet of Montfaucon. Marguerite of Burgundy, wife of the king, was confined in the Château-Gailard, at Andely, upon an accusation of adultery ; Louis caused her to be strangled, that he might be at liberty to marry Clemence of Hungary. He lived surrounded by profligate young nobles, whom he made the companions of his pleasures ; and the nobility took advantage of their present ascendancy to regain possession of some of their ancient privileges. He thus weakened the springs of the monarchy, which had been bent and arranged with so much skill and strength by his father ; judicial combat was revived ; confederations of nobles were formed in most of the provinces, each of which obtained a charter ; the northern nobles recovered their regal rights : and yet the king, pressed by the want of money, made ordinances favourable to national freedom, offering to restore liberty to the peasants of the crown and people subject to main-morte ; but he gave no security for the rights he recognised, and such was the misery of the people, and the mistrust that the king inspired, that his ordinance was only welcomed by a very small number, and brought but little money to his treasury. Great disorders in the finances and the horrors of a famine, accompanied by astonishing scandals, marked the rapid course of this reign : the clergy themselves were seen in the provinces heading processions of penitents entirely naked, in order to obtain from heaven a favourable time for the harvests. Louis X. died in 1316, in consequence of an imprudence, leaving his wife, Clemence of Hungary, pregnant. The only fruit of his first marriage was a daughter named Jane, then six years of age.

PHILIP V.

Philip V., called le Long, brother of Louis le Hutin, took possession of the regency, to the prejudice of the queen, who gave birth to a son, named John. This child only lived a few days, and Philip, uncle of the Princess Jane, already in possession of royal authority, caused it to be decreed by the States General and the University of France, that females should be for ever excluded from the succession to the French crown.

The new king felt the necessity for the support of the lawyers, and granted them a perfectly special favour. He gave attention to internal government ; named the captains-general of the provinces and the captains of cities, and

organized the militias of the communes, ordering, however, that their arms should remain deposited in the residences of the captains, until a necessity should arise for their being employed. With the exception of a rapid and useless expedition into Italy, he had no war, either domestic or foreign, to carry on, and yet blood flowed freely in France during his reign. A fresh religious fury seized the shepherds and inhabitants of the country, designated under the name of *Pastoureaux*; they assembled in crowds with the intention of going to the Holy Land to deliver the holy sepulchre; from mendicants they became thieves, and it was necessary they should be punished. They offered up all the Jews they fell in with as a holocaust to God, and after having committed a multitude of robberies and murders, they were almost all massacred and destroyed by the seneschal of Carcassonne. A horrible proscription enveloped the lepers in this reign; they were accused of having poisoned the waters of the kingdom. Philip V. and Pope John XXII., both believing in magic, gave credence to the crime of the lepers, without verifying it any other way than by terrible tortures: from that time all persons afflicted with any complaint of the skin were arrested and accused of sorcery; as such they were interdicted from having recourse to the tribunals of the kingdom: the Jews, suspected of being their accomplices, perished in similar torments. In the midst of these atrocious executions, the king fell ill of a species of languor; the relics of the holy chapel were brought to him, and he kissed them devoutly; but they could not restore him, and he died at Longchamp, in 1322.

Many of the ordinances of Philip V. are remarkable for the continual confusion of the personal interests of the king with those of the kingdom, and for the desire of regulating the use of the sovereign will, without, however, assigning any limit to it. By an ordinance of 1318, the king engages himself to be present at mass every morning, and regulates the manner in which his bed is to be made; by another he forbids himself to alienate any of the domains of the crown, and revokes all his father's gifts. Among these numerous edicts, those which organize the militias, the chambers of accounts, the administration of waters and forests, and the office of receivers, denote the progress of order, and the substitution of despotism supported by law for despotism acquired and preserved by the sword.

CHARLES IV.

Philip V. had one son and four daughters when he required the States General to exclude, in perpetuity, all females from the throne. A few months afterwards, he lost his son, and was the first person wounded in his paternal love by the law he had been the means of passing: his brother Charles inherited his sceptre; he was the third son of Philip le Bel, and was twenty-eight years of age. He issued ordinances to ameliorate the fate of the lepers and the Jews, which is almost all we know of his reign, of which there is no historian. The foundation of the floral games at Toulouse dates from this period.

Whilst civil war was desolating England, Charles, at the instigation of Queen Isabella, his sister, usurped the rights of Edward, in Aquitaine. The English monarch sent his son to render homage: Charles detained the young prince as a hostage at his court, and furnished his sister with troops and money to combat her husband with: this unfortunate king was made prisoner, and shortly afterwards a frightful death put an end to his days. Charles IV. fell ill about this period, and ordered that if the queen, who was then pregnant, should be brought to bed of a son, his cousin-german, Philip of Valois, should be regent of the kingdom; but if the child should prove to be a daughter, his wish was that the twelve peers and the high barons of France, sitting in Parliament, should decree the crown to the person whose claims seemed to them the strongest. He died on Christmas Day of the same year. Thus were all the sons of Philip le Bel extinct, carried off in the prime of life, seeming to accomplish the judgment of God, with which the house of this prince had for a long time been threatened, in the eyes of the people, as a punishment for their crimes.

CHAPTER II.

Reign of Philip of Valois. 1328—1350.

WITH the new reign commenced a long series of disastrous wars between England and France. When the calamities they gave birth to had transformed, in the eyes of the people, the private personal rivalries of their kings into national rivalries, the French and English began to persuade themselves they were natural enemies, and, to the misfortune

of humanity, this prejudice existed during five centuries. Nevertheless the war of the fourteenth century only broke out as preceding wars had done, for the interest of their sovereigns, who both made pretensions to the succession of Charles IV.

Jane) of (Evreux, the widow of this monarch, was delivered of a daughter, and, according to the will of the late king, the parliament was called upon to decide as to the claims of the candidates for the throne. The two principal were the regent Philip of Valois, cousin-german to Charles IV. and Edward III., king of England, son of Isabella, sister of the three last kings of France. The interpretation, already twice given to the Salic law, then received its third and last sanction : females were declared to be without any right to the crown, which the parliament solemnly adjudged to Philip of Valois. This decision was from that time recognised as the fundamental law of the state. Ideas of legality began to penetrate into the minds of nations, and right was invoked to the support of strength ; nevertheless, no constitution had fixed the rights of heirship to the crown, and Philip, in his quality of regent, had exercised so great an influence over the jurisconsults, creatures of the kings and flatterers of power, that whilst himself appealing to the law, Edward was not willing to acknowledge the authority of the lawyers charged with the interpretation of it, and he appealed from their decision to his sword. But many years passed away before he declared war against Philip of Valois : he even at first rendered him homage for the fiefs he possessed in France.

Philip, count of Evreux, husband of Jane, daughter of Louis X., was the third candidate for the throne ; he obtained from the king the kingdom of Naples, to which his wife had legitimate claims from her grandmother, and which thus became separated from the crown of France.

Philip of Valois was thirty-six years of age, when, in 1328, he was recognised as king. This prince was brave, violent, vindictive, and cruel : skilful in all bodily exercises, he was ignorant of even the first principles of the military art, or of financial administration ; with him the art of reigning consisted in inspiring terror by punishment, and admiration by pomp and magnificence. The first acts of his reign were the alteration of the coinage, and sentence of death against Peter Remy, minister of finance under the preceding reign. Philip VI. accused him of extortion ; Remy was quartered,

and the king appropriated his rich spoils to himself. He soon marched into Flanders, to the assistance of the ferocious Count Louis, always at war with his subjects, and the bloody battle of Cassel, in which thirteen thousand Flemings were slaughtered, restored his states to the count: the death and tortures of ten thousand citizens signalized his return into that city, which was reduced to ashes.

The issue of a scandalous trial gave birth to the first germs of discord between Edward III. and Philip VI. Robert of Artois, brother-in-law of Philip, had in vain suborned witnesses to obtain from the king and parliament that his county of Artois, adjudged to his aunt Mahaut, should be restored to him. Blinded by fury, after having uselessly employed assassins, he had recourse to demons, and the king, filled with the gross superstitions of the age, learned with terror that he and his son were both *envoutés* by his brother-in-law. It was then believed that, by causing a little waxen image, the effigy of any one, to be baptized by a priest and then pierced with a needle at the place where the heart should be, the person represented would suffer from the wound and would die immediately. Demons were evoked in this magic operation, which was called making a *voult* against any one, or to *envoult* him. The king was not more exempt than his people from the terror this absurd belief inspired. Robert, pursued by his vengeance, found an asylum at the court of Edward, and did his utmost to promote a war. But more powerful allies soon summoned this monarch to the continent; the cruelties of the count of Flanders had once more roused the indignation of his subjects; Ghent, the richest and most populous city of the Low Countries, had revolted, and placed at the head of the malcontents the celebrated brewer Jaquemart Artevelt, who became the soul of a fresh Flemish league against Count Louis and France. Standing in need of the support of England, Artevelt acknowledged Edward, in the name of Flanders, king of France. About the same time, the emperor, Louis IV. of Bavaria, irritated against Philip for having refused to pay homage for the fiefs he held of the empire on the left bank of the Rhine, declared solemnly in the diet of Coblentz, assembled in 1336, that Philip was deprived of all claims to protection from the empire, until he had restored his maternal inheritance to Edward, and named the latter his vicar for all the lands on the left of the Rhine held of the imperial crown. The chivalric John, king of

Bohemia, however, being a firm ally of Philip's, and intrusted by him with the employment of large sums of money, contrived to seduce the German princes, and even the emperor himself, and obtained their neutrality in the terrible conflict about to commence between the kings of France and England : he succeeded, likewise, in causing the Flemings to be excommunicated by Pope Benedict XII., whom Philip made subservient to his wishes by threatening him with the fate of Boniface VIII. Edward then assumed the title of king of France, landed in Flanders, at the head of a formidable army, and confirmed all the privileges of the Flemings. Philip, with superior forces, maintained a defensive war against him, refusing to come to a general action. The English, however, surprised the French fleet, shut up in a narrow creek near the Ecluse ; they attacked it, and obtained a complete victory : France lost on this day ninety vessels, and more than thirty thousand warriors. An armistice between the two nations was the consequence.

A sanguinary war, deeply injurious to France, broke out the year following in Brittany. John III., duke of that province, died without issue ; two concurrents disputed his inheritance : the one was Charles of Blois, husband of one of his nieces, and nephew of the king of France ; the other, Montfort, descended by his mother from the famous Simon de Montfort, conqueror of the Albigeois ; he was the younger brother of the last duke, and had been disinherited by him. The court of peers, devoted to the king, adjudged the duchy to Charles of Blois, his nephew. Montfort immediately took possession of the strongest places, and did homage for Brittany to Edward, whose assistance at the same time he implored. This war, in which Charles of Blois was supported by France, and Montfort by England, lasted twenty-four years without interruption, and presented, amidst deeds of heroism, a long train of perfidies and atrocious brigandages. Among the most remarkable combats of this terrible struggle, history mentions, during a truce with England, *the battle of the thirties*, a sanguinary duel between thirty Bretons, under John of Beaumanoir, and thirty English, commanded by Bemborough. The victory remained with the Bretons, but it had no influence over the issue of the war. Two females, two heroines, likewise, not only emulated, but furnished a brilliant example for the warriors of this period : these were, Jane la Boiteuse (the lame), wife of Charles of Blois, and

Jane the Fleming, wife of Montfort ; they were the soul of their parties, and the defence of Hennebon rendered Jane de Montfort immortal.

Charles of Blois, nephew of Philip VI., only inherited the duchy of Brittany by the female line : the king maintained his cause from family interests, and did not scruple to have recourse to both perfidy and cruelty. At a tournament, to which the Breton knights repaired without the least suspicion or apprehension, he caused twelve of the party of Montfort to be seized ; Oliver Clisson, one of the most powerful nobles of Brittany, was of the number : all were decapitated without any legitimate cause, or even the pretence of a trial. The widow of Clisson immediately took possession, by surprise, of a fortress belonging to the king, and put all the garrison to the sword before his face : the relations and friends of the knights put to death by treachery all passed over to the side of Montfort, and defied his enemies. One of these, Geoffrey d'Harcourt, being threatened with the same fate by Philip, obtained from King Edward a vow to avenge them ; and the following year an English army, commanded by the same d'Harcourt, landed in Normandy, and ravaged the country up to the very walls of Paris. Philip, calling around him all the nobility of France, assembled a formidable army, before which that of Edward retreated. The retreat of the English was difficult : very inferior in numbers to the French, they forded the Somme at Blankaert, and finding themselves constrained to fight, they fortified a position upon a hill which dominates the village of Crecy. The French had come up by forced marches. If they had taken rest, with prudent dispositions, their success would have been certain ; but the impatient Philip, the moment he arrived within sight of the enemy, commanded his Genoese archers, who formed his vanguard, to commence the attack. It was in vain the archers represented to him that they were exhausted by fatigue and hunger, and that the rain had rendered their bows useless ; the command was repeated, they rushed forward with great bravery, but they were repulsed. Philip, rendered furious by this first disaster, ordered the Genoese to be massacred, and his brother, the duke of Alençon, trampled them under the feet of his cavalry. This ferocious act ruined the army ; the English took advantage of the confusion of the front ranks to pour down upon them ; the van was driven back upon the main body, and a frightful carnage was begun : thirty thousand French lost

their lives, and among them were eleven princes and twelve hundred nobles and knights. The prime nobility of France was swept away upon this memorable and sanguinary day. The celebrated Black Prince, only fifteen years of age, commanded the English, under King Edward his father, and contributed powerfully to the victory. Philip, wounded twice, and dragged away from the field of battle by his friends, entered Abbeville, followed by only five knights.

The taking of Calais was one of the most fatal results of the defeat at Crecy. The inhabitants of that city, after a brave defence of eleven months, compelled by famine to capitulate, were summoned by Edward to give up six of their number upon whom he might satisfy his vengeance. At this news the people broke out into loud lamentations: "But, then," says Froissard, "arose the richest citizen of the city, named the Sire Eustache de St. Pierre, and he spoke thus before all: 'Great pity and great misfortune would it be to suffer such a people to perish. I have such great hope of finding grace and pardon before our Lord, if I die to save these people, that I will be the first, and will place myself willingly at the mercy of the king of England.' When Sire Eustache had spoken these words, the crowd was deeply moved, and women and children cast themselves weeping at his feet; then another citizen, who had two daughters, and was named John d'Aire, arose and said he would accompany his gossip Sire Eustache." This noble example was followed by the two brothers Wissant; and at length two other citizens, whose names history has not preserved, offered to share their fate. All the six, with cords round their necks, and carrying the keys of the city in their hands, were led by the governor, John de Vienne, to the camp of the English: upon seeing them, Edward called for the executioner; but the queen and her son interceded for them and obtained their pardon. All the inhabitants of Calais were driven from the city, and it became an English colony, which, during two hundred years, left France open to foreign armies. The taking of this important place was followed by a truce between the two monarchs.

The disasters of war abated in no degree the pride or the magnificence of Philip of Valois. When his treasury was empty, he altered the coinage, or else got together some prelates, barons, and deputies of cities, upon whom he imposed his will; he compelled them to sanction fresh taxes, and it was by their means he decreed the impost of the twentieth

denier upon the price of all merchandise that was sold, and established the *gabelle*, procuring as a tax the monopoly in salt throughout the kingdom. The preamble of these edicts declares that they were issued for the welfare and in the interest of the good people, and by the national will ; nevertheless the States-General were legally summoned but once during this reign, and then only signalized themselves by their servility.

The frightful plague, known under the name of the Plague of Florence, exercised its ravages in France during the year 1348. It is estimated that it swept away about a third part of the inhabitants of the kingdom. The ignorant and superstitious populace accused the Jews of having poisoned the rivers and fountains ; and these unfortunate people were burnt and massacred by thousands. So many calamities served as an aliment to superstition and fanaticism. Enthusiasts of both sexes, believing, like the fakirs of India, that their sufferings were acceptable to the Divinity, were seen in numerous bands, wandering, half-naked, through cities and countries, scarifying their shoulders with whips, in order to efface, as they said, the sins of the world : they were called Flagellants : this sect, pursued and exterminated by the Church, had but a short existence. Philip had rendered the power of the Inquisition formidable in France ; nevertheless he authorized appeals as of abuses from the ecclesiastical tribunals to the Parliament. In 1350, though advanced in age, he married young Blanche of Navarre, sister of King Charles, surnamed the *Bad*, and died a few months after, in his fifty-eighth year. He bought Montpellier for 120,000 crowns, of James II., last king of Majorca, and acquired, in 1349, from the Dauphin Humbert II., the province of Dauphiny, which was given as an apanage to the eldest sons of the kings of France, who from that time bore the title of Dauphin.

CHAPTER III.

Reign of King John. 1350—1364.

THE disasters of the last war with the English, the prodigality, the frauds, the exactions of King John, and the malversations of his ministers, were the principal causes that in his reign rendered the States-General independent of the crown, and gave them a new and almost absolute authority.

This revolution was also due, in part, to the growing importance of the bourgeoisie, or the third estate, in number and in fortune. Continual intercourse with the Italians and the nations of the East had rapidly developed among the French nobility habits of great luxury ; in the fourteenth century particularly, expensive tastes made marked progress, and gave birth to new branches of industry, which added greatly to the comforts of the citizen class. This body, whilst acquiring wealth, with it also acquired the feeling of its own strength, and evinced more courage and perseverance in invoking and defending the rights of individual liberty and of property.

Until the reign of John, the members of this class had not appeared to be animated by any national spirit ; they seemed to have remained strangers to the political interests of the kingdom : country, with them, was confined within the circumference of the city ; they abandoned to the great vassals and the king the care of watching over the destinies of the state, and all their energy was at first displayed, not against the government which had often protected them, but against the tyrannical oppression of their respective lords. When, however, royal authority had crushed them beneath its intolerable weight, they seized, in order to resist it, the moment in which they saw it shaken by unheard-of misfortunes and incredible faults, and united themselves with the clergy and the nobility against it. The States-General from that time assumed an imposing aspect ; but the result of their energetic efforts was transient. Very soon the two first orders of the state became terrified at the success obtained in the States against the authority of the prince ; they were indignant at the importance which the order of the third estate had so suddenly acquired, and plainly perceived that the interests of this order, which had a strong tendency to social equality, were directly opposed to their interests, which existed but upon privileges : they abandoned it, therefore, to itself. Hostile to the crown in some respects, they united themselves with it against the third estate, and the disasters with which the bourgeoisie was oppressed after some ephemeral triumphs, turned to the advantage of royal despotism.

John was more than thirty years of age when, in 1350, he succeeded his father, Philip of Valois. Although some care had been taken of his education, it had left him rather a valiant knight than a wise and experienced king : impe-

tuons in character, unsteady in mind, as rash as brave, prodigal, obstinate, vindictive and full of pride, perfectly instructed in the laws of chivalry, and ignorant of the duties of the throne, he was always ready to sacrifice to the prejudices of honour, as they were then understood, the rights of his subjects and the interests of the state. France was exhausted at the period of his accession, and yet he spared no expense in the festivals of his coronation ; the expenditure was so enormous, and the poverty of the royal treasury was so great, that the king found himself obliged to convoke the States of the kingdom. The first acts of his reign were characterized by violence and despotism ; he seized the person of the count of Eu, the constable, who, a prisoner to the English, and free on his parole, had come into France to collect money for his ransom. John accused him of treason, and ordered his head to be struck off without the ceremony of a trial. In the course of the same year he issued eighteen ordinances for the alteration of the coinage by increasing and diminishing, by turns, the value of the gold mark, and confiscated the credits of the Jewish and Lombard merchants established in his kingdom ; he forbade his subjects to discharge their debts to them under pain of being compelled to pay the money again. These disastrous ordinances struck to the very heart of commerce, and threatened to entirely destroy it. The Jews and the Italians carried on then, almost alone, all the mercantile transactions of France ; a great number left that country ; others, to compensate for their risks, acquired enormous profits, which augmented the general misery. The king, after so many iniquitous acts, did not hesitate to convoke the States of his kingdom, and such was still at that period the ignorance or the subserviency of the deputies, that not a single murmur was heard. The monarch treated in private with the deputies of each province, obtained what he wanted, and dismissed them.

These new supplies were exhausted at the moment in which the truce between England and France was about to expire. Edward reproached John with having deprived him of the ransom of the constable by assassinating him, and swore to take vengeance for this crime. Another enemy, almost as formidable, about the same time declared war against the king of France ; this was Charles, king of Navarre and count of Evreux. This prince, as well as Edward, had claims to the crown in the female line, and was even nearer by a degree, as being son of a daughter of Louis

le Hutin. King John, whose son-in-law he was, had the imprudence to make him his enemy by not faithfully paying the dowry of his daughter, whilst he loaded with benefits and made constable the Spaniard Charles de la Cerda, the personal enemy of the king of Navarre. This monarch, whose vices and cruelties procured him the surname of the Bad, surprised the constable at l'Aigle, in Normandy, and assassinated him; then summoning to his banner all the Norman barons and nobles, he braved the fury of King John, who, finding he could do nothing by force of arms, cited him to a bed of justice. Charles of Navarre consented to appear, received his pardon of the king, and was reconciled to him by the treaty of Valogne. The war with England, however, was renewed at the termination of the truce: the king issued more ordinances for falsifying the coinage; the value of the gold mark rose from four livres to seventeen, and then fell again to four livres. These odious proceedings only brought very inefficient relief to the treasury. The king, in order to create others, convoked the States-General of the Langue d'Oil, at Paris, in 1355.

The States met on the 2nd of December, in the great chamber of the parliament. The archbishop of Rouen, Peter de la Forest, chancellor of France, opened the assembly and demanded subsidies for the war. John of Craon, archbishop of Reims, in the name of the clergy; Gauthier de Brienne, duke of Athens, in the name of the nobility; and Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchants, in the name of the third estate, protested their devotion to the king, and retired to deliberate among themselves upon the amount of subsidies to be granted, and upon the reform of abuses. Their first declaration announced that a revolution was about to be effected in men's minds; it asserted that no regulation would have the force of law, unless it had been approved by the three orders, and that an order which should have refused its consent, would not be bound by the vote of the other two. By this famous declaration, the third estate made itself recognised all at once, as a political power, equal to the clergy or the nobility. The demands of the king were solemnly discussed, and before being subscribed to, the States required that the value of the silver mark should be stable, and remain fixed to four livres twelve sous: they suppressed a right assumed by all the purveyors of the king, the princes, and great officers, which consisted of taking, without paying for it, whilst travelling, everything they

stood in need of; they interdicted proceedings for the recovery of the credits forced from the Italian merchants, and abolished the monopolies established by people in office; they undertook, in return, to furnish thirty thousand men-at-arms, and five million livres for the pay of an army; but they insisted that this money should remain in the hands of their receivers, and be levied by themselves. They agreed to meet again on the 1st of March of the following year, to receive the accounts of the treasurers, and again at the end of another year, to renew the imposts, if occasion for them should exist, and provide for the expenses of the war. The king promised to respect these conditions.

It was thus the nation appeared to have regained its ancient political assemblies, and that the monarch was brought to acknowledge the legal division of sovereign power between himself and the three orders of the States-General. But the latter, however skilful in reforming abuses and recovering valuable rights, evinced deplorable incapacity in assessing the imposts. Composed of men without experience, gathered together from all parts of the kingdom, and unknown to each other, being able to obtain only three days from the king to devise means to fill the treasury, restore public confidence, organize the army, and drive the enemy out of the kingdom,—they established the *gabelle*, or impost upon salt, and an *aide* of eight deniers in the pound upon the sale of all merchandise. The first of these imposts, falling upon an article indispensable to all, affected the poorest and most numerous class; the second, to which persons of every state and every condition were subject, wounded the pretensions of the nobility and clergy, annoyed the trading class with an intolerable inquisition, and impeded all mercantile operations. Ominous symptoms of discord soon appeared: the people murmured, foreign traders abandoned the kingdom, French merchants threw up their business, commerce was extinguished; both cities and countries opposed the establishment of the *gabelle*, and were loud in their complaints against the States; the ecclesiastics refused to perform divine service, in order to avoid paying the impost. Several seditions broke out; the inhabitants of Arras rose tumultuously, and slaughtered fourteen of their burgesses. In the midst of these disturbances, the time came round in which the States were to assemble again; but already the people, incapable of penetrating to the source of the evil, began to doubt the fidelity of their deputies; they

suspected them of being the accomplices of their oppressors. A great number of cities declined sending to the States ; the Normans and the Picards refused to be represented in the assembly, and declared they would not pay the two last established taxes : the king of Navarre and the Count d'Harcourt fomented the revolt, and supported the malcontents. The new States-General, much less numerous than the preceding meeting, abolished the *gabelle* and the *aid* of eight deniers in the pound upon the sale of merchandises, and replaced these imposts by a tax proportionate to every fortune.

The king, however, who had only pardoned Charles of Navarre for the murder of his constable from his incapacity to punish him, seized an opportunity for satisfying both his ancient and his new resentments. He learned that on an appointed day, the Dauphin had invited to his table, at the castle of Rouen, the king of Navarre, the Count d'Harcourt, and several other nobles : he left Orleans, where he then was, entered Rouen on the day fixed, followed by a numerous escort, and presented himself at the entrance of the hall in which the nobles were seated at table. Messire Arnoul d'Andenheim preceded him, and drawing his sword, said :—"Let no one stir, whatever he may see, unless he wishes to die by this sword." King John advanced towards the table, and the guests, seized with terror, rose to salute him ; when, laying his hand upon Charles of Navarre, the king seized him, and shaking him with violence : "Traitor," said he, "thou art not worthy to sit at the table of my son, I will neither eat nor drink while thou livest." Upon witnessing this violence, a squire of the king of Navarre, Colinet de Breville, drew his cutlass, and pointing it towards the breast of the king, said he would kill him : "Let that man be arrested as well as his master," cried King John. The serjeant-at-arms immediately took the king of Navarre into his custody, who in vain demanded mercy. The Dauphin, who was then very young, threw himself at the feet of his father : "Ah ! sire," said he, "you are dishonouring me ! What will be said of me, when men learn that I had the king and his barons, ready to dine with me, in my own hall, and you treat them thus ! it will be said I have betrayed them." "Be silent, Charles," replied the king, "they are wicked traitors ; you do not know all that I know." The king stepped forward a few paces, and seizing an iron mace, struck the Count d'Harcourt heavily with it between the

shoulders, exclaiming : " On, proud traitor ! by the soul of my father, you shall not escape." Two nobles of the train of the king of Navarre were arrested with this prince and his squire. King John ordered the prisoners to the castle-yard, and said to the captain of his guard : " Deliver us from these men." D'Harcourt and the three noblemen were immediately decapitated before him. Royal dignity saved Charles of Navarre : John spared his head, but he detained him prisoner, shut him up in the tower of the Louvre, and took possession of his apanage.*

This act of violence brought great evils upon the kingdom ; Philip of Navarre, father of King Charles, and Geoffrey d'Harcourt, uncle of the beheaded count, immediately joined the king of England, acknowledged him king of France, and paid him homage for their domains. Edward proclaimed himself the avenger of the gentlemen who had been executed ; he sent a formidable army into Normandy, whilst the prince of Wales carried fire and sword to the heart of the kingdom, ravaged Auvergne, the Limousin, and Berri, and drew near to Tours. John, whose vindictive fury had brought this new stain upon France, made a vow to fight the prince of Wales, whenever he should meet him : he convoked his barons, his great vassals, and his nobles. The army assembled in 1356, in the plains of Chartres : they overtook the English in the neighbourhood of Poitiers. Famine was beginning to be felt in the enemy's army, and the Black Prince offered very advantageous terms to France. If John had not persisted in fighting, the English might have been conquered by famine, and compelled to lay down their arms ; but so much prudence was not consistent with the spirit of these chivalrous times : battles were not calculations, but the fruit of an unexpected meeting and a warlike impulse ; they decided less the existence than the honour of nations. The French army was likewise more than sixty thousand strong, whilst that of the English only amounted to eight thousand. King John then resolved to fight, and might reckon on victory.

The Black Prince had but two thousand horse, four thousand archers, and two thousand foot-soldiers, and he saw before him an army of fifty thousand combatants, among whom, besides the king of France and his four sons, were twenty-six dukes or counts, and a hundred and forty bannerets. He fixed his camp at Maupertuis, two leagues north of Poitiers, upon a hill covered with hedges, bushes, and

* Froissard, Chronicles.

vines, impracticable to cavalry and favourable to marksmen ; he concealed his archers among the bushes, dug ditches, and surrounded his position with palisades and waggons ; in short, he made his camp one great redoubt, open only in the middle by one narrow defile, which was fenced by a double hedge. At the top of this defile was posted the little English army, on foot, in close order, and covered on all sides ; behind a hill which separated the two armies, was an ambuscade of six hundred archers and horsemen.

The French army was placed in an oblique line, in three *battles*, or divisions. The left and most advanced wing was commanded by the duke of Orleans, brother of the king ; the centre, behind, by the sons of the king ; and the right wing, or reserve, by the king himself. The battle-cries were beginning to be heard, when two legates interposed their mediations. The prince of Wales consented to give up his conquests and his prisoners, and not to act against France for seven years ; but John required that he and a hundred of his knights should surrender themselves prisoners. This the English refused to do ; and the king, who might have subdued them by famine, gave the signal for battle.

A body of three hundred men-at-arms advanced into the defile ; a shower of arrows destroyed them ; the troops that followed, disordered by this attack, fell back upon the left wing, and threw it into confusion. This was but an affair of the vanguard, but the English ambuscade, throwing themselves all at once upon the centre division, this latter, seized with a panic terror, took to flight without fighting. Upon seeing this, Chandos, the most illustrious captain of the English army, cried out to the prince of Wales : " Ride forward ! ride forward ! the day is yours ! " * The English descended the hill, and carried everything before them. " Three sons of the king," says Froissard, " with more than eight hundred sound and unbroken lances, which had never been near their enemies, fled." The left wing, in complete disorder, took refuge behind the king's division, already in confusion, but still intact. The English marched out in good order from the defile, and, advancing on to the plain, found themselves in front of this division, in which was the king with his youngest son and the most brilliant of his nobility. The French had still greatly the advantage over their enemies in numbers ; but John, to his misfortune, remembering that the disaster of Crecy was caused by the French cavalry, cried

* *Chevauchez avant ! la journée est vôtre.*

aloud : " Dismount ! dismount ! " He himself leaped from his horse, and headed his troops, battleaxe in hand. The *mêlée* was severe and bloody ; but the French knights were unable to contend on foot against the great horses of the English and the arrows of the archers ; they fought till they were all dead or taken, but without order, by troops, or companies, as they happened to be together or scattered. There perished the flower of the chivalry of France. The king remained almost alone, bareheaded, wounded, but intrepid, wielding his battleaxe bravely, in company with his youngest son, who parried the blows aimed at his father : he was obliged to surrender.

The Black Prince, scarcely twenty-six years of age, proved himself worthy of his good fortune ; he treated the conquered king with the greatest respect, declaring that the prize of valour on this memorable day was due to him. Such was the disastrous issue of the celebrated battle of Poitiers. The dauphin, already named by his father lieutenant-general of the kingdom, took the reins of government during the captivity of the king : he issued six ordinances upon the coinage, to provide for the pressing wants of the treasury, and convoked at Paris, that same year, the States of the Langue d'Oil.

The disaster of Poitiers and the captivity of the king had plunged the kingdom into mourning, and every one, at this dangerous crisis, acknowledged the extreme importance of the States-General convoked by the dauphin in 1356 : eight hundred deputies were sent thither : Charles of Blois, duke of Brittany, presided over it. Fifty commissioners, named by them, immediately required that the ministers of King John should be brought to trial, offering to forfeit all they were worth, if the innocence of the accused should be established : they demanded that the king of Navarre should be set at liberty, and that a council should be instituted to assist the prince, composed of four prelates, twelve knights, and twelve burgesses. Jealous of the authority which the States arrogated to themselves, the dauphin required time for consideration ; he dragged on the discussions, he flattered the deputies, abused them by vain words, and at length tired them out : most of them returned to their homes, and the assembly broke up without having obtained or granted anything. The dauphin had greater hopes from the assembly of the States of the Langue d'Oc ; these, in fact, granted some subsidies and some troops ; but they claimed liberties and the

right of administering their own finances. These weak aids were far from being sufficient for the wants of the kingdom. The English laid waste the finest provinces ; commerce was annihilated ; soldiers, disbanded without pay, ravaged the entire country ; there was no security for peasants in their cottages, or for monks and nuns in their convents ; the abandoned fields remained uncultivated, and the cities received a multitude of men without asylum and without bread, who brought famine with them into their walls ; and to complete all, the enemy was at the gates of Paris. It was amidst so many and such great calamities that Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchants of the city, displayed great courage and qualities of a superior genius. He animated the Parisians, he completed and fortified the walls of the city, stretched iron chains across the streets, accustomed the citizens to the use of arms, and, rendered strong by his immense popularity, he presented himself at the famous States of 1357, convoked at Paris by the dauphin, in general assembly. Robert le Coq, bishop of Laon, spoke for the clergy, John de Pequigny for the nobility, and Stephen Marcel for the third estate. They promised the dauphin a sufficient subsidy for the maintenance of thirty thousand men, upon condition that it should be collected and managed by themselves. The prince promised solemnly to appropriate no part of the money consecrated to the public good to his own personal uses ; to refuse every letter of pardon for atrocious crimes ; to no longer sell or let out to farm the offices of justice ; to seek out and punish prevarications of the chamber of accounts and of that of inquiry ; to re-establish a good coinage, and to make no alteration in it without the consent of the three estates ; to forbid all seizure for royal service, and to compel collectors accused of malversation to render their accounts. He then convoked the States for the 1st of the following April, and requested them to assemble at two other times, according to their will, before the 1st of March, 1358. They appointed thirty-six commissaries, taken from among themselves, to administer the finances, and direct affairs in concert with the prince.

We may judge by these conditions, to which the dauphin subscribed, of the number of complaints justly made against the court and the nobles, and of the enormity of the abuses under which the nation groaned. These useful reforms were attempted with great courage by the provost Stephen Marcel and the bishop Robert le Coq, who both, however, employed very culpable violence in their endeavours to support them ;

but if they participated, in many things, in the rudeness and barbarity of their times, they had, at least, the merit of having attempted to save France by her own means. The durable success of their great enterprise was impossible. The only class which could then have been believed with reason to be interested in the triumph of the principles they established, was the class of the third estate, or bourgeoisie, and that was not a body animated by one same spirit. Disseminated through a great number of cities, feudally subject to as many powerful lords, and, for the most part, but recently united to the kingdom, the diversity of their habits, their manners, their prejudices, and their material interests, rendered the men of the citizen class rivals, and jealous of one another : no social tie existed among them. Weakly affected by the general destinies of the state, which offered them no advantage, they revolted against the sacrifices which its defence required ; when they could do it with impunity, they disavowed their free representatives, and never lent them the support necessary to combat the jealous hatred of the privileged orders. It was necessary that the action of a central and energetic power should weigh upon them for centuries more, before so many individual wills could be melted into one general will, and before there could be born in France a national spirit wise enough to comprehend the advantages which a vast and powerful association procures, and the duties it imposes, sufficiently enlightened to appropriate the benefit of public liberties, and strong enough to conquer and defend them. The year 1357 was the epoch of the greatest power of the States-General in the Middle Ages : from that time they declined rapidly ; they lost, as did the order of the third estate, all political influence, and were for centuries nothing but a phantom of the national assemblies.

King John had been taken from Poitiers to Bordeaux, and from thence to London ; and pending the negotiations on the subject of his ransom, a truce of two years was concluded between England and France. About the same time, the death of Geoffrey d'Harcourt delivered the dauphin from an implacable enemy. Charles breathed again : he had only yielded to the wishes of his States from constraint, and was eager to break their yoke as soon as the absolute necessity for feigning should cease. He preserved the ministers he had promised to dismiss and persecute, and, at their instigation, he opposed the pretensions of the nobility and the murmurs of the people to the votes of the States. The

contributions agreed upon by them were not paid; the prince then declared he would govern alone, and dismissed their thirty-six commissaries. These felt that public opinion, the only force capable of supporting them, had abandoned them, and they separated without resistance. Charles, escaped from tutelage, revived several of the abuses he had promised to destroy; but he wanted money, and the States assembled again. Alarmed at the declarations and the hostile acts of the prince, they were desirous of procuring a protector capable of defending them, and cast their eyes upon the king of Navarre, still a prisoner in the castle of Arleux. John de Péquigny, the deputy of the nobles, surprised the fortress and delivered the king, who repaired to Paris, where he was received as the future liberator of the kingdom. The dauphin dissembled, and promised to restore his castles; he failed in his promise, and the Navarrese instantly commenced war. Charles, in order to meet it, altered the coinage, and braved the States, by calling around him and loading with favours the ministers and great officers condemned by them. No tribunal had dared to prosecute them; they affected the greatest contempt for the commons, by threatening to re-establish all the abuses. The moment of the crisis was come: Marcel resolved to save, by a violent act, both communal liberty and his own life; he made the Parisians adopt a national colour, and gave as a rallying signal *chaperons* (a sort of hood), half red and half white. He repaired, followed by men-at-arms, to the presence of the dauphin, with whom he found the Sire de Conflans, marshal of Champagne, and Robert de Clermont, marshal of Normandy, both proscribed by the States. After an exchange of some few words between the prince and Marcel, at a signal from the provost, the men-at-arms drew their swords, and the two marshals were massacred. The dauphin, covered with their blood, implored his life of Marcel, who, placing his own red and white chaperon upon the head of the prince, conducted him to the Hôtel de Ville, under the safeguard of the popular colours. When there, the dauphin, seized with terror, declared to the assembled people that the two assassinated marshals were traitors, and merited the death they had met with. Marcel became king in Paris. This double assassination, although it restored power to the States for some time, neither consolidated that power, nor rendered their fall less complete; it created implacable resentments in the hearts of the dauphin and the nobles.

The two privileged orders were already indignant at seeing the despised burghesses exercising a power equal to their own; secret hatreds were fermenting, and prejudices of birth and station creating divisions among the three orders, when the murder of the marshals fired the train of discord. The nobles of Champagne assembled, and demanded vengeance of the dauphin, who, now become regent of the kingdom by his majority, took advantage of dispositions so favourable to his designs. He convoked the States of the Langue d'Oil at Compiègne; the nobility alone presented themselves there in great numbers, and were loud in their demand for revenge. Marcel foresaw the storm, and prepared to meet it; he attacked the Louvre, then without the capital, and obtained possession of it; he joined the city with the castle, and fortified their inclosure. The regent called upon the nobility, and collected seven thousand lances, whilst, by the advice of Marcel, the burghesses of Paris proclaimed the king of Navarre their captain-general. Civil war commenced, and in its train brought a new scourge.

The people of the country, without strength against oppression, from whatever side it presented itself, overburdened with imposts by the lords, disdained by the burghesses, and pillaged by the soldiers, at this period suffered intolerable evils. A current proverb expressively describes their excessive misery: the nobles were accustomed to designate these unhappy people under the name of Jacques Bonhomme, and jeeringly said: * *"Jacques Bonhomme never parts with his money unless he is well cudgelled; but Jacques Bonhomme will pay, for he shall be beaten."* The disaster of Poitiers augmented the evils of this unhappy class: the barons and nobles, who were prisoners to the English, and released upon parole, subjected their serfs to atrocious persecutions, to extort from them the amount of their ransom. The instinct of despair united the peasantry; one sentiment possessed the souls of all,—that of a furious and deep vengeance; they rose in a body and swore war to the death against noblemen and gentlemen. They burnt castles, and tortured and massacred their inhabitants; they violated and slaughtered women and girls, and carried their rage so far as to force children to eat the flesh of their parents burnt before their eyes: in short, they committed all the excesses that barbarous and ignorant men, who had for a length of time been

* *"Jacques Bonhomme ne lâche pas son argent, s'il n'est roué de coups; mais Jacques Bonhomme payera, car il sera battu."*

victims of a cruel oppression, could possibly be conceived to abandon themselves to. This rising received in history the name of the "*Jacquerie*:" it was soon suppressed; the nobles, invincible beneath their iron armour, exterminated these half-naked wretches. They solicited the support of the king of Navarre; but this prince marched against them, and massacred them by thousands. They almost all perished, and the fields and plains of many provinces became deserts. The nobility took advantage of this victory obtained by Charles the Bad, to make him ashamed of his alliance with the burgesses of Paris; he betrayed them, but was driven out from amongst them. The dauphin, shortly afterwards, encamped his army under their walls. Marcel had no hope but in the king of Navarre; he went to him, reminded him that he was, by the female line, next heir to the throne, and pressed him to return to Paris. He at the same time engaged to have the title of captain-general restored to him, and to open the gates of the city to him. The Navarrese accepted the terms; but a burgess named Maillard, a partisan of the regent, and personally an enemy to the provost of the merchants, suspected his design. He presented himself at night, with Marcel, at the gate which the latter was to deliver up to the king, and before he opened it, struck him full on the forehead with his battleaxe, and killed him. That one blow destroyed the whole party of Marcel. The death of the famous provost smoothed the way for the regent, who entered Paris as a conqueror, leaning on the shoulder of Maillard, and signalized his power by numerous executions.

In the mean time, John, tired of his long captivity, had signed a shameful treaty, which ceded the half of France to England. This treaty was rejected with one voice by the regent and the States of 1359. The dauphin, to whom this patriotic act gave popularity, quickly declared that the ministers and great officers had never lost his confidence, and re-established them in their functions. He obtained a grant of some subsidies, which the people would not pay, and, to support the war, he was once more forced to the old expedient of altering the coinage. The celebrated treaty of Bretigny at length terminated the hostilities between France and England: its principal articles stipulated that Guienne, Poitou, Saintonge, and the Limousin should remain the entire property of the king of England; that Edward should renounce his pretensions to the crown of France, to Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, all possessed by his

ancestors, and that John should pay three millions of gold crowns for his ransom. The two sovereigns confirmed this treaty at Calais, in 1360.

Great calamities followed the deliverance of King John. This prince, when bestowing his daughter upon Galeas Visconti, of Milan, had made him purchase the honour of his alliance with the sum of a hundred thousand florins. This money, although it assisted to pay the king's ransom, was far from being sufficient for it. The people were subjected to arbitrary taxes, by which their misery was much increased : numerous companies of adventurers, always in the pay of the highest bidder, and without employment in times of peace, infested the country ; the fields remained uncultivated, and famine, followed by a pestilence of three years' duration, desolated the kingdom.

Amidst so many evils, one fortunate circumstance for France occurred. John acquired Burgundy by the death of young Philip de Rouvre, the last duke, to whom he succeeded as his nearest relation. But he did not comprehend the importance of this acquisition as a national interest, and hastened to separate again this fine province from his crown, by giving it as an apanage to Philip le Hardi, his fourth son : thus was founded the second house of Burgundy, which rendered itself so redoubtable to France. Every one of the acts of this king appears to have been stamped with the seal of the most deplorable fatality : after so many errors, and amidst the cries of distress of the nation, he meditated uniting with the king of Cyprus, then engaged in a new crusade, and, encouraged by Pope Urban V., took the cross at Avignon ; but he soon after learnt that his son, the duke of Anjou, had fled from England, where he had been left as a hostage, which gave him the greatest concern. If guilty of complicity with his son, the king would have violated the laws of chivalry, which he so scrupulously respected ; impatient to justify himself, he demanded a safe-conduct, obtained it, and returned into England, where he died in 1364. Few kings possessed of estimable qualities and good intentions, have brought more evils upon their people than John did. The following fine saying is attributed to this prince : "*If good faith were banished from the rest of the world, it ought always to be found in the hearts of kings ;*" a noble maxim, which would do much more honour to King John if it had always inspired his actions.

CHAPTER IV.

Reign of Charles V. 1364—1380.

WHEN Charles V. ascended the throne, he was twenty-nine years of age. He had already governed France during nearly eight years ; nothing at that time announced in him the saviour of the monarchy. But little esteemed by the nobility, on account of his deficiency in warlike qualities and his conduct at Poitiers ; detested by the bourgeoisie, whom he had quelled by severities ; weak in body and of a sickly constitution, everything seemed to present obstacles to him in his coming reign ; and yet, by his address and prudence, rather than by great talents, he found means to re-conquer most of the provinces lost by his father ; he re-established order in the interior of his kingdom, but that could only be done at the expense of the authority of the States-General, which he succeeded in annulling. His principal merit was the sagacity with which he appreciated circumstances and men, formed useful alliances, always seized the favourable moment for attacking his enemies, and attached to his interests skilful ministers and great captains, at the head of whom were Boucicault, Oliver Clisson, and the valiant Du Guesclin. He is justly reproached with having respected neither the rights of his people, nor his treaties with his enemies ; but having occupied the throne between the two most disastrous periods of French history, to him is attributed the repose which France appeared to enjoy during his reign ; and posterity has confirmed the surname of *Wise*, which he received from his contemporaries.

No one person threw more splendour over the reign of Charles V., or contributed more to his successes, than the illustrious Bertrand du Guesclin. A simple Breton gentleman, without personal beauty, without graces, and without fortune, of a mind so little open to cultivation, that he could never be taught to read, he had nothing in appearance that announced the hero, except valour ; and yet it was he who, after having for a long time obscurely fought for Charles of Blois, upon the heaths of Brittany, became the first captain of his age, the man whom God appeared to have made contemporary with Charles V., in order to save France. "A powerful spirit,"* says his historian, "nourished upon steel,

* "Ame forte, nourrie dans le fer, pétrie sous les palmes, et dans laquelle Mars fit école longtemps."

moulded by victories, in which Mars a long time held his school.* His first exploit for Charles was a victory. Boucicault had recently surprised the city of Mantes, which belonged to the king of Navarre; that of Meulan had likewise fallen into the hands of the French. The Captal de Buch, a brave Gascon captain, in the service of Charles the Bad, prepared to take his revenge. He joined with John Joel, an English captain, at the head of seven hundred lances, three hundred archers, and five hundred foot-soldiers, waited for the French in the vicinity of Cocherel, near Evreux, where he drew up his troops on the top of a hill, on the skirts of a wood. Upon coming up, Bertrand du Guesclin at once perceived that the captal had the advantage of the ground; but his own soldiers were in want of provisions, and it was necessary for him to fight, and draw the enemy into the plain. Du Guesclin had not his equal for warlike stratagems; he prepared an ambuscade, and ordered an apparently precipitate retreat. John Joel, the dupe of this artifice, rushed forward, in spite of the orders of the captal, to the cry of: "Forward, St. George! who loves me follows me!" The captal saw the peril, and followed Joel, in order to save him, if possible; but at that moment the French halted in their flight, and, "Forward, my friends!" cried Du Guesclin, "the day is ours. For God's sake remember we have a new king in France; let his crown be handselled by us to-day!" A furious combat commenced, the ambuscade opened, and thirty horsemen, at full gallop, charged upon the captal, and took him prisoner. The battle was warmly disputed, but John Joel falling, wounded to death, the Navarrese, left without a leader, dispersed, and only a small number succeeded in escaping. The victory of Cocherel brought almost all Normandy under subjection to Charles V.; he received the news of it at Rheims, amidst the festivities of his coronation, and rewarded Du Guesclin by the gift of the county of Languerville.

The war still continued in Brittany between the two pretenders—Montfort allied with the English, and Charles of Blois supported by the French. The celebrated battle of *Aurai*, in which the latter was killed, quickly followed by the treaty of *Guerande*, assured the duchy of Brittany to Montfort. This treaty, signed by the intervention of Charles V., rendered the duchy reversible to the widow and children of Charles of Blois, in the event of Montfort's dying without posterity: thus was terminated an atrocious war,

* "Faire école" is said of one who has many imitators.

which had lasted twenty-four years. The Duke de Montfort, under the name of John V., made haste to repair to Paris, and pay homage to the king.

Charles V. found himself at length, for the first time, at peace with all his neighbours ; his people began to breathe, they returned to the long-neglected labour of the fields, and order revived with repose. But the scourge of the companies of adventurers threatened to impede their approach towards a better state of things, and to ruin the kingdom. In these times, in which the caprice of princes, a gift, an exchange, a marriage, decided daily the destiny of nations, a multitude of men considered themselves as without a country, and offered their sword to whoever was willing to buy it ; the length of wars, which rendered their services necessary to so many princes ; the weakness of the laws, which appeared to authorize all kinds of disorders and violences, had, during twenty-five years, prodigiously increased the number of these greedy and licentious men. When France was at peace, they remained all without employment or means of existence ; they then spread themselves over the country like beasts of prey, and committed frightful ravages. The only means to subdue them would have been to have armed the national militias of the kingdom against them, but experience had taught Charles to fear above everything the influence of the middle class ; he refused to increase it, and from that time, being unable to exterminate the great free companies, it became necessary to employ them. During a length of time, Pedro, king of Castille, surnamed the Cruel, had alienated the affections of his family and his subjects by acts of atrocity. He had poisoned his wife, Blanche of Bourbon, and commanded the murder of his natural brother, Henry of Transtamare : the latter, in the hope of punishing him and supplanting him on the throne, implored and obtained the support of Charles V. Charles eagerly seized upon this opportunity to avenge his relation Blanche, and to remove to a distance the great companies, whose brigandages he so much dreaded. Du Guesclin commanded the expedition : when charging him with this difficult mission, the king embraced him before all the court. " Valiant Bertrand," said he to him, " I owe you more than if you had conquered a province for me."

These terrible adventurers, on passing through Avignon, then the residence of the pontifical court, laid the pope under contribution, obliging him to bestow his benediction with his gold. They passed over into Spain, and the troops

of Pedro disbanded themselves before them. This prince, rejected by his subjects, and driven from Portugal, where he sought a refuge with Pedro the Justiciary, as barbarous as himself, abandoned his throne to his rival, and retired to the court of the prince of Wales, who received him at Bordeaux with great honours.

The whole of Castille took arms, and Henry obtained possession of the crown without an obstacle. Pedro, however, solicited the assistance of the English, and promised to enrich their captains: the prince of Wales armed in his favour, without breaking with France. The great companies, which had so recently established Transtamare on the throne, now flocked to his brother, attracted by the golden bait he held out to them. Du Guesclin supported Transtamare; but the latter was conquered by the prince of Wales at the battle of Navaretto, and Du Guesclin was made prisoner. Pedro the Cruel recovered his kingdom, and his fugitive brother sought an asylum with the duke of Anjou, the eldest of Charles V.'s brothers, commanding in Languedoc: this prince, the enemy of the English, received Transtamare, as the prince of Wales had, the preceding year, received Pedro the Cruel.

Charles, at this period, meditated the recovery of the provinces won by the English from his father, and beheld with joy Edward III. weakened by voluptuous pleasures rather than by age, and his illustrious son, the Black Prince, the conqueror at Crecy, Poitiers, and Navaretto, struck by a languishing disease, the symptoms of which were mortal. He abused the English monarch by professions of friendship, and fomented a revolt in Gascony, one of the provinces subjected to the English by the treaty of Bretigny. The English treated the inhabitants of these countries rather as conquered people than as brothers and fellow-citizens; thence the lively desire the Gascons manifested to be restored to France.

Charles profited by these dispositions, and endeavoured to win over the most influential of the nobles. A rising broke out in Gascony on account of a hearth-tax, levied by the English on every fire. The Gascons pretended that they had till that time been free from any impost, and appealed to the king of France, as suzerain of Guienne and Languedoc. Charles V., in contempt of the treaty of Bretigny, which granted these provinces in complete sovereignty to Edward, received their appeal, and caused the prince of Wales to be

cited, as his subject, before the chamber of peers ; he at the same time entered into a fresh alliance with Transtamare.

Du Guesclin had only been able to recover his liberty by defying the English prince to release him ; he himself fixed his ransom at a hundred thousand gold florins, and when the prince asked him where a poor knight could find such a sum : " The kings of France and Castille will pay it," replied Bertrand ; " there are a hundred Breton knights who would sell their lands to make up the amount ; and the spinning maidens of my country would rather earn my ransom with their wheels, than allow me to remain a prisoner." The princess of Wales immediately contributed twenty thousand livres, and the brave Chandos, the rival of Du Guesclin, offered his purse to hasten his deliverance. Liberated upon parole, Du Guesclin set out to get together his ransom. He was returning with it, when he met ten poor knights, in great trouble how or where they should find theirs. He gave them all, and arrived at Bordeaux empty-handed, to go back to his prison. Charles V. paid the ransom for him and released him. He sent him again into Spain, and Du Guesclin, conqueror at the battle of Montiel, a second time replaced Transtamare upon the throne of Castille. Pedro the Cruel was made prisoner. Upon recognising each other, the two brothers, actuated by rage, joined in deadly conflict, and Pedro died, poniarded by the hand of Henry, in the tent of Du Guesclin.

Charles V. then believed he was able, without compromising his power, to hazard a few acts of popularity. He ventured to convoke the States, and feigned to consult them, assured beforehand of finding them docile. They assembled in 1369, and approved, without restriction, of all the acts of his reign. The king pursued his projects against England ; he augmented the privileges of the revolted cities which gave themselves up to France ; and the clergy, won over by him to his interest, stirred up the people in his favour : at length, when everything seemed prepared so as to insure success, the parliament, in 1370, passed a decree, by which it declared, that by not having appeared before the court of peers, Edward had forfeited his right upon Aquitaine and the other provinces of France, and it confiscated them, accordingly, to the crown. As a mark of disrespect, a common kitchen-servant was sent with this sentence to the English monarch, who, almost mad with indignation, prepared for war.

Charles V. strengthened his alliance with Spain. A Castilian fleet, victorious over the English at Rochelle, opened Poitou to him: Du Guesclin, now constable, recovered that province. De Montfort, duke of Brittany, was devoted with his whole heart to the English, to whom he was indebted for his duchy: he allied himself with Edward, but Charles contrived to secure the friendship of the Breton nobles. Two of them, Oliver de Clisson and Du Guesclin, enjoyed his favour in the highest degree; they won their compatriots over to the cause of Charles, and the duke was expelled from his duchy, which immediately joined France against England. Edward collected a powerful army, which landed at Calais, under the command of the duke of Lancaster. Charles V., still impressed with the remembrance of Crecy and Poitiers, gave orders to his generals to watch the enemy, and whilst harassing their movements, to avoid a pitched battle. His commands were observed; French valour, restrained by the prudence of the monarch, endured the insulting provocations of the enemy from Calais to Guienne, where the English army arrived, exhausted, and almost destroyed by disease, fatigue, and want of provisions. The fortune of England wavered; her hero, the prince of Wales, was just dead; the renowned Edward III., on the verge of the tomb, was about to leave his sceptre in the hands of a child; his fleet had been conquered at Rochelle; his powerful army had dwindled away: he had already lost most of the fruits of his victories; and France had recovered nearly all her provinces. The old king, formerly so redoubtable, but now so humbled, signed a truce with Charles V., and shortly after died in the arms of a courtesan, leaving the throne to his grandson, the unfortunate Richard II.

Delivered from his most dangerous enemy, Charles had time to indulge his resentment against his brother-in-law Charles the Bad, who was then in Spain, meditating an alliance with England. He obliged the son of this prince, a young man who had come to his court in full confidence, to sign an order for all the places possessed by his father in Normandy, to be given up to the French; he commanded the arrest of De Rue and Du Tertre, the one chamberlain to the king of Navarre, the other governor of one of his strong places, and both in the confidence of their master. They were delivered over to an extraordinary commission, and called upon to confess that their prince had been guilty of atrocious crimes, and, among them, of having endeavoured

to poison Charles V. They repelled these horrible accusations with scorn, but were not the less condemned to death, and executed as accomplices of their master in these crimes, in order to create credence for the suspicions which Charles V. wished to raise against his brother-in-law. Justly indignant, the king of Navarre hastened to conclude an alliance with the English, to whom he gave up Cherbourg, almost the only place he had preserved in Normandy.

Here it becomes necessary to throw a glance over the policy of Charles V. Attaining royalty amidst the most unfavourable circumstances, loaded with an enormous debt due to foreigners, without money, without an army, he had seen his subjects diminished in number full a half, by war, famine, and pestilence, and at the same time plundered by bands of brigands, who were masters of his kingdom; and yet in a few years he had succeeded in recovering from England Ponthieu, Quercy, Limousin, Rouergue, Saintonge, Angoumois, and Poitou; he had prevailed upon the feudatories of Upper Gascony to give themselves up to him; he had expelled the duke of Brittany from his duchy, and the king of Navarre from almost all his Norman possessions. Equally skilful in his foreign policy, he had favoured a revolution in Castille, which, while aiding him in getting rid of the scourge of the great companies, promised him a faithful ally; he attached Flanders to France, by assuring to his brother, Philip of Burgundy, the succession of that county by a marriage; he carefully preserved the friendship of the emperor Charles IV., and of his brother-in-law John Galeas Visconti, then master of Lombardy; and kept the pope in a state of dependence at Avignon. The companies of adventurers had disappeared from the kingdom, the roads had become safe, order was re-established, the royal authority was exercised without control, and on all sides, the subjects, detached from the monarchy by an humiliating treaty, shook off the yoke of the foreigner to become once again Frenchmen.

To assist him in the accomplishment of these happy changes, Charles had surrounded himself by men of mean birth but of extraordinary merit, among whom were William and Michael de Dormans, Philip de Savoisy, and Bureau de la Rivière. These men enjoyed his perfect confidence; they were his ministers, not his favourites: whilst availing himself of their counsels, he remained always their master. He discontinued the practice of altering the coinage, and did not crush the people by intolerable imposts; more wise than any of his

predecessors in one respect, he conciliated the Jews, the sole possessors of great capital, and it was upon them he depended to provide for his expenses. This wise conduct must be attributed equally to his solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, and to the dread they inspired him with. He never forgot that the people had made him tremble when he was only dauphin, and he rarely pardoned an offence. Nevertheless he knew how to postpone his chastisements, and was, according to circumstances, master of his pity as well as of his anger. When the English armies were devastating the country and burning the villages before his eyes, not a single sign of commiseration escaped him; and Froissard, the historian of the time, tells us that he saw nothing in these conflagrations but smoke, which had no power to drive him from his heritage. In short, in his relations with his people, his principal aim appears to have been to subdue them to his sovereign will, without experiencing resistance, without hearing a murmur. During his whole reign he only convoked the States-General once, and substituted for them assemblies of the notables, to which he admitted deputies from the bourgeoisie and the university, with some prelates, and his great officers.

It was from the depth of his palace that he mysteriously directed all his intrigues; prudence always regulated his policy, and whatever might be the private end he proposed in each of his acts, that which he attained was sure to be the only one agreeing with the true interests of France. The decline of this reign was not exempt from storms: Charles saw revive on all sides symptoms of that fermentation, of that liberal tendency of men's minds which he had taken such pains to stifle. Sectaries, known under the name of Beguins and Turlupins, multiplied in his states. Seconding the persecuting views of Pope Gregory XI., he allowed a great number of these unfortunate people to be burnt alive; but punishments had not the power to repress the flight of human reason: new sects were formed, and the great schism of the West assisted in rousing throughout Europe the spirit of doubt and examination. Gregory XI. died at Rome in 1378, and the College of Cardinals gave him as successor Barthélemy Prognani, who assumed the name of Urban VI. The violences of the new pope soon alienated even those who had crowned him: when threatened by him, all declared his election illegal; they chose Robert of Geneva in his place, who took the name of Clement VII., and established himself

at Avignon. Such was the origin of the famous schism of the West. Europe was divided between the two popes, according to the political interests of each kingdom. Charles V. declared himself in favour of Clement, who resided in France : his allies, the sovereigns of Naples, Castille, and Arragon, followed his example. The party of Urban VI. was embraced by England, Bohemia, Hungary, Portugal, and Flanders. Charles, by pronouncing in favour of him who was one day to be declared anti-pope, in spite of himself, opened new ways for the independence of human reason and for incredulity.

The symptoms of agitation which he saw reviving were not the only causes of alarm to disturb his latter days. The conqueror of the English without a battle, he believed himself sufficiently master of the minds of the Bretons to confiscate that province and unite it to his domains : in this he deceived himself. Duke John V., cited by his order before the Court of Parliament, was tried by it, before his summons had been notified to him in Flanders, where he then was, and condemned, without being heard, as guilty of having allied himself with the English against his suzerain : he was declared dispossessed of his title to Brittany, and the Parliament confiscated his duchy, in contempt of the rights of the widow and children of Charles of Blois, expressly reserved by the treaty of Guerande. Charles V. derived no advantage from this unjust action. The inhabitants of that country, jealous of their national independence, arose *en masse*, recalled their duke, and welcomed him as a liberator ; the brave Breton captains abandoned the royal army. Du Guesclin, still faithful to the king, whose conduct he disapproved of, became the object of his suspicions ; his noble pride was indignant ; it is said that he was desirous of returning to the king his constable's sword, and that he made preparations to retire to Spain, and there to die : but before quitting the colours of Charles, he joined the Marshal de Sancerre, his friend, and one of the most illustrious warriors of his age, who was besieging the little place of Château-Randon. He was there attacked by a fatal disease. Feeling death approaching, he raised himself upon his couch, and taking the constable's sword in his victorious hands, he contemplated it in silence with tears in his eyes : "It has aided me," said he, "in conquering the enemies of my king, but it has created me cruel ones near his person." Then, turning towards Sancerre : "I place it in your hands," continued he, "and I protest that I have never betrayed the honour the king did me

in confiding it to me." He then uncovered his head, kissed his noble sword, and said to the old captains who surrounded him : " Never forget, in whatever country you make war, that churchmen, women, and children are not your enemies." Upon the point of breathing his last, he dictated these words for Oliver Clisson, his companion in arms : " Messire Oliver, I feel death approaching so fast that I cannot say many things to you : tell the king that I am much afflicted that I cannot render him longer service ; if God had granted me time, I had good hopes of clearing his kingdom of his enemies from Eng'land. He has good servants, who will employ themselves in it as well as I could, and you, Messire Oliver, first of all. I beg you to return the constable's sword to the king ; he will know how to dispose of it, and will make election of a worthy person. I commend my wife and my brother to him—and—adieu—I can no more." The garrison of Randon had promised to surrender the city, if it was not relieved, and, faithful to its word, it placed the keys upon the coffin of the great captain.

Charles persevered in his projects of usurpation ; but his troops were driven from Brittany, and he everywhere encountered the same unanimity against him which had formerly been manifested in his favour against the English. Louis, count of Flanders, about the same time, implored his support against his revolted subjects. A formidable rising broke out in Languedoc, where the duke of Anjou, brother to the king, afflicted the people with an intolerable oppression ; Charles was obliged to recall his brother, and deprive him of his government. He at length beheld a new English army land upon his kingdom. He ordered that it should be met in the same manner as that which preceded it, hoping to triumph, as he had done before, without a battle ; but Du Guesclin was no more, and the king himself died in a few months afterwards, at his castle of *Beauté*. His death was that of a Christian and of a monarch long experienced in the rigours of fortune. He ordered the prelates, barons, and members of his council to be called around him, and addressed to them touching speeches, full of wisdom, upon various acts of his policy : then he asked for the crown of thorns of the Saviour, which was believed to be among the holy relics of Paris ; he desired it to be placed on high before him, and prayed for a long time with his eyes fixed upon it. Having then caused his perishable crown, that used in the consecration of the kings, to be placed under his feet, he said : " Oh ! crown of

France, how precious and how vile art thou at the same time ! Precious as the symbol of justice, but vile, and the most vile of all things, if we consider the labour, the anguish, the perils of the soul, the pains of the heart, of the conscience, and the body, which thou castest upon them who wear thee. Whoever should thoroughly know all these things, would rather leave thee to lie in the dirt than he would take thee up and place thee on his head." After having received extreme unction, the king commanded that the doors should be opened to his officers and his people, and said to them : " I know that in the government of my kingdom I have given many offences—for that, I pray you grant me mercy—pardon me ! " He then desired his arms to be raised, and stretched his hands out to all, amidst the sobs and tears of the spectators. He gave his benediction to his eldest son, the dauphin, eleven years of age, and whilst the passion of the Saviour in the Gospel of St. John was being read to him, he expired in the arms of the Lord de la Rivière, whom he loved tenderly, on the 26th of September, 1380, aged forty-four years. Scarcely were his eyes closed, than his relations gave free vent to the bad passions which he had restrained during his life : the eldest of his brothers, and one of the guardians of his son, the greedy and ferocious duke of Anjou, rushed into his chamber, seized his jewels, and plundered the palace. The new reign opened under very sad auspices.

The arts and sciences were yet but little cultivated in France during the reigns of John and Charles V., whilst they began to flourish in Italy, where Dante and Petrarch rendered themselves illustrious. The nobility, entirely given up to warlike exercises, entertained the profoundest contempt for those of the understanding ; the most celebrated captains could scarcely sign their own names, and Du Guesclin could not even read. Poetical language was then in its infancy, as we may judge by the " Romance of the Rose," which then obtained immense success, but which the learned of the present day can only make out with great difficulty. The master-pieces of antiquity began, however, to be known ; there were already several translations of Livy, Sallust, and Cæsar : the historian Froissard lived, and his *naïve* and picturesque chronicle is one of the most valuable monuments of modern history. Charles V., one of the best-educated men of his time, may be considered as the founder of the royal library. His father only bequeathed twenty volumes to it : he collected nine hundred, a prodigious number for

the period : most of them were works of theology, canon law, and astrology, the only sciences that were then studied.

In the thirteenth century, wheel-clocks, spectacles, paper, china-ware, and crystal mirrors were known in Italy. The cities of that fine country, as well as those of Flanders, possessed manufactures and were enriched by commerce, whilst war continued to be almost the only occupation of the French. The use of gunpowder, although frequent in sieges, was still disdained in battles ; gentlemen were not inclined to favour the employment of a weapon which, by neutralizing individual force, necessarily contributed to the levelling of ranks.

University studies taught nothing but the art of supporting the vain disputes of scholastic divinity. Attentive to repel everything which could affect the authority of the Church, the popes forbade the study of the civil law in the universities, and tolerated none but that of the canon law. They often still decided the fate of empires : it was thus Urban V., by granting to Philip le Hardi, duke of Burgundy, the dispensation to marry Marguerite of Flanders, which he had refused to the son of Edward III., assured to the house of France the heritage of that powerful county. This same pope was likewise chosen as arbiter by Charles V. and Charles the Bad, on the subject of their pretensions to Burgundy ; and Gregory IX. afterwards made the kings of France and England accept his mediation. Charles V., though in agreement with the popes against the progress of the spirit of independence, took care to oppose them when the rights which they arrogated encroached at all upon those he fancied were his own. He was the first king who assumed the title before coronation. He very much narrowed the extent of ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and deprived inquisitors of fines imposed by them, to enrich the royal treasury. One of the ordinances which does most honour to his memory, is that by which he armed justice against his own authority, forbidding the Parliament to modify or suspend its decrees by virtue of any order sealed with the royal seal. Another ordinance equally celebrated, issued by this prince, and which, in its results, was too often fatal to France, fixed the majority of the kings at fourteen years.

CHAPTER V.

Reign of Charles VI. 1380—1422.

THE disasters of the late wars had thinned the ranks of the nobility of the highest class of the kingdom ; after the defeats of Crecy and Poitiers, of all the great vassals of the rival houses to the king of France, there only remained the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany in a state to make head against the monarch ; the royal family had profited by the abasement of all the others. Nevertheless, in spite of the blows inflicted upon the high feudal aristocracy, the spirit of feudalism still subsisted in full force, and there arose, by the side of the monarch, a new aristocracy as redoubtable to the throne and to the people : this was that of the princes of the blood. Some received as apanages, states which the kings ought to have united to their own domains ; others obtained the government of vast provinces, and all exercised a cruel tyranny over the people confided to their care, and to whom no national tie united them. At the termination of the last reign, popular movements broke out in several parts of the kingdom, and in the states feudally subjected to the crown of France : this agitation soon became general. The people, crushed, plundered, and decimated by tyrants as greedy as they were senseless, everywhere felt the weight of their yoke intolerable, and formidable insurrections were extinguished by rivers of blood. A profound and reciprocal hatred existed between the nobility and the inferior classes ; but the contest was not equal : the gentlemen knew how to unite and pour down in masses upon their isolated enemies, and strike them separately. The barbarism and superstition of the people impeded all their efforts to obtain a better destiny ; and when a stroke of fortune for a moment threw power into their hands, they made no better use of it than their noble oppressors had done. So many causes of dissolution united plunged France into a frightful anarchy, and made the reign of Charles VI. the most disastrous epoch of our history. At the moment this minor king mounted the throne, England, under the reign of Richard II., endured also the ills of a minority ; the empire of Germany had for its head Wenceslaus, son of Charles IV., a prince brutified by drunken intemperance ; Charles the Bad reigned in Navarre ; Jane I., the murderess of her husband, governed Naples ;

and two popes, Urban VI. and Clement VII., one distinguished for his ferocity, and the other for his rapines, shook the faith of the Christian world by mutually anathematizing each other. All nations suffered frightful calamities, but none were overwhelmed by so many as the French people.

Charles VI. was eleven years and some months old at the death of his father. His three paternal uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy, and his maternal uncle, the duke of Bourbon, disputed his tutelage and the regency. They agreed to emancipate the young king, immediately after his coronation, which was to take place in the following year, and the regency was to remain till that time in the hands of the duke of Anjou, whose first act was to appropriate to himself a treasure of sixteen millions amassed by the late king. Nature had endowed Charles VI. with happy qualities ; he was benevolent and full of kindness and affability. His uncles emulated each other in stifling these dispositions : they made it their business to persuade him that the most glorious triumphs for a king are those which he gains over his people. A wise administration might have closed the wounds of the kingdom : the English army, led into Brittany by Buckingham, was dispersed, and the sixteen millions left by Charles V. were more than sufficient to deliver France from foreigners ; but the duke of Anjou, adopted by Jane of Naples, and impatient to seat himself on her throne, had reserved this treasure to defray the expenses of an expedition against Charles de Duras, his competitor. He soon had on foot a numerous army ; it perished in Italy, cut off by privations, fatigue, and disease, and he himself died of misery in the kingdom he had come to conquer. Before setting out on this expedition, this prince, enriched by the plunder of the king, had required the people to make up the amount of his robbery. Paris was enraged, and rose against the demand. The tax of the twelfth denier upon provisions excited a formidable riot ; the citizens rushed to the Hôtel de Ville, where they could find no weapons but leaden mallets, but under which, however, perished most of the collectors of the impost ; whence the insurgents obtained the name of *Maillotins*. Many cities of the kingdom followed the example of the capital, and were cruelly chastised for it : Paris resisted. The states of the Langue d'Oc assembled at Compiègne, and separated without having granted anything : the Parisians were still in arms, and the dukes, finding themselves in no condition to bring them to submission, treated

with them, and were obliged to be satisfied with the offer of a hundred thousand livres : vengeance was only deferred.

The duke of Berry, governor of Languedoc, reduced the inhabitants of that province to despair. A crowd of unfortunate wretches, deprived of every means of living, fled to the forests, where they formed themselves into bands known by the name of *Tuchins*, which were, for a length of time, the terror of the nobles and the wealthy.

The northern states, which were under the power of the crown, were neither more peaceable nor more happy. Count Louis of Flanders, deposed by his people, and burning with the desire for revenge, sought and obtained the support of the young king, his suzerain. A numerous army of knights was got together ; Charles VI. marched at its head, and met the enemy near Rosebecque. Clisson, named constable, and the brave Sancerre, commanded under, or rather directed the young king. The French were opposed by an army of 50,000 Flemings, commanded by Philip Artevelt, son of the famous Artevelt, the principal author of the revolt. The Flemings occupied an excellent defensive position ; they, however, were eager for the encounter, and demanded battle with loud cries. Artevelt being forced, against his judgment, to comply with their wish, formed his whole army into one square phalanx ; he himself took his place at the head of his brave Gantois ; then this enormous and compact mass moved forward, with pikes lowered, in a firm, equal step, and in profound silence. The king's artillery was powerless upon this terrible phalanx ; the Flemings advanced, say the chroniclers, with the impetuosity of wild boars. The French line gave way ; but the compact form of the Flemish army necessarily lessened its extent, and it was soon surrounded on all sides. After the first shock, the royal army poured down at once upon this mass, incapable of defending itself, from its incapacity to obtain expansion ; the Flemings were driven back upon each other by the long lances of the knights, and thousands were stifled to death without receiving a wound : the carnage was frightful. Philip Artevelt perished in the contest. The conqueror gave the Flemish cities up to fire and plunder : Ghent alone still resisted. The cruel uncles of the king taught the youthful Charles to be implacable, and to take delight in shedding the blood of his people : Courtrai, only guilty of having formerly been the theatre of a defeat of the French, was by his order completely destroyed, and the inhabitants, without distinction

of age or sex, were massacred. The victorious army then marched back upon Paris,—the hour of vengeance was come.

The Parisians perceived with terror that defence was impossible ; they came out in arms and in their holiday suits to meet the king and the princes, and received the stern order to go back and lay down their arms. The young king, fourteen years of age, entered his capital in the character of an irritated conqueror. For several days he preserved a profound silence, during which time the Parisians were in agonies of doubt and fear : at length scaffolds were prepared and the punishments commenced : a hundred of the richest inhabitants were executed ; of this number was the virtuous advocate-general, John Desmarets, whose crime was having shown a desire to conciliate all parties. "Master John," said his executioners to him, as they led him to punishment, "cry for mercy to the king, that he may pardon you." Desmarets replied : "I have served King Philip, his grandfather, King John, and King Charles, his father ; and never did any of them even reproach me, neither would this king if he were acquainted with mankind : to God alone will I cry out for mercy." A crowd of other citizens awaited their sentence. The dukes then threw themselves at the feet of the king, and hypocritically implored mercy for the city, conjuring him to convert punishments into fines. Charles granted their greedy wishes. The wealth of the bourgeoisie was confiscated, all the imposts were re-established, and Paris was deprived of its franchises with the right of electing its own provost or echevins : the soldiers demolished the principal gates, and tore away the iron chains which served as a defence to all the streets. Rouen, Reims, Chalons, Troyes, Sens, and Orleans, were treated in the same way by the royal commissaries, who ordered confiscations and punishments. The dukes obtained possession of the entire wealth of the people ; they soon squandered it in reckless extravagance, and the treasury was left empty.

The revolt in Flanders was not stifled : so many atrocities committed by the French excited general horror and indignation : the city of Ghent, which alone contained more than a hundred thousand souls, set an example of perseverance and courage. Ackermann at that time governed it ; he and Peter Dubois reanimated the Flemings, and formed an alliance with Richard II. of England. An English army, commanded by the bishop of Norwich, landed in Flanders

and plundered it, sacking the cities occupied, against the will of the inhabitants, by French garrisons. Charles VI. marched against the English. Flanders, the victim alike of its protectors and enemies, became one theatre of conflagrations and murders ; but the heroism of the Gantois saved this unfortunate country from ruin. The two parties, gorged with plunder, were equally desirous of peace. The count of Flanders alone, furious against the city of Ghent, endeavoured to thwart the negotiations. Impatient of every delay or impediment to his wishes, the duke of Berry struck the count of Flanders and killed him with his poniard : the death of Count Louis terminated the war. A truce was signed in 1384, and Flanders was passed over to the duke of Burgundy, who had married Marguerite, heiress of that powerful country. Ghent submitted to this prince the following year, preserving all its privileges.

In the course of this year, hostilities were renewed between France and England. Charles sent an army into Scotland, under John de Vienne, admiral of France : they landed at Edinburgh, which then consisted of about four hundred houses, and those of very mean and rude appearance. Another army marched into Castille, to oppose John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, uncle to Richard II., who had pretensions to the crown of that kingdom ; and Charles himself, with his uncles, proposed to make a descent upon England. Immense preparations were ordered ; a formidable army was assembled in Flanders, of which twenty thousand knights and as many arbaletriers constituted the principal strength ; fifteen hundred vessels were engaged to transport it. It was desirable to have an abode to receive the army on its landing ; and this, which writers term a *city*, was constructed under the directions of the constable, Oliver de Clisson, in the forests of Brittany ; it was three thousand paces in diameter, could be taken to pieces, and required seventy-two vessels to convey it. This prodigious army was assembled at the port of the Ecluse. But the king forgot it and himself in dissipation and festivities ; he set out, but pleasures delayed his march. He did not arrive at the place appointed before the month of November, and the duke of Berry had to be waited for still some time longer. When he at length arrived, he made it his business to disgust the king with the expedition, and he, apparently not unwillingly, abandoned it, disbanded the army, and consigned to the leaders the pillage of all the stores. Three millions of livres were thus lost without profit

to the nation or the king. The French army sent to aid the Scots against the English was beaten ; that which fought in Castille was not more fortunate, and shame and disgrace were the only fruits of so many ambitious projects. Two years later, Charles, still enamoured of war, and supported by his uncles, took the part of the duke of Brabant, and, on his account, made an unsuccessful war against the duke of Gueldres. Harassed and pursued by German marauders, his distressed army returned to France loaded with humiliations. The king at length opened his eyes, and gave attention to the ancient counsellors of his father : these, among whom were Bureau de la Rivière, John of Noviant, and John of Montargis, pointed out to him his finances the object of plunder ; justice misunderstood or abused ; public safety without security ; the instruction of youth abandoned ; roads, strong places, and arsenals, all perishing for want of being kept up ; in every direction frightful disorder, produced by the rapacity of the princes and the nobles ; and to crown the whole, a multitude of brigands, calling themselves English soldiers, masters of a great number of castles in the very heart of the kingdom. They with justice attributed most, if not all of these misfortunes, to the government of the princes, and convinced the young king that that was the case. In a grand council, in which the Cardinal de Laon pressed him to exercise in future the royal power without participation, Charles informed his uncles of his intention of governing alone. This unexpected declaration announced a happy revolution for the people ; but, a few days after, a sinister event struck the whole court with terror : the Cardinal de Laon died poisoned. The duke of Burgundy immediately set out for Dijon, and the duke of Berry, already the known murderer of the count of Flanders, retired to Langnedoc.

After having shaken off the yoke of his uncles, of whom one alone, the duke of Bourbon, merited any esteem, Charles VI. adopted wise measures for the advantage of the people. He would have done still more good, if he had been blessed with a better understanding, or had had less taste for pleasure. Bureau de la Rivière, Lemer cier, Sire de Noviant, and Begue de Vilaine, all honourably known under the preceding reign, formed the royal council, which was directed by Oliver de Clisson. A crowd of officials, the greedy plunderers of the people, were quickly dismissed, and the irritated princes designated under the name of *Marmousets* the parti-

ans of the new government, which the nation hailed with favour and hope.

Charles likewise turned his attention to the extinction of the great schism ; but as neither of the two popes showed the least disposition to sacrifice his pride to the interests of Christianity, the efforts of the king in this direction were powerless. He then devoted his thoughts to the internal state of his kingdom, and undertook a journey to the south of France. Festivities awaited him in all the cities he passed through, and the groans of his people reached his ears amidst licentious pleasures. He found Languedoc devastated : the frightful misery of this fine province attested the barbarity of the duke of Berry, its governor. Betizac, the minister of his exactions, was arrested by the order of the king : a general cry was raised against him : nevertheless his lay judges did not dare to condemn him, and sentence of death was only obtained by denouncing him to the Church as a heretic. Charles deprived his uncle, the duke of Berry, of his government, and afterwards delivered the province from the brigands who invested it. Then, taking great interest in the progress of morality among the people, and in the military arts, he closed the gaming-houses, and instituted in all parts shooting-grounds for the long-bow and the cross-bow. These happy presages of a better future were but of short duration. The princes nourished projects of vengeance against the party which had deprived them of power, and excited the hatred of John de Montfort, duke of Brittany, against the constable De Clisson, the head of that party. Clisson had given his daughter in marriage to the Count de Penthievre, son of Charles of Blois, the ancient competitor of De Montfort ; the two enemies carried on a furious war, and Charles had often interposed his authority between them. The duke of Brittany, already guilty of an infamous piece of treachery towards Clisson, reproached himself with not having consummated his crime by cutting his throat, upon which one of his friends, the Sire de Craon, laid an ambush for the constable, stabbed him, and took refuge with De Montfort in Brittany. Clisson, however, did not die of his wounds, and the enraged king swore to avenge him. He commanded the duke to give up the assassin : Montfort refused, and Charles marched into Brittany with an army. He was leaving Mons, at the head of his troops, in the month of July of the year 1392, and was crossing a forest, when a maniac rushed suddenly towards the king, seized the reins of his horse, and

cried : "*O king, go no further, thou art betrayed !*" The guards drove the man away, and the king in deep silence pursued his march ; but these words had seized upon his mind : all at once, his lance, which was carried by one of his pages, accidentally struck the helmet of his squire, who was behind him ; at this noise Charles started, and, turning sharply round, exclaimed : "*I am betrayed !*" then, urging his horse into a gallop, he fell sword in hand upon his officers, and killed all that came within his reach before he could be secured : he was mad !

Here commences the third and fatal period of this disastrous reign. The faction of the dukes immediately regained power ; the duke of Burgundy seized the royal signet, and exercised sovereign authority ; the army which was marching into Brittany was disbanded ; the council of the king was broken up ; all his ministers were persecuted and cast into dungeons, and the constable, flying away into Brittany, recommenced the war against De Montfort. The Parliament was subservient to the passions of the duke of Burgundy ; it banished the constable as a traitor, deprived him of his charge, and condemned him to a fine of a hundred thousand silver marks. Such were the first facts that marked this horrible epoch. Frightful divisions soon broke out among the princes.

There existed no fundamental law which could regulate the future of the monarchy, and decide among so many rival pretensions. The destiny of the state was then abandoned to the uncles of the king, whose barbarous avidity was already but too well known ; to his wife, Queen Isabeau of Bavaria, an avaricious, frivolous princess, passionately fond of festivities and pleasures ; and to the duke of Orleans, brother to the king, who, excluded at first from the government by his uncles, quickly proved himself their worthy emulator in despotism and rapacity. Charles was still considered to be reigning ; every one seeking to obtain possession of his person, and every one watching for his lucid moments, in order to support themselves in power. His glimmerings of reason were still more fatal than the height of his delirium : incapable of following the idea of any affair of consequence, or of having a will of his own, always subjugated by the dominant party, he only appeared to enjoy, at intervals, some little appearance of good sense to sanction the most tyrannical acts and the most odious abuses ; and

thus was the kingdom of France governed during twenty-eight years.

The king's malady was attributed to enchantments, and the princes and nobles took advantage of this belief to strike those whom they wished to destroy. Valentine of Milan, wife of the duke of Orleans, was herself accused of witchcraft, and under that pretence banished from the presence of Charles, whose confidence she had gained. The Jews, wisely conciliated by the late king, always presented ready resources to the state ; but, being creditors of the nobles, and loaded with the maledictions of the clergy, they were reprobated and banished. The princes caused all the shooting-grounds to be closed, and threw open the gaming-houses, being well aware that when it is desirable to tyrannize over a nation, it must be disarmed and corrupted.

A truce of twenty-eight years had been signed with Richard II. ; but the restless and turbulent humour of the French permitted them to enjoy but little repose. Sigismund, afterwards emperor, and then king of Hungary, demanded their assistance against the redoubtable Bajazet, sultan of the Turks ; the Count de Nevers, son of the duke of Burgundy, led a numerous army of knights to his aid ; they were conquered under the walls of Nicopolis ; the best warriors of France perished or were taken prisoners on this day. The ransom of the Count de Nevers alone was two hundred thousand crowns, and the people of Burgundy had to pay it.

The unfortunate Charles VI., however, attributed his malady to the schism which desolated Christendom, and believed himself punished by Heaven for his negligence in extinguishing it. The inflexible Peter de Luna, who assumed the name of Benedict XIII., had taken the place of Clement VII. The king in vain had recourse to prayers or to force to induce him and his rival, Boniface IX., to make a mutual cession. The obstinate old man resisted the soldiers who besieged him in his palace at Avignon, as he had resisted the wishes of the king, the Sorbonne, and the clergy. The principal nations of Europe were then a prey to either anarchy or civil wars, and the senseless leaders who governed France, had not tact enough even to profit by this favourable circumstance to maintain the peace so necessary to the kingdom. The German princes deposed the ignoble Wincellaus, in the diet of 1400, and gave him, as successor to the empire,

Robert, to whom they were not at all more obedient ; England completed a revolution, by breaking the absolute power of Richard II. : deposed by the Parliament, this king died by assassination : Hereford, duke of Lancaster, who had been banished by Richard, reigned in his place, under the name of Henry IV., and was in constant struggle with incessant rebellions. It was the interest of the council of the king of France to conciliate him ; but the duke of Orleans, whose influence every day increased, took upon himself to excite his anger by bitter affronts : he broke the truce, and, after the death of the duke of Burgundy, which happened in 1404, he exercised absolute power. He then decreed an enormous tax, the produce of which he shared with the queen. The misery of the people became intolerable ; the act of levying contributions was exercised pitilessly in the dwellings of the humble and even in hospitals ; the poor and the sick were equally violently plundered by the officers of the great : this right was at length suspended for four years by the very persons who had most abused it. The princes dissipated the money of the treasury in festivities and orgies, whilst the unfortunate king, abandoned by all, destitute of proper attentions, devoured by vermin, and often a prey to hunger, alone comprehended the evils of his people, because he partook of them, and deeply felt for sufferings which it was no longer in his power to mitigate.

The duke of Orleans soon met with a redoubtable rival in the new duke of Burgundy, John sans Peur, who came from Flanders at the head of an army. At his approach, the queen and the duke of Orleans retired to Milan : Burgundy seized the children of France, and kept them at Paris, where he flattered the people, and permitted them to take arms. His rival supported himself by means of the partisans of absolute power. Both assembled troops, and civil war was on the point of breaking out. The other princes, however, maintained the peace ; Burgundy and Orleans were reconciled, embraced, and communicated together. But soon after, Orleans was assassinated in Paris, by a troop of Sicaires, and terror prevailed in the council, from which the duke of Burgundy was expelled ; he retired to his states, but soon returned at the head of an army, and openly declared himself the murderer of his enemy. His crime seemed to be already forgotten ; the interesting Valentine of Milan alone called for vengeance, but was herself obliged to fly. John sans Peur was master in Paris. He was desirous of making the

Church his accomplice, and chose John Petit, a famous doctor of the Sorbonne, to offer, before the whole court, an apology for his crime. John Petit maintained publicly that the duke of Orleans was a despot, and that it is every man's duty to kill a tyrant. The murderer would not consent till a year after to ask pardon of the king and the young princes of Orleans : peace was sworn to at Chartres, and the bad faith of those who signed it, procured it the name of *the hollow peace* (*la paix fourrée*). This year Genoa arose against the French, to whom it had been offered, and they were driven out of Italy.

The duke of Burgundy, now become all-powerful, signalized his authority by the destruction of Montaigu, who was much beloved by the king, and was grand master of his household. The large fortune of Montaigu and his ancient connection with the duke of Orleans, rendered him guilty in the eyes of John sans Peur. Accused of sorcery and other offences, he confessed everything under torture, was decapitated, and the princes divided the spoils of his wealth among them. But the wicked cannot agree long ; fresh enmities broke out among them, and all united against Burgundy. The eldest of the children of Orleans married a daughter of the count of Armagnac, who entered into the league, and became the soul and the arm of it. An army of ferocious Gascons marched under his orders and threatened Paris, where John sans Peur courted popularity by caressing even the lowest of the populace. He supported his authority by the name of the king, whom he held closely in his power ; he caused all the princes to be proscribed by the council, and in the capital armed a chosen body of five hundred journeymen butchers or skinners, who took the name of *Cabochiens*, from their leader, John Caboché. A frightful war then commenced between the party of Burgundy and that of Armagnac ; both called in the English, and sold France to them. The Armagnacs pillaged and ravaged the environs of Paris with unheard-of cruelty, whilst the Cabochiens kept the capital they pretended to defend in a constant state of terror. The better class of the citizens had been subdued and disarmed in the preceding reigns ; it was only with the populace terms were now to be kept. The States-General being assembled in the midst of this anarchy, were mute, without courage and without power ; the university offered useless remonstrances, the butchers made the laws : they plundered, imprisoned, and slaughtered with impunity, just as their savage humour guided them, and easily found

judges to condemn their victims. They besieged the duke of Guienne, the dauphin, in his hotel, where the surgeon, John of Troyes, reproached him bitterly with his shameful debaucheries : the favourites of the prince were all massacred. The king, ever the slave of the party which dominated, approved and sanctioned all these excesses, which terrified even Burgundy himself. At length, weary of such atrocities, the citizens took up arms, and threw off the yoke of the skinners ; they delivered the dauphin, Burgundy fled away, and the Armagnacs were in the ascendant. The princes re-entered Paris, and King Charles went through the ceremony of taking the oriflamme to fight with John sans Peur, whose instrument he had so recently been. His army was victorious, Burgundy submitted, and the treaty of Arras suspended the war, but not the executions or the ravages.

Henry V., king of England, deemed the moment propitious for the invasion of France, and landed in Normandy with an army. Charles VI. collected forces three times more numerous, and yet his generals lost the battle of Agincourt, in which eight thousand French gentlemen perished : the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon were made prisoners, and the party of Armagnac, to which these princes belonged, was crushed. The civil war became more fierce than ever. The count of Armagnac, named constable, only reigned in Paris by means of terror ; he caused a number of Burgundians to be drowned in the Seine, and forbade the Parisians to bathe in that river, for fear his murders should be discovered. The queen, Isabeau of Bavaria, was the only check to the authority of Armagnac, and he compelled Charles, the third dauphin, president of the council, to banish her to Tours, in the name of the king. Burgundy bore away the queen from the power of her guardians, and she became reconciled to him. A short time afterwards, a citizen of Paris, named Porinet le Clerc, gave up one of the gates of the capital to L'Isle Adam, an officer in the service of John sans Peur. The Burgundians re-entered the city, from which Jannegrey du Chatel managed to convey the dauphin, who became the head of the Armagnac faction. The populace again took arms under the leadership of the executioner Capeluche ; they seized the count and his partisans, and crowded them into the prisons ; they then massacred both him and them, and eighteen thousand Armagnacs were slaughtered in the streets. Burgundy brought the queen back to the capital, where the distress became awful. The

Armagnacs were masters of the course of the Seine above the city, and the English were so below it ; famine and pestilence decimated the Parisians.

Henry V. carried his ravages to the heart of the kingdom ; he conquered the whole of Normandy, and Rouen even, in spite of the valour of the inhabitants and the efforts of the heroic Alain Blanchard, fell into his power. The princes at length perceived the necessity for coming to an understanding, and John sans Peur conjured the dauphin to unite himself with him. The young prince appointed a meeting at the bridge of Montereau : John sans Peur repaired thither, and Tanneguy Duchâtel, principal officer of the dauphin, struck the duke down with his battleaxe, and assassinated him before the eyes of the prince, who caused every Burgundian present to share the fate of their leader. This murder rendered peace impossible. Philip the Good, the new duke of Burgundy, in order to avenge his father, offered the crown to Henry V., to whom, likewise, the queen gave her daughter Catherine in marriage. The nuptial ceremony was celebrated at Troyes, where Henry V. and Charles VI. signed, on the 21st of May, 1420, the famous treaty by which the crown of France was, at the death of Charles, to devolve in perpetuity to Henry and his descendants. The government of the kingdom during the malady of the king was confided to Henry V., who swore to maintain the jurisdiction of the Parliament, as also the rights of the peers, the nobles, the cities, towns, and commonalties of France, and to govern each kingdom according to its own laws and customs. This treaty was received with favour by the Parisians, and solemnly approved of by the States-General, convoked in the capital, and presided over by the king. But Henry V. made it his business to destroy the new people he had undertaken to govern, and, by his cruelties, restored the dauphin to the affections of the French. This young prince was condemned by the Parliament as guilty of homicide on the person of the duke of Burgundy, and pronounced divested of all claims to the throne. He wandered for a long time through the southern provinces, flying before the English, over whom, however, his generals gained a glorious but useless victory, at Baugé, in May, 1421. The sudden death of Henry V., in 1422, prepared new destinies for the dauphin. Charles VI. died also a short time afterwards, after having occupied the throne forty-two years.

With this deplorable reign ended the scandals of the great

schism of the West. Innocent VII., then Gregory XII., had succeeded in Italy to Boniface IX. Benedict XIII. was still living, and France was neuter between him and his rival, when the cardinals of the two courts met by common accord, and in 1409 convoked the Council of Pisa, which deposed both Gregory and Benedict, and proclaimed Alexander V. pope : so that there were then three popes instead of two. Alexander died, and was replaced by John XXIII. : at length, the emperor Sigismund *convoked, in 1414, the famous Council of Constance, at which were present with him several princes of the empire, twenty-seven ambassadors from sovereigns, and a great number of prelates and doctors. The superiority of those general councils over the popes was there established by a formal decree : John XXIII., convicted of enormous crimes, was deposed, and the assembly, in choosing Martin V. to succeed him, considered him alone the legitimate pope. Gregory XII. abdicated, but the obstinate Benedict XIII., intrenched in his fortress of Peniscola, in Spain, contended till death.

The Council of Constance condemned the criminal doctrine professed by John Petit, the apologist of the crime of John sans Peur, and attempted to repair the immense injury the schism had done to the Catholic religion ; but the spirit of doubt and examination had penetrated everywhere. The celebrated John Wickliffe had already preached a bold reform in England, and his disciples, under the name of Lollards, multiplied every day : John Huss and Jerome of Prague, other reformers less enterprising than Wickliffe, attracted the attention of Germany. The Council of Constance ordered them to be burnt, notwithstanding the safe-conduct which the first had received from the emperor. The council thought to stifle heresies by severe punishments, but it was deceived : principles established by men do not die with them : violence, treachery, and fanaticism only engender indignation, hatred, and revolt : the civil war of the Hussites soon broke out, and was the precursive sign of the conflagration which, in the following century, was doomed to change the face of the Christian world.

No period was more barren of great characters or more abundant in bad men, than the reign of Charles VI. Some few persons, however, acquired during it a reputation in France worthy of being transmitted with honour to posterity. Such were the chancellor of the university, John Gerson, who distinguished himself by his ardent and disinterested zeal for

the extinction of the schism, and to whom the admirable book of the *Imitation* is attributed ; the advocate-general John Desmarets, who was dragged to the scaffold as the accomplice of the seditions, to which he had, on the contrary, opposed the authority of his virtue ; the magistrate Juvenal des Ursins, father of the historian of that name, intrepid in braving the fury of the great, by repressing their criminal violences ; and the great citizen Alain Blanchard, who immortalized himself by the defence of Rouen, and paid with his head his devotion to France and his king. The nation honoured itself by no new and useful invention during this period ; but, amidst rivers of blood, playing-cards and the dramatic farces of the Brothers of the Passion and the Clerks of the Basoche, first made their appearance.

The melancholy picture of the crimes and misfortunes of France during a hundred and fifty years, from the death of Saint Louis to that of Charles VI., fills the mind with horror and dread : it is, however, a spectacle abounding in instructive lessons, for in it we behold the frightful calamities which so many crimes and violences drew down upon their authors, whether monarchs, princes and nobles, citizens or peasants. The cruelty, frauds, and brutal despotism of some of the successors of Saint Louis provoked wars which desolated their reigns and their lives ; the great, at once assassins and assassinated, expiated by their own blood that which they had shed ; and the violences of the bourgeoisie when powerful, the declining of all personal sacrifices, with the horrible excesses of the peasants or jacques, dishonoured, and for a long time ruined the popular cause. Ages of misfortunes taught the nation what we ought never to forget : they taught it that a people can never enjoy in peace the advantages of a great, strong, and free nation, but when it knows how to value those of union, obedience to the laws, and the sacrifice of private to general interest—to patriotism.

BOOK THE THIRD.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLES VI. TO THAT OF LOUIS XII.

The nation roused.—Expulsion of the English.—End of the war of a hundred years.—Extinction of Great Feudalism in France by the union of the Duchies of Burgundy and Brittany with the crown.—First war of Italy.

1422—1515.

CHAPTER I.

Reign of Charles VII. 1422—1461.

THE kings of France, whilst becoming more absolute, had lost, by the abuse of power, that which had, in a great measure, constituted their fortune from Louis le Gros to Saint Louis. The people, crushed by taxes arbitrarily established, pillaged by mercenary soldiers, and oppressed by the nobles, who composed the principal strength of the armies, ceased to regard the cause of sovereigns as their own, and withdrew from them both their confidence and their love. This disaffection of the people manifested itself by numerous revolts, and contributed powerfully to the rapid success of foreigners in the heart of the kingdom. The scourges which afflicted France for a century and a half, and shook the monarchy, were only suspended during a few of the latter years of Charles V. ; and we have seen them revive more terrible than ever in the reign of his unfortunate son : at the end of this last period, the monarchy only existed in name, and the kingdom appeared approaching to a general dissolution. God, however, reserved a more glorious future for France.

A central, energetic, and effective power was alone capable of giving the finishing blow to armed feudalism, to maintain as a national body, and in a durable manner, so many nations of different origins which then composed the kingdom, and unite to the crown the states which, between the Rhine, the Pyrenees, and the ocean, were yet separated from it. The English themselves contributed to re-establish the fortunes

of France. The intolerable oppression which they inflicted upon the conquered, and the barbarity of their exterminating government, rallied all the oppressed against them, united them by means of a common misfortune, created in them a national feeling, and made the people turn again with hope towards the prince proscribed by their tyrants, and who alone could extricate them from an odious yoke : this prince was Charles VII. From his accession to the throne to the total extinction of the great feudalism, during a century, the destinies of the royal power appeared to be afresh intimately connected with those of the nation, and did not cease to increase with it in power.

A blind chance does not preside over the destinies of the world. History, which shows us the progress, slow,—it is true, but real,—of humanity towards a better order of things, proves sufficiently a providential action amidst innumerable calamities created by our passions and our vices. We become sensible of this action of divine goodness when it assures the triumph of a cause in appearance desperate, and the means which it employs to attain this aim seem to be the most deficient in power and force : such is the principal sign by which we must perceive the support which God deigned to lend to France, after the signature of the fatal treaty of Troyes. On the part of the foreigners, France had but recently beheld a victorious monarch, in the vigour of his age, master of two-thirds of the kingdom, and rendered stronger by the assent of the States-General, and his close connection with the king and queen of France. Now Henry V. was no more, but most of the French princes and the great functionaries of the crown, with a capital and a numerous and well-organized army, were still devoted to the English party. On the other side, she could contemplate a turbulent nobility, undisciplined captains, ferocious bands of adventurers, who were much less anxious to save the kingdom than to share in the spoils of it, and a young prince of eighteen, without strength of mind or character, stained with the suspicion of a great crime, displaced by a decree of the Parliament, abandoned by his father and his mother, and only reigning nominally over a few provinces a prey to anarchy. But the salvation and the destiny of France were attached to the triumph of his cause, and God brought it about in a few years, against all human foresight.

Catherine of Valois, daughter of Charles VI., and wife of Henry V., had given birth to a son, who succeeded his father,

in 1422, under the name of Henry VI. ; he was scarcely a year old when he was proclaimed king of France and England. The duke of Bedford, eldest brother of Henry V., governed the kingdom in the name of his nephew, and kept upon good terms with the two greatest feudatories of the crown, John VI., duke of Brittany, and Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy : the latter, to render his vengeance for the murder of his father more sure, gave his sister to the duke of Bedford, and was for a long time the firmest supporter of the English in France.

The dauphin Charles, now nineteen years of age, took the title of king immediately after the death of his father, and resided at Bourges with the queen, Mary of Anjou, his wife. The Armagnacs, directed by Tanneguy Duchâtel, considered Charles as their leader, and the people, who could not forget the frightful excesses of this party, hesitated at first to pronounce in favour of the young prince, whom his enemies designated in contempt the *king of Bourges*. The soldiers of Charles's army were, like those of Henry VI., for the most part foreigners : his army was composed of Scots and ferocious Armagnacs or Gascons, who had been for a long time subjects of England : his constable even, the earl of Buchan, was a Scotchman ; and the king, surrounded by these fierce rude men, appeared to take as little interest as his people did in the success of his own cause.

The battle of Crevant-sur-Yonne, lost by his troops, and that of Verneuil, more disastrous still, and in which the constable perished, made Charles sensible of the necessity for acquiring, at whatever price, some powerful support. He cast his eyes upon the famous Richemont, brother of the duke of Brittany, and offered him the constable's sword. Richemont would only accept it upon the condition that the Armagnacs should be driven from the court, and that Charles should not keep about his person any of the assassins of John sans Peur. Tanneguy Duchâtel, the most powerful and the most guilty, was the first to depart, and by his voluntary exile hastened the useful union of Richemont and the king. Delivered from a faction which had held him in thralldom, Charles ceased to be considered as the instrument of an odious party, and appeared to reign himself ; but years passed away before he became king in fact, and worthy of the devotion of his people. Without character, without firmness of will, incapable of any serious occupation, indolent and voluptuous, he was the tool and the slave of his favourites

or of those who obtained an ascendancy over his mind, and he forgot them as soon as chance or violence had separated him from them. He received, one after the other, two favourites from the hands of the constable, the sires de Giac and de Beaulieu : he accorded to them a blind and foolish confidence, and yet, without anger, beheld them successively assassinated by the same Richemont who had placed them near him, but to whom their favour gave umbrage. Richemont presented a third favourite to the king, the Sire de la Tremouille ; but this last avoided the fate of his predecessors by endeavouring to bring about the disgrace of the constable ; and Charles saw with indifference his court and his nobility divided between the two rivals. He dragged on at Chinon a life of effeminacy and pleasures, whilst his party grew weaker every day, and discord prevailed in his camp. The English already threatened Orleans, the most important of the few cities that remained faithful to him ; they had gained possession of the *île du pont* and the other outworks, in spite of the bravery of Dunois, the bastard of Orleans. At length the defeat of the French and Scotch on the day of the Herrings,* appeared to render certain the fall of that city, and to give the last blow to the cause of Charles.

In proportion with the progress of their triumphs, the yoke of the English became more intolerable, and, throughout the kingdom, gave birth to a national feeling capable of effecting wonders, if put in action by hope and confidence : to this there was joined, in the hearts of the French, a religious enthusiasm mixed with superstition and fanaticism : they believed they saw in their calamities the chastisements of an avenging God, and they looked to the Divinity alone for the termination of their sufferings.

Such were, in 1429, the sentiments of the mass of the nation, when a young girl, twenty years of age, named Jeanne d'Arc, born of poor parents, at the village of Domremy, on the frontier of Lorraine, announced that she had received a mission to raise the siege of Orleans, and to conduct Charles to Reims to be crowned. She was beautiful, endowed with a pure and noble soul, and united much good sense and humility with great religious exaltation. She declared that internal voices had revealed the will of heaven

* This day received its name from a convoy of salted fish, brought by the English to those who were besieging Orleans. The French artillery broke the casks in which this was brought, and the field of battle was covered with herrings.

to her, and demanded to be conducted to Charles VII. at Chinon. When brought into his presence, it is said, she at once distinguished him from all his courtiers, and kneeling before him, repeated the order which she affirmed she had received from heaven. Charles, whom she still styled the dauphin, commanded her to be examined by prelates and matrons, to assure himself of the truth of her inspiration, and, upon their report, giving faith to her word, he ordered her a complete suit of armour, and sent her to join his troops at Blois. The report was soon spread through the two armies, that a being endowed with supernatural power was about to fight for Charles VII.; and whilst the French beheld divine intervention in this prodigy, the English, struck with terror, acknowledged nothing in it but the influence of the demon.

Jeanne led the army to Orleans, and, in the foremost rank, with a standard in her hand, attacked the enemy; they trembled as they fought and retreated before her; the siege was raised, and, to the south of the Loire, France was delivered from the foreigners. From that time Jeanne, under the name of the Maid of Orleans, became celebrated throughout the kingdom; France was roused, enthusiasm seized upon all hearts, a crowd of soldiers flocked to the banners of Charles, and Bedford saw his English troops depressed with fear. The victory of *Patay*, in which the celebrated Talbot was taken, added to the renown of Jeanne, who roused the monarch from his indolence, and led him to Reims for the ceremony of his coronation. Troyes shut its gates against the army, and the council of war was desirous of raising the siege, but Jeanne presented herself to the assembly: her internal voices, she said, had assured her that within two days the city would surrender, and the event answered to the prediction, for, on the second day, Troyes was given up to the French. They marched towards Reims, and the leaders of the English quitted the place without striking a blow. Charles entered the city, and on the following day was crowned by the archbishop in presence of three princes of the blood. The maid was close to the king at the principal altar during the ceremony, standing proudly erect with her standard in her hand: her mission was accomplished.

After the coronation, Jeanne embraced the knees of the monarch, and said: "Gentle king, the pleasure of God is now executed, which ordained that you should come to Reims to receive your worthy consecration, proving that you are the true king, and he to whom the kingdom is to

belong. I have accomplished that which I have been commanded to do, which was to raise the siege of Orleans, and cause the king to be crowned ; I would now wish to be taken back to my father and mother, to keep their sheep and tend to their cattle." These simple and touching wishes were not complied with : Charles's captains had found they had in Jeanne their most powerful auxiliary, and supplicated her to remain with them. She consented against her will, and although she evinced the same courage in fight, she never after appeared possessed of the same confidence in herself ; she was wounded at the siege of Paris, and was at length taken prisoner whilst heroically defending Compiègne. Her captivity excited transports of barbarous joy among the English. The unfortunate girl was confined in the dungeons of Rouen, and the bishop of Beauvais drew up the accusations against her. When answering to the inquisitors, who endeavoured to convict her of heresy, she displayed admirable strength of mind and good sense : it was to God she attributed all her success. The bishop asked her if she was in a state of grace. Jeanne said : " If I am not, God will place me in it ; if I am, God will keep me in it." When interrogated upon her actions and words in battle, she answered : " I said, go boldly among the English, and I went among them myself." " Does God hate the English ?" asked the bishop. " As to the love or the hatred that God has for the English, I know nothing," said she ; " but I know they will all be driven out of France, except those who shall die there." " Was her hope founded upon her standard or herself ?" " It was founded upon our Lord, and nowhere else." " Why did she cause her standard to be carried in front of the king at Reims ?" " It had gone through the labour, it was but right it should partake of the honour."

But all this spirited uprightness and good sense had no effect upon her judges : they had declared that God could not be willing that Charles VII. should triumph ; therefore, the demon alone, in their eyes, had inspired Jeanne. She was condemned to be burnt alive, and the sentence was carried out at Rouen. Her mildness, her virgin purity, her fervent piety, never for a moment deserted her during her cruel trial ; she died with her eyes fixed upon a crucifix, protesting her innocence, and drawing tears from the whole city, the witness of her punishment.

Charles heard of her death with indifference ; he made no effort either to prevent or avenge it, and waited twenty-

five years before he ordered that the memory of the heroine should be reinstated : he had sunk again into his culpable state of indolence. His favourite, *La Tremouille*, had seduced him from the labours of war ; and, in order to preserve his ascendancy, he detained him in the castle of Chinon by the spells of festivity and pleasures. Surrounded by his mistresses, Charles again neglected his fortune, whilst his captains were fighting singly as partisan leaders, receiving neither orders, nor pay, nor succour from him, and subjecting the countries in which they dominated to frightful exactions. The English, however, were still more odious to the people : in vain Bedford, to restrain the capital, kept the young king, Henry VI., within its walls, and caused him to be crowned there ; in vain he himself laid down the title of regent to invest a French prince, the duke of Burgundy, with it ; the English, and their allies the Burgundians, were equally detested, and insurrections broke out against them in all parts.

The most skilful of Charles's captains, the constable Richemont, now in disgrace, became at length indignant at his frivolous conduct, and, already murderer of two favourites of the king's, he determined to act in the same manner by the third, justly attributing Charles's weakness to the fatal influence of *La Tremouille*. A gentleman accepted this sanguinary mission : he surprised *La Tremouille* in bed, wounded him, carried him off, and the constable becoming master of his enemy, held him a close captive. Charles, with his usual vacillation, approved of all this, and restored him to his good graces ; Richemont resumed the command of the army. About the same time, in 1435, Bedford, the brother-in-law of the duke of Burgundy, died, and his death broke the bonds which united this duke with England. He at length sacrificed his long-cherished resentments to the interests of France, allying himself with Charles by the treaty of *Arras*. The French were once more united, and the maintenance of the English domination became impossible : Paris opened its gates to the king, and the English had soon nothing left but Normandy and Guienne.

An extraordinary and complete change was then effected in the mind of Charles VII., and the honour of it was partly attributed to the influence of his mistress, Agnes Sorel. A will full of energy took the place of his indolent indifference ; his frivolity was transformed into prudence and wisdom ; and his voluptuous tastes formed no impediment to an active perseverance in warlike and politic labours.

The French, after the union of Charles with the duke of Burgundy, began to enjoy some repose ; but still, as in the time of Charles V., at the end of the long civil wars, companies of mercenaries, without pay and employment, infested the kingdom. The captains of Charles VII., and among them the celebrated La Hire and Xaintrailles, for a long time accustomed to make war on their own account and without discipline, continued, in contempt of the treaty of Arras, to pillage Burgundy, and gloried in the name of *Ecorcheurs* (skinnners), which the hatred of the people had bestowed upon them. Charles repressed their disorders, and, in the States-General held at Orleans, caused the adoption of a wise measure, which contributed powerfully in promoting public peace, and strengthening royal authority : he demanded and obtained a poll-tax of 1,200,000 livres to provide for the payment of a standing army. It was intended for the maintenance of fifteen hundred men-at-arms, each followed by five horsemen, one a page, a cutler or armourer, and three archers. The king afterwards divided them into fifteen regimental companies, which he spread about in all places of war in the kingdom. These were charged with the support of their own garrisons, the pay for each man-at-arms and his suite being fifteen livres per month. Charles completed the organization of the permanent army, by obliging every parish to furnish an archer, chosen by it from amongst the best bowmen, and upon whom his election conferred divers privileges. This renovation of the military system produced immense results : the king thus obtained an army, always numerous, and always ready to be directed in a body to any point threatened by revolt or war. He introduced all his chosen captains and the best of the military adventurers into this new army ; and terror restrained such as could not obtain admission. It is to the meeting of the States of 1439, that great part of the merit of this creation must be attributed. This assembly, while serving France, gave umbrage to the monarch, whose revenues they limited to his own domains. Charles, at first, avoided convoking them, but in their name rendered perpetual the tax he obtained from them, and which he augmented by 600,000 livres.

Crimes of all kinds were multiplied to a frightful degree : the king gave the provost of Paris, Robert d'Estouville, full power to judge and condemn every person convicted of any crime whatever. The parliaments, whose rights were unacknowledged, were silent ; all liberty was stifled, and the

kingdom was given up to a despotic power. The people had suffered too much from license ; they were issuing from a horrible state of anarchy, and felt the need of a central and vigorous authority. Commerce revived, agriculture became flourishing, and the king was saluted as the restorer of order. Some dissatisfied captains, supported by the princes of the blood and the dauphin Louis, alone attempted to resist Charles ; but their revolt, which received the name of the *Praguerie*, was quickly suppressed. The princes submitted, and the dauphin retired to the province of Dauphiny : from that time the most deeply-rooted enmity existed between the king and his son. Charles VII., after having restored peace to the interior of his kingdom, completed the expulsion of the English. The victory of Formigny subdued Normandy ; he marched afterwards against Guienne, and conquered it twice, being powerfully assisted by Dunois and John Bureau, the grand-master of his artillery. Bordeaux, at this period, obtained a parliament. So many successes appeared to justify the name of the Victorious, given to this king by his contemporaries : of all its possessions on the continent, England had nothing left but Calais. A long period of civil wars and calamities commenced in that kingdom with the mental weakness of Henry VI., who married the haughty and vindictive Margaret of Anjou.

Charles VII., whilst abstaining from convoking the States-General, which he dreaded, several times assembled the provincial states of Normandy, Guienne, and Languedoc, and promised not to levy any taxes upon those provinces without their consent. He decided that in the assesment of the imposts, there should be an appeal from the complainant to the Court of *Aids*, and this court received a regular organization from him. These matters being completed, he turned his attention to the Church, and in 1438 solemnly promulgated, before the French clergy, assembled at Bocanges, the *Pragmatic Sanction*. This ordinance proclaimed the liberties of the Gallican church, as the council, then sitting at Bâle, defined them ; it recognised the superiority of general councils over the popes, restrained the appeal to Rome to a small number of cases, deprived the pontifical court of the revenue of vacant benefices, and confided the election of bishops to the chapters of the churches.

Charles became the most wise and powerful monarch of Europe, but his well-founded suspicions and resentment towards his son, the dauphin, poisoned his latter years.

Louis, first married to Margaret of Scotland, had, in his second nuptials, espoused Charlotte, daughter of the duke of Savoy, against the will of his father. The king commanded him to come and justify himself at court, where the Count de Dammartin, the enemy of the prince, was all-powerful. The dauphin, dreading everything from the counsellors of his father, and being unable to obtain any pledge for the safety of his person, thought at first of resisting openly, and collected some forces ; but being convinced of his want of strength to contend with his father, he took to flight, and sought refuge in the court of Burgundy, where he was welcomed by Philip the Good and his son Charles, and treated with honour and munificence. The king immediately took possession of Dauphiny, seized all its revenues, and united that province to the states directly dependent upon the crown. The dauphin implored pardon of the king ; but his father was well acquainted with his false and perverse heart : he could never induce him to come and ask pardon in person, a redoubtable example having recently much increased the mistrust of his son. The duke of Alençon, a prince of the blood, was accused by the king of treason and complicity with the English : the peers of the kingdom, convoked for his trial, condemned him to death. Charles commuted the punishment, and shut him up a close prisoner in the tower of the Louvre. The dauphin refused to expose himself to the chance of a similar chastisement. The king from that time believed himself to live amidst the intrigues, and to be surrounded by the emissaries of his son ; and so strongly did this feeling work upon him, that he was in constant terror of being poisoned by them, ceased to take food, and absolutely died of hunger : he expired on the 22nd of July, 1461, in his fifty-eighth year.

Towards the end of this reign, commerce and industry made great progress in France and the rest of Europe. The requirements of nations became known, the various productions of the world were appreciated, and their consumption in each country ascertained : well-informed men, possessors of great capital, sent factors to all mercantile places, and embraced Europe and Asia in their commercial speculations. It was thus that Cosmo de Medici, at Florence, raised himself to a level with princes, and founded the fortune of his house. Jacques Cœur, his contemporary, a French merchant, by similar means obtained immense wealth, with which he generously supported the finances of Charles VII. This prince ennobled him, and named him his minister of finance.

But the misfortunes of this celebrated merchant soon attested the vices of an arbitrary government. Greedy courtiers coveted the fortune of Jacques Cœur, and prejudiced the king against him : his property was seized, and the immoveable part of it distributed to those who were afterwards appointed his judges. Among the latter was the man fixed upon to succeed him in his post. Accused of extortion, and deprived of all means of defence, he was condemned without proof, and banished from the kingdom.

France was at peace, but she still groaned under a multitude of burdens and abuses. Intelligence, however, began to spread ; French poetry acquired grace and harmony ; the lyrical verses of Charles of Orleans, and René of Anjou, obtained a merited reputation ; among the poets of this time were Oliver de la Marche, Alain Chartier, historiographer of France, and Francis Villon, the first writer of burlesque. These men would doubtless have impressed a national stamp upon French poetry, if the greatest event of the fifteenth century* had not turned men's minds in another direction. The taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II., sultan of the Turks, disseminated the literary treasures of Greece and Rome through Europe, and the powerful genius of antiquity imposed its yoke upon the scarcely born genius of modern literature. With the fall of the Greek empire, in 1453, ended the Middle Ages, and, by general accord, the commencement of modern history takes its date from this great catastrophe.

CHAPTER II.

Reign of Louis XI. 1461—1483.

LOUIS XI. was thirty-eight years of age when he ascended the throne. His reign constitutes an epoch, not only from the considerable extension which the kingdom obtained under him, and the strengthening of the absolute authority of the monarch, but still more from the new tendency taken by European policy, and the powerful impulse imparted to it by the character of Louis himself. The art of negotiations was

* With all due respect for our original, we cannot agree with him in calling this *the greatest event of the fifteenth century*,—great it was, but not greatest. The invention of printing stands far above it in importance ; and so does the discovery of America.—*Translator.*

before that time almost unknown : sovereigns, governed by their blind and violent passions, always sacrificed the interests of the future to the present, and strength decided everything. Policy, however, began to be a more serious study for them. Louis XI. was the first that erected diplomacy into a system. Endowed with a subtle and astute mind, he made this art the subject of the meditations of his whole life, and contributed more than any other person to substitute, in policy, the power of intelligence for the authority of force ; but he disavowed all principles of morality, and a great part of his success was falsely attributed to his contempt for them. The policy which depends upon perfidy is as productive of calamities as that which recognises no other law but brute force. The habit of constantly deceiving, which Louis acquired, was often fatal to him, and he was not indebted for most of the advantages he gained over his enemies to either his falsehoods or his treacheries ; he triumphed because he was well acquainted with his own true interests, because he knew mankind, appreciated merit and employed it, and because, embracing in his projects the future as well as the present, he submitted them almost always to the calculations of reflection and consummate prudence. It may, in short, be said that he drew his reverses upon himself by his vices, and that he obtained his most brilliant success by the qualities of the understanding which ally themselves with sound morality.

Feudalism had resumed all its power during the long anarchy of the preceding reigns, and Charles VII. himself, although he kept the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and the count of Anjou, the great vassals of the crown, in a state of, at least, respectful subjection, was never able to obtain from them any pledge of obedience. The houses of these three princes contended with the royal house in both power and splendour ; that of Burgundy, mistress of Flanders, the Low Countries, and Franche-Comté, was the richest in Europe ; that of Anjou possessed, in addition to the county of that name, Maine, Lorraine, and Provence, and surrounded the domains of the king with its vast possessions. The south groaned under the tyranny of the counts of Albret, Foix, Armagnac, and a crowd of other nobles, who exercised an absolute authority in their estates, and acknowledged no law divine or human. The feudal system was then the greatest obstacle to the tendencies which were drawing into union people inhabiting the same soil, and to the salutary progress

of national feeling ; it became at length the scourge of Europe, which it had saved in the tenth century : the glory of inflicting upon it its mortal blow belongs to Louis XI.

This prince, who from a fugitive became a king, was but too well instructed in the plots laid against him at his father's court, as well as in the enmity which the most influential men of the kingdom bore him ; and, to employ the words of a celebrated writer, he contemplated nothing in the opening of his reign but the commencement of his vengeance. He believed that he should stand in need of the support of the people against his enemies, and, on his accession, promised to diminish the taxes, and to submit the national charges to the approbation of the States-General. His liberalities towards such as he wished to gain, exhausted his treasury ; the imposts were augmented, and the States-General forgotten. Some insurrections broke out, but Louis quickly suppressed them. One of the first acts of his reign was the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction, which he did out of hatred for the institutions of his father ; but of which, however, he re-established the principal dispositions, towards the end of his life. Another ordinance, of an apparently futile interest, irritated the nobility greatly. The king, passionately fond of the chase, and jealous of his pleasures as well as of his authority, interdicted this pursuit in the royal forests ; and soon after added to this edict other acts, which were fresh motives of discontent. Economical in his own person, severe in the administration of the finances, he would not allow them to be plundered by the princes of his blood. His yoke weighed equally upon all ; his active vigilance watched at once over every part of his kingdom, and he would not suffer any other tyrant to exist in it but himself.

The irritation became general ; the princes wished for appanages that would render them independent ; the great demanded dignities and gold ; their wishes were all directed to the recall of the anarchy of the reign of Charles VI., and they formed a league against Louis XI. He, by seeking to divide his two most formidable neighbours, Francis II., duke of Brittany, and the Count de Charollais, son of the duke of Burgundy, excited them against himself. He perfidiously conferred upon both of them the government of Normandy, with the hope of seeing them quarrel for it ; instead of which they united against him who ventured to trifle with them. The resentment of the Count de Charollais was the more warm, from the circumstance of Louis XI. having been

loaded with kindnesses by Philip the Good, his father. This count, who was afterwards known as Charles the Bold, and as one of the most powerful sovereigns of Europe, presented a striking contrast to Louis XI. : violent and indomitable, always governed by pride or passion, he proved, during the whole of his life, the most ardent and formidable enemy of the monarch, his suzerain. It was around him and the duke of Brittany that the princes of the blood and the great malcontent nobles rallied, and among them were those who had acquired most glory under the late king, and who had served him best : Dunois, Saint Pol, Tanneguy Duchâtel, and Antoine de Chabannes, Count de Dammartin. They gave their league the name of *the League of the Public Good*, and placed at their head Charles of France, brother of the king, who claimed Normandy as his appanage. The bloody day of Montlhéry, in which Louis abandoned the field of battle to the Count de Charollais, was soon followed by the rising of Normandy in favour of the princes. The king, finding himself the weaker, laid down his arms and had recourse to negotiations. No one possessed in a greater degree the art of gaining hearts by insinuating and flattering words. He feigned to stifle all his just resentments, to forget all his injuries, and signed the treaty of Conflans, by which he gave up Normandy to his brother, and satisfied the exorbitant pretensions of the princes. Louis ceded to them, with a good grace, cities, vast domains and governments, and loaded the rebel lords with dignities : Saint Pol was named constable. But Louis only thus gave with one hand to take back with the other, when time should serve. He studied the characters of his enemies, and from that time his principal care was to gain, at any price, the most able, to divide the others, and to master them one by one. It was thus he drew over to his interests the duke of Bourbon and several of his father's ministers, among others the chancellor Juvenal des Ursins and the celebrated Count de Dammartin. He required the support of the nation, and convoked the States-General at Tours, in 1468 ; nevertheless he did not consent to have recourse to the people unless they manifested a disposition to have no will but his ; and the chancellor, in his speech to the States, reminded them of these words of the Hebrew nation to Joshua : " We will do all thou wishest us to do ; let them who refuse to obey thee be condemned to death." " Such is," added the chancellor, " the reply which the deputies ought to make to the commands of the king."

Louis was obeyed: never did the States show themselves more servile. They annulled, according to the wish of the king, the treaty of Conflans, taking Normandy from Charles of France, and declaring that that prince ought to be satisfied with the income of twelve thousand livres, fixed by Charles VII. as the appanage of the princes of the blood. Louis having obtained what he wished of them, made haste to dismiss them. They were only assembled eight days.

Charles of France, irritated at losing Normandy, united himself afresh with the duke of Brittany and Charles the Bold, now become duke of Burgundy, by the death of his father Philip the Good. All three treated with England against France, and pressed the king, Edward IV., to transport an army into the kingdom. Louis prevented their attack; he marched unexpectedly against the duke of Brittany, who, separated from his allies, and seized with terror submitted, and signed the treaty of Ancenis.

The king then made it his business to gain his people; he gave charters to several cities, protected commerce by wise regulations, and reorganized the militia of Paris, composed of all the males from sixteen to sixty, whom he caused to be numbered; they amounted to eighty thousand men, ranged under sixty banners, and they were again put in possession of the right of choosing their own officers. Louis afterwards endeavoured to find allies in the states of his most powerful enemy. The rich, populous, manufacturing cities of Flanders were prompt in accepting any encouragement for revolt against the cruel violences of their sovereign the duke of Burgundy: Ghent, Bruges, and Liège were not more distinguished among them for their power and opulence than for their energetic struggles for liberty. Louis sent an emissary into the last-named city, which was already on bad terms with the bishop, its sovereign prince, and an ally of Charles, to excite it to revolt, and promising it his support. At the same time, the better to deceive the duke, and lull his suspicions, he demanded a safe-conduct of him, obtained it, and trusting too confidently to his own powers of seduction, joined the duke's army at Peronne. He had scarcely arrived when the revolt of Liège broke out: Charles learnt that the populace had committed horrible excesses, that Louis de Bourbon, his relation and ally, was massacred, and that Louis XI. was the author of the sedition. At this news his rage knew no bounds; he held the king close prisoner, and

threatened his life. To escape from such peril, Louis submitted to everything required of him : he signed the treaty of Peronne, by which he abandoned all sovereignty over the states of Burgundy, gave his brother Champagne and Brie as an appanage, and, as a crowning shame, consented to march with Charles against the revolted Liegeois. He obtained his freedom upon these conditions ; but before he escaped from the strong grasp of his enemy, he was obliged to submit to be a witness of the ruin of that unfortunate city, which he himself had stimulated to revolt and consequent destruction : he saw almost all the inhabitants massacred, and felicitated Charles upon his frightful triumph.

England was at this time desolated by the war of the *Two Roses* ; Louis XI., adopting the party of the red rose, united himself with his relation Margaret of Anjou, the wife of Henry VI., and the famous earl of Warwick, surnamed the king-maker, against Edward IV. Upon being conquered, Edward retired into Holland, and implored the assistance of Duke Charles, his brother-in-law. Louis, without any uneasiness on the part of England, followed up his advantages : he convoked an assembly of the notables, which he took care to select himself, says Comines, from among those who would not venture to contradict his will ; and he made them immediately annul the treaty of Peronne, under the pretence that Charles had only been able to impose it by forfeiting his word. Louis, in freeing himself from his obligations, only created new dangers. Edward IV., aided by Charles the Bold, recovered his crown ; Henry VI. and his son were assassinated ; the duke of Burgundy invited the English monarch to invade France, and promised Mary, his daughter and heir, to Charles of France, duke of Guienne, who had recently received that province from Louis XI. as an appanage ; the duke of Brittany renewed his intrigues, and the Constable de Saint Pol sold his services to both parties, seeking to raise himself at the expense of the one and the other. The king thus saw himself threatened with another storm, when his brother fell sick and died, after a few months' suffering. Louis, accused of having poisoned him, scarcely took the trouble to deny it, and his memory remains stained with this crime. The duke of Burgundy immediately marched his troops into Picardy ; but the admirable defence of Beauvais, in which Jeanne Hachette immortalized herself by her courage, checked the progress of his army, whilst Louis negotiated by turns with every one of the rebel

leaders, and seduced by his liberalities the two most skilful men of their party, the Sieur de Lescun, favourite of the duke of Brittany, and Philip de Comines, confidant of the duke of Burgundy. The manœuvres of Louis sowed dissension among the leaders of the League: the duke of Burgundy signed a fresh truce, and Charles marched against the Constable de Saint Pol, who had taken possession of the city of St. Quentin on his own account. The king profited by this moment to crush some of his enemies; he, a second time, caused the Parliament of Paris to try and condemn to death the duke of Alençon. The Cardinal la Balue owed his fortune to Louis XI. and had betrayed him: the king caused him to be inclosed in an iron cage, eight feet square, invented by the cardinal himself, in which he remained a captive ten years. At length, John Goffredi, Cardinal d'Albi, ancient bishop of Arras, and a famous inquisitor of Flanders, where he had exercised atrocious barbarities, was charged by the king with the punishment of the guilty count of Armagnac, one of the supporters of the League of the Public Good, who, by marrying his own sister, had added incest to the rest of his crimes. Besieged in the city of Lectoure, he surrendered to the cardinal, who promised him personal safety, but who immediately caused him to be poniarded before the eyes of his pregnant wife; she was poisoned, and the frightful Goffredi, wishing to exterminate all the witnesses of his perjury, gave orders that every inhabitant of Lectoure should be slaughtered and the city be given up to the flames.

Diseases and punishments delivered Louis XI. from several of his powerful adversaries, and he was at length able to unite his forces against Charles of Burgundy. This prince was then engaged in Germany. Sovereign of the duchy of Burgundy, Franche-Comté,* Hainault, Flanders, Holland, and Gueldres, he wished, by joining to these Lorraine, a part of Switzerland, and the succession of King René, count of Provence, to recompose the ancient kingdom of Lorraine, as it had existed under the Carlovingians; and flattered himself, that by offering his daughter to Maximilian, son of Frederick III., he should obtain from that emperor the title of king. Deceived in these hopes, the duke of Burgundy endeavoured, at least, to deprive young René, his sovereign, and the ally of Louis XI., of Lorraine; but it was reserved for a little nation, already celebrated for its heroic valour and its love of

* The imperial county of Burgundy had acquired, by its strong position in the mountains, a sort of independence, by which it obtained the name of *Franche-Comté*.

liberty, to lower the pride of this so powerful man. Called in to aid the Alsacians, the victims of the oppression of Charles, the Swiss left their mountains, and the Burgundian army experienced its first check before Neuss. Edward IV. of England, invited by the duke of Brittany, was then in France with a numerous army; Charles was ashamed to exhibit the wreck of his army before him, and the English remained isolated in the kingdom. Louis XI. always more prompt to negotiate than to fight, won over by his bribes all the confidants of Edward, and speedily induced him to sign a treaty for nine years. The king, by this treaty, gave seventy-five thousand crowns down to Edward, and engaged to pay him sixty thousand every year, until a marriage, projected between the dauphin and the daughter of the English monarch, should be accomplished. Charles, abandoned by the English, and full of projects of revenge against the Swiss, likewise signed a truce with Louis for nine years: both were named commercial treaties, because the interests of trade were respected in them. Each of these two enemies, who had nothing in common but a thirst for blood, sacrificed, on this occasion, those upon whom his adversary wished to wreak his vengeance. Charles gave up the Constable de Saint Pol to Louis, and he abandoned the Swiss and René of Lorraine, his allies. The guilty Saint Pol lost his head upon the scaffold; but the Swiss conquered successively two Burgundian armies at the famous battles of Granson and Morat. Charles the Bold was killed before Nancy, in a third battle which he lost against them, and the people learnt with transports of joy that they were delivered from a fierce and cruel tyrant.

Upon hearing this news, Louis immediately took possession of the duchy of Burgundy and several strong cities on the Somme, under the pretence that they were male fiefs, and claimed the guardianship of Mary of Burgundy, the daughter of Charles, whom he wished to marry to the dauphin. His cruelty was displayed in proportion with the increase of his security. James of Armagnac, duke de Nemours, formerly the accomplice of his enemies, was his prisoner; he brought him to trial before the Parliament, to which body, for the occasion, he added commissaries, enriched beforehand with the spoils of the unhappy duke. Nemours was condemned to death, and Louis ordered that his children should be placed under the scaffold of their father at his execution and be sprinkled with his blood: he afterwards cast them into dungeons, where they underwent horrible tortures.

The perfidy and ferocity of the king roused his newly-possest states against him ; a powerful and mortal enemy soon menaced him therein : this was Maximilian of Austria, recently married to Mary of Burgundy, and who laid claim to her heritage. The bloody and undecisive battle of Guin-negate, fought in 1479 by the French against the Flemish and Burgundian troops of Maximilian, was followed by a truce ; and four years afterwards, in consequence of the death of Mary, the young Margaret of Austria, aged only two years, was promised to the dauphin. The treaty of Arras secured Louis the possession of Burgundy and Artois.

René of Anjou, sovereign of Provence, and titular king of Sicily, had died a few years before. Louis had preserved his friendship by pecuniary gifts, of which the old monarch, constantly employed in tournaments and festivals, always stood in need. René named as his successor his nephew Charles, count of Maine, and after him appointed Louis XI. heir to his states. Charles did not survive him seventeen months, and Louis, who had already, several years before, seized Anjou, once more united Provence and Maine to the crown of France.

The king, however, was growing old, and trembled at the idea of dying : after having deceived all the world, he endeavoured to deceive himself ; freed from the cares which politics had brought upon him, he appeared to be consumed by a sombre and savage melancholy. Shut up in his castle of Plessis-lez-Tours, his habitual residence, dreading the approach of his confidants and the members of his family, he redoubled his precautions and his severities. Ten thousand mantraps were disseminated in the avenues of the castle, around which the provost-marshal, Tristan l'Ermite, constantly prowled. Every suspicious person was either hung or drowned, without even the pretence of a trial. Scotch archers watched from the walls, and shot down all who came within reach of their arrows ; and whilst the environs of the royal residence resounded with the cries of so many victims, the monarch, whose fanatical devotion equalled his cruelty, multiplied his pilgrimages, plundered his people to enrich churches, procured relics at great expense from all parts, beseeching God and the saints to prolong his miserable existence. The Virgin, above all, was the object of his particular worship ; he invented for her the prayer called *Angelus* ; he created her the countess of Boulogne, and never meditated an act of perfidy or cruelty,

without having beforehand implored her assistance. It was he who first constantly bore the title of the *Most Christian King*, and no man ever showed more strongly to what aberrations a superstitious faith may lead, when separated from all morality. No oath was held sacred by him unless taken upon the cross of Saint Lô, which he believed to be made of a portion of the true cross. His strange superstitions were those of his times, in which it was generally thought that a few outward practices of devotion were sufficient to efface the most enormous crimes.

There are in history unhappy periods, in which despotism alone is able to contend with advantage against anarchy, and the absolute reign of Louis XI. was rich in useful results. The powerful enemies he subdued were the enemies of France: he inflicted mortal blows upon that second feudalism which rose upon the ruins of the first, and which, without him, would perhaps have prolonged the misery and brutalization of the people: he did much for the strength and security of France, by extending its frontiers towards their natural limits; he joined to the crown Roussillon, Cerdagna, Provence, Burgundy, Anjou, Artois, and the cities which defended the banks of the Somme. He survived most of his enemies, and when the tomb had closed over those who might have destroyed his work, God, whom he had so frequently offended, did not allow him to enjoy the fruits of it: he died on the 30th of August, 1483, leaving the sceptre to the young Charles, his son. This child awakened his jealousy; Louis had left him in ignorance, in order that his ambition, which he dreaded, might be the less dangerous; and all he permitted him to be taught of the Latin language was the single sentence which contains a faithful recapitulation of his own policy:

"Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare."

France owed many wise institutions to Louis XI., almost all created with the design of centralizing the action of power, and destroying the remains of feudalism. To obtain this end, he attempted to establish in the kingdom uniformity of costume as well as that of weights and measures; he created posts, by establishing on the high roads couriers, destined only to transmit public news to the king, and to bear his orders; he replaced the body of free archers by a body of Swiss, and some regimental companies by a Scotch guard. The most remarkable edict of his reign is that which declares judicial charges permanent. This edict founded the

independence and power of the Parliaments, and yet was not inspired by the love of justice ; for no one had recourse more frequently than Louis XI., in criminal trials, to commissions and illegal and violent ways. In his reign legislation became a science ; the schools acquired new life, and letters obtained a consideration which they had never before that time enjoyed. Louis endeavoured, for a long time, but in vain, to win the hearts of his people by the simplicity of his manners and the familiarity of his discourse with men of humble condition. he was more hated than any of the princes, his contemporaries ; not that they were less perfidious or less cruel, but they seemed to commit evil by a blind and brutal instinct, whilst Louis was ferocious in cool blood, and submitted crime to calculation. Jealous of all superiority, he had around him none but obscure men : John Cottier, his physician ; Oliver le Dain, his barber ; and Tristan l'Ermite, whom he called his gossip, were his confidants. There was not one great man in his reign ; but history has preserved the noble reply addressed to the king by the first president, John de la Vaquerie. This magistrate, judging a royal edict to be contrary to public good, presented himself before Louis XI., at the head of his body. "What do you want ?" said the king. "The loss of our posts," answered La Vaquerie, "or even death, rather than betray our consciences."

Printing, which was to change the face of the world, was invented in Germany in this reign. This invention, of which several countries dispute the honour, is generally attributed to John Guttemberg, of Mayence. Louis XI., at the request of two theologians, caused the first French printing-press to be established at the Sorbonne. He protected commerce, founded manufactures of valuable stuffs, respected the values of the coinage, and permitted nobles to trade without derogation ; but although he lived without pomp, and, as regarded his own person, exercised a sordid parsimony, he exhausted his kingdom by his bounties towards all those whom he wished to gain, to corrupt, or keep faithful. The taxes, which in the time of Charles VII. only amounted to 1,800,000 livres, rose, under his successor, to 4,700,000,—a prodigious sum for a time in which public credit did not exist, in which agriculture, commerce, and industry, the sources of public wealth, were still in their infancy.

The able Philip de Comines, who lived for a long time in intimacy with Louis XI., was the historian of his reign. His memoirs, written with elegance and depth of thought, ad-

mirably paint the policy of this king, which had so strong and durable an influence over that of all Europe.

CHAPTER III.

Reign of Charles VIII. 1483—1498.

CHARLES VIII., the son and successor of Louis XI., ascended the throne at the age of thirteen years. He had two sisters, the elder of whom was married to the Sire de Beaujeu. The shrewdness and some other of the characteristics of her father were observed in her; he preferred her to his other children, and had specially charged both her and her husband with the care of directing the new king. Jeanne, the younger, disgraced by nature, was married to the duke of Orleans. Charles had passed a part of his youth solitarily in the castle of Amboise, where long maladies had deformed his body. Kept by his father in a state of profound ignorance, he was unable to fix his attention on anything. Incapable of application or discernment, and sensible of his own weakness, he lived for a long time in tutelage, although he was legally of age at the death of his father, having attained his fourteenth year.

Anne de Beaujeu, taking advantage of the influence which a lengthened habit had given her over her brother, continued to be the guardian of his person, and, in conjunction with her husband, assumed the reins of power. Their authority was soon disputed by the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and the Count de Clermont, all three princes of the blood: the first, presumptive heir to the crown; the second, elder brother of the Sire de Beaujeu. They revoked, by their own authority, all the alienations of domains made by Louis XI., and, to put an end to dangerous rivalries, they called together the States-General at Tours. The deputies divided themselves into six offices, under the name of the six nations of France, Burgundy, Normandy, Aquitaine, Langue d'Oc, and Langue d'Oil, and showed themselves, in many respects, worthy of the States of 1355, under King John. They laid their hands upon all abuses, pointed out various necessary reforms, and invoked the ancient French constitution, which, however, was only written in men's hearts, and existed but by name. The order of the clergy demanded the liberties of the Gallican church, in spite of the wishes of the bishops;

the nobility required all that could restore them their ancient military importance ; and the Third Estate, presenting a picture of the miseries of the people, conjured the king to take back the domains of the crown alienated by Louis XI., which sufficed for the royal expenses ; they supplicated that the *taille* should be abolished, affirming that the inhabitants of many of the districts of France had fled away into Brittany and England ; “ others,” said they, “ have died with hunger ; others, in their despair, have killed their wives and children, and then themselves : a great number, whose cattle have been taken from them, are obliged to harness themselves and their children to the plough ; whilst others, to avoid the seizure of their oxen, only venture to cultivate their fields by night.” After having made this energetic protest, and claimed the sovereignty, the States, upon being threatened by the princes, relaxed, and left it to the wisdom of the childish king to do justice to all their demands. They named the duke of Orleans president of the council, gave the second place to the duke of Bourbon, the constable, and the third to the Sire de Beaujeu : they decided that the States alone had the right of taxing the people, ordered reductions in the army, and voted a *taille* of 1,200,000 livres for two years, declaring that at the expiration of that period they must be convoked again if it were necessary that that tax should be continued. They laid down these principles without taking any of the necessary guarantees to secure their observance. Discussions soon degenerated into shameful quarrels upon the subject of the assessment of the *taille* among the provinces. Profiting by these divisions and the lassitude of the deputies, the princes made the king promise everything, and hastened to dissolve the States : no promise was kept, none of their wishes were complied with.

The duke of Orleans, a young prince more occupied with his pleasures than with business, was soon driven by Anne, his sister-in-law, from the council of which the deputies had named him the president, and the kingdom was governed by a woman who had no title to power from the will of the late king, the wish of the States, or the laws of the kingdom. The wisdom and vigour with which this princess employed her authority made the people soon forget she had usurped it ; but a league was formed against her, composed of the princes of the blood and the great nobles : at their head were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the prince of Orange, Philip de Comines, and the Count de Dunois, son of the

famous bastard of that name, and the most skilful negotiator of his age.

Brittany was then a prey to anarchy. The old duke, Francis II., almost imbecile, reigned only by name. He reposed all his confidence in the son of a tailor, named Landais, whom he made his treasurer and favourite. The Breton nobles, indignant at the cruelties of this upstart, formed a league against both him and their duke. Anne de Beaujeu, acting always in the name of the king, entered into an alliance with them. She at the same time joined with René of Lorraine and the Flemings, who were in a state of revolt against their sovereign, Maximilian of Austria. The duke of Orleans, who was culpable, not for opposing the usurpation of his sister-in-law, but for calling foreigners into the kingdom, leagued himself with Francis II. and his favourite, with Maximilian, and with Richard III., king of England. Richard had become king by means of numerous crimes: the guardian of his nephews at the death of Edward IV., he began by disputing the legitimacy of their birth, and afterwards had them smothered. The dukes of Orleans and Brittany connected themselves with this monster, and, as the price of the succours he supplied them with, they undertook to deliver up to him Henry of Richmond, a prince of the royal race, and the representative of the Lancastrians, who had taken refuge on the continent. Anne de Beaujeu supported this prince, and gave him some troops, with which he landed in England. The battle of Bosworth Field, in which Richard was killed, soon assured the throne to his rival: Henry of Richmond, grandson of Owen Tudor and Catherine of Valois, was acknowledged king of England in 1485. He married Elizabeth of York, and thus uniting in his own person the rights of the two families whose claims had disturbed the kingdom during so many years, the war of the roses, or of the houses of York and Lancaster, was terminated by his accession to the throne. About the same time, the Breton nobles triumphed; they seized Landais in the chamber of the king, who yielded him up to them with entreaties for mercy. But these were in vain; Landais was condemned to death and executed; and the weak Francis approved of the sentence.

Anne de Beaujeu took skilful advantage of the success of her allies; she brought the south under subjection, deprived the Count de Comminge of Guienne, and then marched a royal army into Brittany. The rebels were panic-struck; but

Dunois revived their courage ; he addressed several princes, remote from each other, to whom he gave reason to hope that they should obtain the hand of the daughter of the duke of Brittany, heir to the duchy ; and by this means, flattering them by turns, he seduced into his party Alain d'Albret, lord of Béarn, Maximilian of Austria, recently elected king of the Romans, and the powerful Viscount de Rohan. Nevertheless, Anne made her brother hold a bed of justice in the Parliament of Paris, at which the leagued princes and the principal lords of their party were summoned to appear. They failed to do so, and in the month of the following May a sentence was pronounced, by which the Count de Dunois, Lescun, Count de Comminge, Philip de Comines, the Sire d'Argenton, and several other nobles were condemned as guilty of *lèse-majesté* : but no sentence was passed against the princes.

Anne followed up her advantages. She confided the command of the royal army to La Tremouille, who marched into Brittany, and met the army of the princes near St. Aubin du Cormier. The Marshal du Rieux, the Sire d'Albret, and Chateaubriand commanded it ; the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange fought in the ranks. A battle ensued, which was won by La Tremouille, and prepared the union of Brittany with France. The duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, and a great number of the nobles were made prisoners. The conqueror invited them to his table, and when the repast was finished, two Franciscan monks entered the hall. The guests were struck with stupor ; Tremouille rose, and said : " Princes, I refer your judgment to the king, but as for you, knights, who have broken your faith and falsified your knightly oath, you shall pay for your crime with your heads. If you have any remorse upon your consciences, here are monks who will confess you." The hall resounded with lamentations, the knights supplicatingly embraced the knees of the princes, who, seized with terror, remained motionless. The prisoners were dragged into the courtyard and all put to death. The duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange were taken to France, where Anne kept them in close confinement. The treaty of Sable, concluded the same year, suspended hostilities between France and Brittany.

The constable duke of Bourbon was dead ; his brother, the Sire de Beaujeu, inherited his title and all his power. Anne, now become duchess of Bourbon, found herself, after the battle of St. Aubin du Cormier, in possession of an authority which ceased to be contested. This princess had for a long time

held in view the reunion of Brittany with the crown. No project could have been more useful to the kingdom, constantly put in peril by the independence of this great fief. A few months after the signature of the treaty of Sable, the old duke Francis II. died. Charles VIII. claimed the *garde-noble* of his daughters, of whom Anne, the eldest, was scarcely twelve years of age, whilst princes and powerful nobles disputed the hand of this child. Several parties were formed in Brittany, whither the various pretenders called in the English and the Spaniards. The latter, sent by Ferdinand of Arragon and the celebrated Isabella of Castille, fought against the pretensions of the Sire d'Albret, which were supported by the English. All were leagued against France, but all were weakened by anarchy. Such was the state of affairs in this duchy, when, in 1490, the young Anne of Brittany, to escape from her persecutors, consented to espouse Maximilian of Austria, king of the Romans. This prince was absent, and the marriage was only performed by procuration. Deceived in his hopes, the Sire d'Albret betrayed the Bretons, and sold Charles VIII. the city of Nantes, of which he was governor. The king obtained fresh advantages, and soon after surprised Rennes, in which city the duchess was, and obtained possession of her person. Then was accomplished a fact, singular in the annals of history : Anne of Brittany and Charles VIII. were married, the first with Maximilian, the second with Anne of Austria, aged eleven years, daughter of this same Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy ; but neither of the two marriages was consummated ; they were afterwards both annulled by the Church, and Charles VIII., in 1491, married Anne of Brittany, who ceded to him all her sovereign rights, engaging, if she became a widow, to marry none but the heir to the crown. The following year Charles promised solemnly to respect the privileges of the Bretons ; he swore he would impose no tax upon them without the consent of the States of the province ; that no Breton should be brought to judgment except before the judges of his country ; and that there should be no appeal from the Parliament of Brittany, which was then called *the great days*, to the Parliament of Paris, but in case of denial of justice or false judgment.

Charles, when twenty-two years of age, was the most powerful sovereign in Europe. In the preceding year he had shaken off the yoke of his sister. The first act of his authority was placing at liberty the duke of Orleans, whom she

had held captive in the tower of Bourges, and whom he loaded with proofs of tenderness and confidence. He soon abandoned himself to his chivalric ideas, and his relations with foreign sovereigns favoured his adventurous projects. Maximilian of Austria, whose wife he had borne off, and whose daughter he had repudiated, had deferred his vengeance, in order to destroy the army which, under the great Matthias Corvinus, defended the independence of Hungary against the Turks and the Germans. The following year, he made peace at Senlis with Charles, who restored his daughter Margaret to him, together with her dowry, consisting of the counties of Burgundy and Artois, which were then in the power of the Austrians. Henry VII., king of England, whom Charles had aided in the conquest of his kingdom, paid him with ingratitude, and having extorted large subsidies from his people, to make war against France, he laid siege to Boulogne with an army. Charles obtained peace by acknowledging, by the treaty of Etaples, a debt of seven hundred and forty-five thousand gold crowns, payable to this avaricious monarch, who, according to the expression of the great Bacon, his historian, sold war to his people, and peace to his enemies. In hopes of executing his projects of foreign conquest, Charles, in the next place, restored, by the treaty of Barcelona, the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, so dearly purchased by Louis XI., to Ferdinand of Arragon and Isabella of Castille, the conquerors of the Moors and of Granada. It is said that some Franciscan monks, gained by the Spanish sovereigns, obtained this advantageous treaty of Charles, by persuading him that Louis XI., his father, would suffer in purgatory until this ill-acquired territory should be restored.

Charles VIII., at peace with neighbouring states and with his own people, fancied himself in a condition to satisfy his passion for distant adventures and chivalric conquests. Brought up in ignorance of men and of business, possessing no historical information, incapable of either calculation or foresight, he had fed his understanding with nothing but the reading of romances of chivalry, and had practised no exercises but those of jousts and tournaments. His imagination, heated by the recital of the exploits of Charlemagne and the Norman knights, persuaded him that he was called upon to follow their example. His favourite dream was of the conquest of Constantinople ; but he, at first, limited his ambition to that of Italy and Sicily.

Italy had for a long time inflamed the cupidity of the

French. The successive pretensions of the two houses of Anjou had carried, since the age of St. Louis, swarms of French or Provençal adventurers into that fine country. Such as did not fall in their attempts, returned clothed in the brilliant armour fabricated in Lombardy, or in the sumptuous stuffs of Florence. They boasted of the delights of a milder climate, of the exquisite wines of the south, of the wonders of industry, and of all the luxury and wealth that had tempted them. Rome, besides, the capital of the Christian world, attracted all hearts, and never did the kings of France lose sight of Italy. Louis XI., among others, had sought to acquire rights in it; it was at his instigation that old King René of Anjou named Charles of Maine, his nephew, as his heir, to the prejudice of René II., duke of Lorraine, son of his eldest daughter. Charles of Maine, acknowledged sovereign of Provence, on taking the title of king of Sicily, in his turn named Louis XI. his universal heir: this testament was the only title upon which Charles VIII. grounded his pretensions to the crown of Naples and Sicily, then possessed by Ferdinand of Arragon, son of Alphonso the Magnificent.

There was always in the kingdom of Naples a party favourable to the house of Anjou, which was named the *Anjevian* party. It was increased by the greater part of the barons, who were disgusted with the atrocious tyranny of Ferdinand. They uselessly called René of Lorraine into the kingdom; and, failing of him, they addressed themselves to Charles VIII., and offered him the crown. But this prince had still another hope in Italy. Louis the Moor, son of the great Francesco Sforza, was all-powerful at Milan. In 1479, he had obtained possession of the regency of that duchy, supplanting in power Bonne of Savoy, the sister-in-law of Louis XI., and the mother of the young duke, John Galeas, who was brutified by indulgence, and incapable of reigning himself. Louis the Moor, uncle of John Galeas, left him the title and pomp of sovereign power, but held all authority in his own hands. Deeply afflicted at the divisions of Italy, he cherished a dream of uniting it into a single body, and his genius provoked the jealous hatred of all the sovereigns of that country. Menaced by the Venetians, and mistrustful of the new pope, Alexander VI., who was always ready to sell himself to the highest bidder, he believed that he stood in need of the French to maintain his power, and called them into Lombardy. After that summons, Charles hesitated no longer: encouraged by his two favourites, Cardinal

Briçonnet, bishop of St. Malo, and De Vesc, senechal of Beaucaire, and vainly opposed by Anne of Bourbon and her husband, he resolved to set out. He already thought, after having conquered Italy, of making the pope deliver up to him the sultan Zizim, whom his brother Bajazet II., emperor of the Turks, had driven from the throne; and he intended, with the support of his name, to march to Constantinople. About this time, Ferdinand of Arragon died, leaving two sons, Alphonso II., who succeeded him, already celebrated in the wars against the Turks, and Frederick, to whom his brother confided the command of his fleet.

In the month of August of the year 1494, the French army moved towards the Alps: it was composed of three thousand six hundred men-at-arms, twelve thousand archers or arbaletriers, eight thousand Gascon infantry, armed with arquebuses, and eight thousand Swiss and Germans, forming in all thirty-two thousand men, accompanied by a formidable artillery, deemed the best in Europe. Italy was all in commotion at their approach: Venice and the neighbouring states took the alarm, and were hostile to them; Milan and Genoa alone were favourable.

On arriving in the first of these cities, the king had an interview in the citadel with the duke, John Galeas, who, almost deprived of sense, and exhausted by debaucheries, languished under the attack of a disease, which it is possible poison might have caused, and which, a short time after, carried him to the tomb. Louis the Moor immediately assumed the title of duke of Milan. The French army continued its march across Lombardy, and arrived upon the territories of Florence, where some places which attempted to stop them were taken. The Swiss committed horrible barbarities, massacring all their prisoners, whether inhabitants or soldiers. Terror preceded the army. Alarmed by the account of these atrocities, Peter de Medici, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and head of the Florentine republic, delivered up several cities and strong castles to the French; the indignant people rose up against him: this impotent and presumptuous young man fled to Venice for refuge, and the Florentines believed themselves free. They welcomed the French with acclamations, as liberators: Pisa and Florence opened their gates, and Charles, admitted as an ally into these cities, entered them as a conqueror. A stranger to the revolution that had been effected around him, and ignorant of the motives of the warm welcome of this

people, he spoke as a master to their deputies, and in reply to their friendly harangues, told them that he had not yet determined whether he should give them as governors the Medici or some French councillors. The indignation of the Florentines was at its height. "*If it be thus,*" said Peter Caponi, head of the deputation, "*sound your trumpets, and we will ring our bells.*" The people flew to arms, the houses and the vast palaces of Florence were quickly filled with soldiers: Charles VIII. became conscious of his danger, and renounced his pretensions; he recalled Caponi, obtained a subsidy in aid of his enterprise, and promised to restore, at the end of the war, the fortresses given up by Medici. Ferdinand, son of Alphonso II., charged by his father with the task of checking the French, was neither supported by the pope nor the Florentines. Too weak to contend alone, he retreated before his enemy, and Charles VIII. entered the pontifical city without drawing a sword. Alphonso, whose armies melted away without fighting, was reduced to despair, and, abandoning his people and his crown, he thought only of his treasures and his conscience. The minister of the cruelties of his father, he fancied he beheld the shades of his victims rise up before him, and recognised the hand of God in his disasters. A prey to superstitious terror, he abdicated in favour of his son Ferdinand; then he embarked with his riches and sailed for Mazara, in Sicily. There he shut himself up in the house of the Olivetan monks, passing his days in fasting and prayer, and died within the year. Ferdinand II. found his army a prey to terror. A sedition broke out at Naples, and he hastened to quell it, leaving his troops under the command of the Milanese Trivulzio, who betrayed him, and sold his army to Charles VIII. Ferdinand only returned to witness this infamous treachery; he went back to Naples, which shut its gates against him, and he then embarked with his family for the isle of Ischia. Charles VIII. arrived before Naples, of which he confirmed all the privileges; he made a triumphal entry into the city, and the continental part of the kingdom of Sicily was conquered.

The French warriors, intoxicated with their glory, only thought of enriching themselves promptly: their captains demanded of the king the highest dignities and the most important fiefs of the kingdom, and Charles refused nothing; he was neither acquainted with the names of the Angevin barons to whom he owed his gratitude, nor with those of the Arragonese barons, whom it was of so much importance to

him to conciliate; he offended them all, and there was scarcely a gentleman whom he did not throw into the party of the malcontents, by a denial of justice or some imprudent insult. In the mean time the storm began to growl behind him: the powers of Europe became alarmed at his rapid success: Spain, Maximilian, Venice, and the pope, formed a secret league against him, and the soul of this league was his ancient ally, Louis the Moor. The conduct of the French towards him had been as insolent as imprudent: forgetting his services, and the need they still had of him, they reproached him openly with the death of John Galeas, refused to recognise his title, and the duke of Orleans, upon the strength of the rights he held from the Visconti, instituted himself duke of Milan. Louis the Moor only waited for the proper moment for vengeance, and this moment soon presented itself. Philip de Comines, ambassador from the king to Venice, informed of the projects of this formidable league, hastened to send intelligence of it to the king, who was slumbering over his triumph, amidst the most frivolous and senseless occupations. Charles immediately ordered a retreat, and rejecting the offer made to him by Ferdinand to hold the crown of Naples of him in fief, he named his relation, Gilbert de Montpensier, viceroy of the kingdom, and confided a part of the army to his command.

The duke of Orleans, whom Charles had left at Asti, to keep up the communication with his kingdom, compromised the retreat of the French by his imprudence. Impatient to seize the ducal crown of Milan, he attacked Louis the Moor, who surrounded him and blockaded him in Novara, of which city Orleans had taken possession. All Lombardy was roused; the Venetian army arrived and formed a junction with the Milanese; Francis de Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, commanded their united forces. The French army, very inferior in numbers, met them near Fornovo. It was attacked at the passage of the Taro, but gained a complete victory. This battle of Fornovo, in which a great number of Italians lost their lives, secured the retreat of Charles VIII. The king, by the treaty of Vercell, made peace with Louis the Moor, whom he acknowledged duke of Milan: he restored Novara to him, and that prince in return admitted that he held Genoa in fief of the crown of France. Whilst Charles was returning to his dominions, Ferdinand and Gonzalvo de Cordova, the conqueror of Granada, and the greatest captain of his age, attacked the French left in

the kingdom of Naples. The viceroy, Gilbert de Montpensier, was constrained to evacuate the capital ; he allowed himself to be shut up in Atella, and, compelled to capitulate, he, with five thousand soldiers, laid down his arms, and engaged to leave the kingdom, after having restored all the places with the exception of Gaeta, Tarento, and Venosa. An epidemic raged among his troops ; he was himself attacked by it, and he died at Pozzuolo : scarcely five hundred soldiers survived him. Charles VIII. received the news of these disasters at Lyons and at Tours, amidst licentious festivities ; in vain he was anxious to preserve his conquests : Naples and Sicily were lost for France. The king was planning a second expedition, when in 1498 he was struck with apoplexy in consequence of a violent shock : he died in his castle of Amboise, at the age of twenty-eight years.

One of the most remarkable features of his character was his extreme good nature. "The most humane and mild speech of man that ever was," writes Comines, "was his ; for never did he say to any man a thing that might displease him." His incapacity was generally known, and his military successes, in the eyes of his contemporaries, were looked upon as prodigies. His mildness and good-nature were appreciated. France was grateful to him for what he was willing to have done for her, and gave tears to his memory. In the space of two years, he lost three sons of a tender age. The duke of Orleans, grandson of the brother of Charles VI., was his nearest relation.

CHAPTER IV.

Reign of Louis XII. 1498—1515.

THE duke of Orleans was thirty-six years old when, under the name of Louis XII., he ascended the throne. He immediately assumed the title of king of France, of Jerusalem, of the Two Sicilies, and of duke of Milan, in order that neither Europe nor his subjects should have a doubt with respect to his pretensions regarding Italy. He treated La Tremouille and his ancient enemies with kindness, saying that the king of France forgot injuries done to the duke of Orleans, and gave his entire confidence to George d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen, and afterwards cardinal, an honest well-intentioned man, but whose understanding was not equal to his zeal. The first acts of Louis XII. were wise

and useful. He lessened the taxes, re-established order in the finances and the administration, and confirmed an ordinance which the chancellor, Guy de Roquafort, had induced Charles VIII. to sign, for the creation of a sovereign court or great council. This court, composed of the chancellor, twenty-eight ecclesiastical or lay councillors, and of the masters of requests of the hotel, was destined, said the king, to support his right and prerogatives. It strengthened and regulated the royal authority, and deservedly procured Louis XII. the gratitude of his people, by the wise reforms it introduced into the legislature: it restrained the abused privileges of the university, by which the jurisdiction of the tribunals and the collection of the taxes were constantly impeded. The four faculties assembled upon this subject, and pronounced, as usual, a cessation of studies and preachings. The king and his ministers reprimanded their deputies severely: the contest lasted eight months, after which the university submitted, and ceased to have recourse to this scandalous expedient.

Queen Anne retired into Brittany immediately after the death of her husband Charles VIII., and hastened to perform an act of sovereignty by stamping a coinage and publishing edicts. Her duchy was about to escape from France, unless she espoused the king, and Louis resolved to accomplish this marriage. He was married to Joan, a daughter of Louis XI., and although there existed no legal motive for a divorce, he solicited of Pope Alexander VI. the rupture of his first engagement, and rendered him favourable, by promising the duchy of Valentinois to Cæsar Borgia, his son. Joan, who lived separated from her husband, entirely given up to exercises of piety, opposed, from conscientious motives, an unexpected resistance to a project which appeared a guilty one, and the scandal of a disgraceful trial became public. All the motives alleged by the king were either false or illusory; nevertheless the judges pronounced the divorce, and the dispensations for a fresh marriage were brought to Louis by Cæsar Borgia, who at the same time was the bearer of a cardinal's hat to George d'Amboise. Louis XII. immediately espoused Anne of Brittany, and the contract proved that he had acted more in the interest of his own greatness than in that of France; for the duchy was not irrevocably united to the crown, but was declared transmissible to the second child of the queen, or, in default of a second child, to her nearest heir.

Immediately after this union, Louis attempted to establish his claims upon Milan, which he could only invoke in quality of grandson of Valentine Visconti. The duchy of Milan was an imperial male fief; the rights put forth by Louis were therefore null: they were supported by a powerful army which, with the assistance of the Venetians and the pope subdued the Milanese in twenty days. Louis Sforza, or the Moor, abandoned by all, took refuge with his son-in-law, the emperor Maximilian. The government of the French was oppressive at Milan; a revolt soon broke out; Louis Sforza returned with imposing forces, and La Tremouille passed over into Italy with a fresh army. Louis the Moor was defending Novara with numerous troops, when La Tremouille appeared before that place. Swiss fought in both armies, and constituted the principal strength of the Moor; they betrayed him, capitulated shamefully in spite of him, and delivered him up to the French. Louis XII. abused greatly the rights of a conqueror towards his prisoner; he confined him in a close captivity in the tower of Loche to the hour of his death, a period of ten years. Master of the Milanese, he assisted the pope and Cæsar Borgia in subduing Romagna: then he concluded with Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Arragon, in 1500, the secret treaty of Granada, by which he shared with him the kingdom of Naples, of which he named as viceroy the young Louis of Armagnac, duke de Nemours.

Frederick was then reigning at Naples; upon being threatened by the French armies, he solicited the support of that same Ferdinand who had so recently plundered him, but who sent to his aid the celebrated Gonzalvo de Cordova: the latter promptly introduced the Spaniards into the principal fortresses, and then he announced to the unfortunate Frederick, unworthily betrayed, the secret treaty of partition. War between the spoliators was the only result of this odious conquest. The French and Spaniards quarrelled about the revenues of the kingdom, and when Gonzalvo believed himself in force, hostilities commenced. He gained two consecutive victories, the one over D'Aubigny, at Seminara, the other over Nemours, at Cerignola, where the young viceroy lost his life. Louis XII. got together three fresh armies, two of which marched against Spain; the third was advancing towards Naples, when all at once the death of the pope, Alexander VI., threw Italy into confusion; Cæsar Borgia fell dangerously sick: both had, it is said, drunk by mistake of a poison they had destined for a

cardinal invited to their table. The sickness of Cæsar Borgia, at the moment of the death of his father, annihilated his power, and deprived him of the fruits of all his infamous intrigues. Louis XII. lost in the person of Alexander VI. his most powerful ally in Italy, where the warlike and irascible Julius II., the successor of that pontiff, soon created for him new perils and insurmountable obstacles. The French army, commanded by the marquis of Mantua, was for a long time held in check by Gonzalvo, on the banks of the Garillan, and when attacked by this great captain, was quickly put to flight. Gaeta opened its gates to the Spaniards, and the French were everywhere repulsed, in spite of the exploits of La Palisse, D'Aubigny, Louis d'Ars, D'Aligre, and the heroic valour of the Chevalier Bayard, the most celebrated of these illustrious soldiers. The kingdom of Naples was for a second time lost for France.

Whilst France experienced such great reverses abroad, a much greater danger threatened her at home. Queen Anne, a haughty, ambitious princess, entirely occupied with the interests of her own family, took very little concern in the greatness or prosperity of the kingdom. She was desirous that her daughter Claude should obtain a husband who might look forward to the sceptre of universal monarchy, and she destined her for young Charles of Luxembourg, afterwards the celebrated Charles V.

This prince, son of the Archduke Philip, sovereign of the Netherlands, inherited Spain from his mother, and Louis XII., by the secret treaty of Blois, ceded to him, as the dowry of the Princess Claude, Brittany, the part of the heritage of the dukes of Burgundy reunited to France, and all his rights in the Milanese and the kingdom of Naples. The king signed this shameful treaty, which must be considered treachery towards France, if Louis, when signing it, had had the use of his reason ; but he was then dangerously ill, his end was deemed near, and the queen, thinking only of her own interests, immediately prepared everything for her retreat into Brittany. She had already embarked with her treasures, when the marshal de Gié, governor of Angers, and superintendent of the education of the young Francis d'Angoulême, prevented this flight, which threatened so seriously the integrity of the kingdom. He ordered the vessels laden with the queen's wealth to be seized, and signified to her he would arrest her if she attempted to depart. Louis XII. recovered, and the marshal, dragged for this act

of firmness before the Parliament of Toulouse, was punished by the loss of all his employments.

Feudalism was expiring; nevertheless, such was still the respect for its customs, that in the year 1505, Louis XII. did homage to the emperor Maximilian for the duchy of Milan, and took an oath of obedience to him. The following year he received from the States-General, assembled at Tours, the surname of *Father of his people*, and was supplicated by them to marry his daughter Claude to Francis, count d'Angoulême, the presumptive heir to the crown. This demand accorded with the secret wish of the king, who, reproaching himself with the injurious treaty of Blois, had already availed himself of an opportunity for breaking it. He granted the prayer of the States, and the betrothment of the Princess Claude and Francis d'Angoulême was immediately celebrated.

Notwithstanding so many reverses, the eyes of Louis XII. were always turned towards Italy. Genoa was then in the power of the French, who, bringing into that republic all the prejudices of the feudal nobility, were indignant at seeing burgesses there exercising power conjointly with nobles. The latter, supported by the French government, insulted the people, and walked about armed with poniards, upon which an insolent device was engraved. The people revolted, took a dyer for doge, and drove out the French. Louis XII. swore to be revenged for this, and soon appeared under the walls of Genoa with a brilliant army. He entered the conquered city sword in hand, hung the doge, with seventy-nine of the principal citizens, and pardoned the rest upon their paying a tax of three hundred thousand florins, a sum sufficient to ruin the republic.

Venice served as a bulwark to France against Germany, and had proved itself a faithful ally in the campaign of Italy. The king ought to have conciliated this state, as well from policy as gratitude; but the hatred which animated the sovereigns of Europe against republics, stifled every other sentiment in the heart of Louis XII.; he excited, without either provocation or motive, the emperor Maximilian, the pope, and the king of Arragon against the Venetians; the cardinal d'Amboise was the soul of this league, known by the name of the *League of Cambrui*, the city in which the treaty of alliance was signed between these sovereigns and Louis XII. The French marched immediately against Venice, and gained the victory of Agnadel. The king, putting in practice the odious principles of the Florentine Machiavel, subdued his

enemies by terror, and treated the conquered with pitiless cruelty. The Venetian state was quickly conquered up to its lagunes; but the aim of Pope Julius II. was to render the pontifical state dominant in Italy, to free the Peninsula from a foreign yoke, and establish the Swiss as guardians of its liberties. He had only entered with regret into the League of Cambrai, in order to subdue some places of Romagna, and from jealousy for the Venetian power. He knew, however, that without the aid of the Venetians he could not hope to deliver Italy from her most dangerous enemies; he made advances to them after their reverses, and, detaching himself from the League of Cambrai, formed another, which he named *the Holy*, with the Venetians, the Swiss, and Ferdinand the Catholic. They all attacked the French together; but the latter still obtained brilliant advantages, under the young and impetuous Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, nephew of the king, who gained three victories in three months. The glorious battle of Ravenna, in which this conquering prince met with his death, was the termination of the successes of Louis XII. in Italy.

A council held at Pisa by some schismatic cardinals, partisans of the king of France and the emperor, suspended the authority of the pope. Louis XII., notwithstanding the whispers of his conscience and the profound discredit into which this council fell, published its declaration in France, in the hope of constraining the pope to sue for peace. The inflexible Julius II. replied to this bold act of the king by signing the holy league, and convoking the Council of the Lateran, in which eighty-three bishops from all parts of Christendom recognised him head of the Church. New disasters for France marked the course of this year: Genoa revolted, and Ferdinand the Catholic conquered Navarre. Julius II., however, did not long enjoy the disgraces of Louis, he died in 1513, and the cardinal de Medici, an enemy of France, succeeded him under the name of Leo X. Taught by experience, Louis XII. at length conciliated Venice, and allied himself to that republic by the treaty of Orthez. The emperor Maximilian, Henry VIII. of England, Ferdinand the Catholic, and the pope, formed the coalition called the *League of Malines* against him. La Tremouille led a French army into Lombardy, which was defeated by the Swiss at Novara: it recrossed the Alps, abandoning the Venetians to their own resources, and Italy was lost beyond redemption.

The English army gained in Artois the battle of Guinegate;

known in history as the *Battle of the Spurs*, on account of the complete rout of the French gendarmerie. The most illustrious captains, and among others La Palisse, Bussy d'Amboise, and the Chevalier Bayard, were made prisoners. Pressed at the same time by the Swiss, who besieged Dijon, by the Spaniards, and by the English ; deprived of his only ally by the death of James IV., king of Scotland, killed at the battle of Flodden Field, and tormented by his conscience, Louis XII. renounced the schism, abandoned the Council of Pisa, which was transferred to Lyons, and in 1514 signed a truce at Orleans with all the inimical powers.

The expenses and misfortunes of so many wars had obliged the king to augment the taxes, to ask for gratuitous grants, and to alienate his domains. Queen Anne was no more, and in order to confirm the peace with England, Louis demanded and obtained the hand of Mary, sister of Henry VIII., engaging to pay, during ten years, an annual sum of a hundred thousand crowns to the English monarch. This marriage was fatal to Louis XII. ; he died of exhaustion, on the 1st of January, 1515, a few months after its celebration. Many happy sayings and acts of courage are cited of this prince : at the battle of Agnadel, as the Venetian artillery was directed to the post he occupied, it was represented to him that he exposed himself too much : " Not at all, not at all," said he ; " I am not afraid ; if any one is, let him get behind me." Louis XII. loved his people, and supported, without prodigality, the dignity of the crown. He was economical, his court even accused him of being avaricious, and caused him to be represented as such upon the stage. He learnt this without anger : " I prefer," said he, " seeing my courtiers laugh at my avarice to seeing my people weep at my expenses." He had recourse to a dangerous experiment, the sale of public employments, in order to augment his revenues without oppressing his people : nevertheless, he did not extend this practice to judicial offices. The importance of the Parliament of Paris, already diminished in the preceding reigns by the creation of the parliaments of Toulouse, Grenoble, Bordeaux, and Dijon, was still further weakened under Louis XII. by that of the parliaments of Rouen and Aix. The wise regulations of this king for the administration of justice and the finances rendered him worthy of the great name of *Father of the people*, which the States of Tours bestowed upon him ; but if, in his relations with his subjects, the policy of Louis XII. is in general worthy of praise, we

cannot, by any means, speak so highly of his foreign policy and his relations with foreign powers. The example and the principles of Louis XI. had created a school in Europe, and diplomacy was born before the science of the rights of nations was either known or respected. Peoples believed they had no moral duty to perform towards each other, and thought that personal interest and success justified fraud, treachery, and the most atrocious violences. The celebrated Florentine Machiavel made a science of this frightful policy, the most famous disciples of which were Ferdinand the Catholic, Alexander VI., and the execrable Cæsar Borgia, Machiavel's hero. Louis XII. rivalled them in violence and perfidy, purchasing, betraying, and sacrificing peoples without scruple, according to the interest of the moment. He only gathered, as did most of these sovereigns, very bitter fruits from so many disgraceful actions. Europe and its kings were doomed to suffer long and numerous calamities before they became sensible that nations are bound together, as men are, by sacred obligations, and that morality alone is able, by uniting itself closely with policy, to guarantee to them either peace or security.

During the century that had passed away, the world had assumed a new face. Great wars had weakened the aristocracy, rallied the peoples around their sovereigns, and given a prodigious development to the feeling of national independence. The three great nations, Spain, England, and France, had established themselves, and all authority had passed into the hands of the kings. The military republic of the Swiss was elevated for a moment by the fall of the house of Burgundy, but the republican states of the north and the south were eclipsed. The Hanseatic league, composed of eighty cities, and which occupied all the northern shores of Germany, had lost its commercial preponderance; it had passed to the rival cities of the Lower Rhine and Holland, now become subjects of Austria, of which Frederick III. and Maximilian founded the future power. Venice was humiliated; Florence and Genoa were weakened. Amidst this fusion of all political powers into a single one, under this triumph of the monarchical principle in Europe, was brooding the germ of the greatest revolution that had ever shaken the Christian world. This event was the emancipation of human thought, of which till that time spiritual power had restrained the flight.

The Catholic Church was the only authority that had survived the fall of the Roman empire; it alone had been able

to awe the barbarians by means of its outward pomps, and struggle effectually against the frightful anarchy of that epoch, by principles of order and Christian virtue, and by the merit of a great portion of the members of its clergy ; it alone had preserved a power of social organization amidst universal confusion, and founded the governments of the middle ages by attributing to itself an all-powerful authority over human reason, at a time in which reason was blind, and in which men recognised no other right amongst each other but that of brute force. It was thus the Church of Rome performed a double mission, which was to constitute modern society upon a Christian basis, and to give it the bond of a common faith, strong enough to enable Europe to repel the flood of the Mussulman invasion, which had destroyed Christianity in Asia. When this double aim was attained, and the Church had directed the reaction of the crusades, a thousand causes daily undermined its authority, whilst a rival authority was growing up beside it. The theological disputes raised by the great schism of the West, provoked among the faithful the progress of the spirit of examination : already the clergy were no longer respected as the only dispensers of intelligence ; the fall of Constantinople had dispersed the writings of antiquity throughout Europe ; the expeditions of Italy, so unfortunate in a political point of view, initiated the French nation with a more advanced civilization, with a knowledge of the master-pieces of Raphael and Michael Angelo, and with the treasures of a literature created by Boccaccio, Dante, and Petrarch, and which Machiavel and Ariosto had recently enriched ; the admiration excited by ancient literature and by that of Italy, inspired a taste for philological studies ; and printing, newly invented, powerfully seconded the labours of investigation, of research and examination, and spread, with unheard-of rapidity, all new opinions. At this period, and almost without interruption, the throne of Rome was occupied by a line of popes whose minds were most opposite to the spirit of Christianity. After the lascivious Alexander VI. appeared Julius II., a warlike pope, whose ambitious pride caused rivers of blood to flow : the magnificent and frivolous Leo X. followed, and carried the scandals of the Church to the highest pitch. In the mean time bold reformers, Wickliffe in England, John Huss and Jerome of Prague, in Germany, had eloquently revived some of the doctrines of the Albigeois, and the horror excited by the funeral pile of John Huss had pre-

pared the way for fresh reformers, when the odious traffic in indulgences commenced. The construction of magnificent monuments by Leo X., particularly the church of St. Peter at Rome, required immense sums : the pope sold his pardons to the faithful ; monks by his orders perambulated Europe, and trafficked in indulgences even in the lowest taverns and places of debauchery. Luther then appeared. This famous man, a monk of the order of the Augustins, thundered against the guilty commerce of the pontifical court, and attempted, at once, the reformation of the Church, which caused the name of Reformation to be given to the revolution he effected. It required nearly two centuries to accomplish it, and its origin dates from the period at which great feudalism expired in France, and in which the monarchical power attained the highest degree of its strength in the great states constituted in the fifteenth century.

This epoch is that of the greatest enterprises and the most celebrated inventions. The Genoese Christopher Columbus discovered America in 1492, and gave a new world to Spain ; soon after, in 1497, the Portuguese Vasco de Gama found the route to India by doubling the Cape of Good Hope. Maritime commerce left the Mediterranean to cover the ocean with its fleets : a fresh system of military tactics was created : the use of gunpowder becoming generally spread, completed the depriving of the aristocracy of superiority of strength ; diplomacy had its birth : sovereigns began to comprehend that it was necessary mutually to balance their influence, in order to prevent the most powerful from aggrandizing themselves at the expense of the most weak ; and printing was about to give a new life to men, by establishing amongst them intellectual and indestructible bonds. All the forces created by these great discoveries of the fifteenth century were about to be tried and to develop themselves conjointly with the religious reformation, in the sixteenth : everything announced that this would be an age of movement, struggle, and progress.

THIRD EPOCH.

ABSOLUTE MONARCHY.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF FRANCIS I. TO THE CONVOCAION OF THE
STATES-GENERAL BY LOUIS XVI.

1515—1785.

BOOK THE FIRST.

From the accession of Francis I. to the first religious wars in France.

Rivalry of Francis I. and Charles V.—Preaching of the Reformation.—
Continuation and end of the wars in Italy.

1515—1559.

CHAPTER I.

Reign of Francis I. to the signing of the treaty of Madrid. 1515—1526.

UNDER Francis I. all was silent around the throne ; the States-General were no more convoked, parliaments proclaimed the doctrines of absolute power ; the submissive clergy covered themselves with the protection of the sceptre, and the expiring genius of old armed feudalism was reduced to impotence by the irrevocable union of Brittany with the crown.

This prince, twenty years of age at his accession, was the son of Louisa of Savoy and of Charles of Angoulême, cousin-german of Louis XII. Brought up by his mother, a greedy, frivolous woman, with very little chastity of morals, he was, from his infancy, absolute master of all his actions. Romances of chivalry were his only study, and he wished, like Charles VIII., to tread in the steps of Rolando and Amadis. He drew from the same books his notions of the prerogatives of the crown : he pretended that every order which issued from his mouth was a decree of destiny, and could not conceive that parliaments, princes, a nobility, or States-General,

had any right to restrain his authority. Nevertheless, notwithstanding his absolute character, he abandoned himself without reserve to his mother, Louisa of Savoy, and to the chancellor Antoine Duprat, a venal and corrupted man : these two governed France for a long time in his reign.

Scarcely had Francis I. grasped the sceptre, when, after the example of Louis XII., he turned his eyes towards Italy : he was desirous of conquering Milan, and collected a formidable army, in which appeared the most renowned of the French warriors. In this brilliant rank were the constable Charles de Montpensier, duke of Bourbon, Marshal de Chabanne, J. J. Trivulzio, La Tremouille and his son Talmont, Imbercourt, Teligny, Lautrec, Bussy d'Amboise, and Bayard, the knight without fear and without reproach.

Francis I., when on the point of setting out, named his mother regent of France : then he took the command of his army, composed of two thousand five hundred men-at-arms, ten thousand Gascons, and twenty-two thousand German lansquenets. This army crossed the Alps with incredible fatigue, by a road that no other army had attempted before it, and on its descent from the mountains, Chabanne and Bayard, as a first exploit, surprised Prosper Colonna, the general of Maximilian Sforza, duke of Milan, at table, and bore him off a prisoner. This important capture threw disorder and discouragement among the enemy ; but twenty thousand Swiss poured down from their mountains, and fought with the king the terrible battle of Marignan. Their only weapons were pikes, eighteen feet long, and heavy two-handed swords ; they rushed in close columns upon the artillery, in spite of the ravages it made in their ranks, and sustained, without being broken, several charges of the French gendarmerie. They separated Francis I., who fought like a hero, from his troops, and broke the different bodies of the army. The French rallied during the night, and the contest was renewed with fury. The Swiss suddenly heard the war-cry of the Venetians—*Marco ! Marco !* and believing that these allies of the French were come to their assistance, retreated in good order. This bloody day cost the lives of six thousand French and twelve thousand Swiss ; the wreck of the conquered army abandoned Italy. The day after the battle, Francis I. received the order of knighthood from the hand of Bayard, who had most distinguished himself among all those valiant captains at Marignan. The rapid conquest of the duchy of Milan was the result of this decisive victory.

To secure possession of it, the king concluded an alliance with the Swiss, which for a long time placed the weakest frontier of the kingdom in safety. He treated at the same time with Pope Leo X., engaging to maintain the authority of Lorenzo and Julian de Medici, near relations of the pontiff, in Florence, and to abolish the pragmatic sanction, which founded the liberties of the Gallican Church upon the decrees of the Council of Bâle. Charles VII. had made these decrees a law of the state, and though abandoned by Louis XI., they were always acknowledged by the Parliament and University of Paris. The court of Rome had constantly protested against them, and they were definitively suppressed by the concordat which Leo X. and Francis I. signed in 1516. This celebrated treaty admitted the superiority of popes over councils, and restored to the pontifical court the immense revenues of the *annates*.* It deprived chapters of the nomination to prelatures, and transferred it to the king, reserving the third of the vacant benefices to the graduates of the French universities; it likewise set bounds to excommunications, and interdicted appeals to the court of Rome. This concordat, in order to be equally binding upon the Church and France, was to be accepted by the fifth Council of the Lateran, then sitting at Rome, and by the Parliament of Paris. The council accepted it without hesitation or deliberation; but the parliament and the university resisted the orders of the king, appealing to the pragmatic sanction of Charles VII. Offended at any opposition to his will as an outrage against royal majesty, Francis insisted upon absolute obedience. A deputation of magistrates came to address remonstrances to him, but he flew into a rage, and threatened to have them all thrown into a dungeon. The parliament submitted, and registered the concordat, protesting however against the violence with which their consent had been obtained. They were constrained, the following year, to sanction a barbarous edict which punished offences against forest laws with whippings, confiscation, or death. "Obey," said the chancellor Duprat to the magistrates; "obey, or the king will see in you nothing but rebels, and will chastise you as he would the meanest of his subjects." From that moment all submitted in silence, and the king glorified himself with having placed kings *hors de page*, that is, made them completely masters.

* The first year's revenue of vacant benefices was termed *annates* or first-fruits.

The young rival of Francis I., he who, during so many years, disputed with him the first place in Christendom, now began to come forward on the stage of the world. Ferdinand the Catholic died in 1516, leaving the throne to his daughter Joan the Simple, and naming Cardinal Ximenes regent of Castille, who, notwithstanding his great age, grasped the reins of state with vigour, and bowed the people and the rebellious nobles beneath his iron will. The son of Joan the Simple, Charles of Austria, then sixteen years of age, was associated with her on the throne by the Cortes of the kingdom. This young prince, afterwards so well known as Charles V., was, by his father, Philip the Handsome, heir to the Low Countries, and, in 1516, the emperor Maximilian left him his hereditary states. Before the age of twenty, Charles found himself master of Spain, the Low Countries, Austria, the kingdom of Naples, and the Spanish possessions in America: he was already the most powerful monarch in Europe. Ruled at this time by the Seigneur de Chièvres, his governor, he gave no evidence of the great faculties of his mind; but very shortly his prudence, his ambition, and the depth and perseverance of his policy, gave his name as much splendour as he derived from his numerous crowns. The king of France, from the geographical situation, and the compact mass and resources of his states, rather than from their extent, was his only competitor in power; and he often became so with more courage than prudence or good fortune. His long and sanguinary rivalry with Charles of Austria occupied a great part of the sixteenth century. The relations between these two sovereigns, however, began by an offensive and defensive treaty of alliance, signed at Noyon, in 1516, at the time Charles inherited the crown of Spain. This prince promised Francis to marry his daughter, then in the cradle; the marriage was to be accomplished when she should attain twelve years of age, and Francis gave her as a dowry all his rights in the kingdom of Naples.

The death of the emperor Maximilian produced the first symptoms of the struggle which was only to finish with their lives: both pretended to the empire. Francis lavished his gold upon the electors; but Germany, then threatened by the Turks, stood in need of an emperor whose states might serve as a barrier against Mussulman invasions, and the elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, having refused the imperial crown, it was given to Charles, from that time so celebrated under the name of Charles V. Francis I., wounded

to the heart in his ambition, forgot the treaty of Noyon, redemanded Naples, of which Ferdinand the Catholic had deprived Louis XII., and summoned the new emperor to pay him homage for the county of Flanders, whilst Charles V. redemanded Milan, as an imperial male fief, and the duchy of Burgundy, as the inheritance of his grandmother Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold. Both the rivals endeavoured to strengthen themselves by an alliance with the king of England, Henry VIII. The interview between Francis I. and the English monarch took place at Guines, near Calais. The excessive magnificence which was there displayed on both sides, caused the place of the conference to be called *the Field of the Cloth of Gold*. After three weeks of rejoicings and splendid festivals, the two kings signed an alliance, which became illusory, for Charles V., having himself visited Henry VIII., had seduced Cardinal Wolsey, the minister and favourite of that prince, by large sums of money and hopes of the papacy. Such eagerness on the part of the two most powerful monarchs of Europe to win Henry to their cause, made him adopt the superb device of: *Qui je défends est maître* (He whose part I take is master).

Notwithstanding the number of motives for discord and jealousy, neither of the two rivals appeared eager to begin the war: Francis was engaged with his pleasures, and Charles with the care of bringing his various peoples into subjection. Spain considered him as a foreigner, and rose in defence of its political rights, whilst Germany, indignant at the shameless traffic in indulgences, began to be agitated by the voice of Luther. This reformer had recently burnt in public at Wittenberg, in 1517, the bull of excommunication published against him by the pope. So audacious an act struck Europe with astonishment, and Charles V. convoked a diet at Worms, in order, he said, to repress the progress of new opinions, dangerous to the peace of Germany. Luther appeared at this diet, with a safe-conduct from the emperor, and under the more effective protection of Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, and a hundred armed knights. He defended his doctrines with energy, and, among them, particularly attacked auricular confession, the intercession of saints, the dogma of purgatory, that of transubstantiation, the celibacy of priests, and the authority of the Church. The diet permitted him to retire, and immediately afterwards outlawed him. The elector of Saxony caused him to be carried off, by masked men, to the fortress of Wartburg, where he remained in close

concealment nine months, his place of residence being unknown to either his friends or his enemies. It was here he began his translation of the Bible, and composed a multitude of writings impressed with his genius, a genius at once logical, impetuous, and irascible, but perfectly calculated, even by its triviality, to guide and govern the still gross minds of his age.

Whilst these serious interests agitated and divided Europe, Leo X., always frivolous and inconsiderate, induced the French to attempt the conquest of Naples, by promising them his assistance: then he almost immediately entered into treaty with Charles V. At length hostilities commenced: a French army, commanded by L'Espere, invaded and laid waste Navarre; and the captains of the emperor, Nassau and Sickingen, violated the territory of France, by attacking Robert de la Mark, an ally of that kingdom. War broke out in the north and in the south: the Imperialists took Mourzon and Tournai, and besieged Mézières, which last was saved by Anne de Montmorency and the Chevalier Bayard. The Milanese was lost; the brave Lautrec was driven out of it for want of money. Four hundred thousand crowns were promised him by Francis, but Louisa of Savoy had constrained the intendant-general Semblançay to deliver to her that sum, without the knowledge of the king her son. Henry VIII. then joined Charles against Francis, and both declared war against him, whilst Adrian VI., the ancient preceptor of Charles V., ascended the pontifical throne. His predecessor Leo X. had bequeathed, in Italy, his name to his age; he was great by his magnificence and the enlightened protection he afforded to arts and letters: no sovereign was ever surrounded by so many celebrated artists, or knew better how to animate their genius; but few men were less fit than he to sustain the combat with Luther, or to represent a successor of the Apostles.

Exhausted by his prodigalities rather than by his first wars, Francis sold judicial offices, in spite of the resistance of the parliament, and created the funds of the *Hôtel de Ville*, at twelve per cent. Two parties then divided his court; one was that of Louisa of Savoy, supported by the chancellor Duprat and the admiral Bonnivet, both high in the favour of the king; at the head of the other party were the duchess de Châteaubriand, the king's mistress; Lescuns, brother of the duchess; Lautrec, and the constable, the duke de Bourbon, the richest and most powerful noble of the kingdom. Louisa

of Savoy, forty-seven years of age, made proposals to the duke to marry her. Bourbon rejected her offers, joining insult with refusal. The furious princess swore to be revenged, and her resentment was fatal to France. She instituted an unjust process against the duke: the Parliament did not dare to decide; but Francis, excited by his mother, despoiled the constable of his wealth. He immediately entered into communication with Henry VIII. and Charles V., and invited them to divide the kingdom between them. Being informed of these negotiations, the king attempted to get possession of his person; Bourbon escaped into Germany, but reappeared soon after at the head of the armies of the emperor.

War recommenced with advantage for France upon all the frontiers. The Germans attacked Champagne and Franche-Comté without success; the Spaniards were repulsed in the south, whilst La Tremouille successfully defended Picardy against an English army.

Notwithstanding all the perils by which he was surrounded, Francis still dreamt of the conquest of Italy, and sent thither a brilliant army under the command of Admiral Bonnivet. This soldier was not a skilful captain, and every step was marked by either an error or a reverse. Francis Colonna forced him to raise the blockade of Milan, and to fall back upon the Tesin. The French army found itself in a few months in great distress, short of provisions, and decimated by disease. Bonnivet ordered a retreat, and fled away, closely pursued by the imperial troops: Bayard commanded the rear-guard; a shot broke the lower part of his back, and he was placed at the foot of a tree, with his face towards the enemy. Bourbon hastened to him, and expressed deep and sincere compassion: "It is not I, but you who ought to be pitied," replied Bayard, "you, who are fighting against your king, your country, and your oath." Thus perished the knight who was not only the dearest to France, but the most accomplished among all whose memory history has preserved.

Bourbon and the marquis of Pescara invaded Provence: a great number of cities submitted; Marseilles heroically sustained a long siege; it was defended by Renzo de Ceri, the head of a legion of Italian patriots, the old wrecks of the crushed liberty party of Florence and Pisa. After forty days of useless attacks, the imperialists departed, being informed of the approach of Francis I., and of the successes

of Andrew Doria, the celebrated Genoese admiral, in the service of that monarch. Francis marched into Italy, at the head of a third army, and caused the siege of Pavia to be raised. He had been three months before that place, when the Imperialists approached, commanded by Lannoy, Pescara, and Bourbon. Francis I. waited for them in his lines, and the two armies remained for a long time in face of each other, without coming to action. At length, on the 25th of February, 1525, the battle began, and was lost by the imprudent rashness of the king. His artillery made great ravages among the imperial troops ; being obliged to pass within its range, they opened their order, and endeavoured to gain, in quick time, a valley in which they would be sheltered from his murderous fire. Francis misconceived this movement : "They fly !" exclaimed he ; "charge! charge!" and immediately precipitated himself, at the head of his knights, between his own cannon and the enemy. The masked artillery ceased its fire ; the enemy halted, rallied, and awaited the king's charge firmly. At this instant, the Swiss of the French army being attacked in flank, gave way, and the duke of Alençon took to flight with the rear-guard. The entire imperial army surrounded the king. In vain Francis and his knights performed prodigies of valour : Bonnivet, La Palisse, Lescuns, old La Tremouille, and Bussy d'Amboise, were killed before his eyes ; thrown from his horse, covered with blood, and wounded twice, he was recognised by Pomperan, a gentleman belonging to the duke of Bourbon, and summoned to surrender. Francis refused to yield to a renegade, and desiring the viceroy Lannoy to be called, he gave up his sword to him. It was after the termination of this bloody battle of Pavia, that the king wrote to his mother a letter containing the following since celebrated sentence : "Madame, all is lost save honour." Young Henry II. d'Albret, king of Navarre, was made prisoner with the king of France. He was imprisoned in the citadel of Pavia, from which he succeeded in escaping. Francis I. was guarded most watchfully in that of Pezzighettone, and thence transferred to Madrid, by the order of Charles V.

The interests of the kingdom were then confounded with the person of the kings. France had not learnt, either by the misfortunes of John, or the madness of Charles VI., of what importance it is that a monarchy should be secure from the calamities that may fall upon a monarch. The state seemed to run wild when the king was mad ; it appeared to

be in the hands of the enemy when the king became a captive. Francis had, it is true, before his departure, placed the regency of his kingdom in the hands of his mother, Louisa of Savoy, so that a legitimate authority was recognised in France, notwithstanding his captivity ; but sovereignty remained entirely in his person ; he, himself alone, was able to accept or reject the conditions imposed upon his deliverance ; in short, he alone represented the will of France, when danger, fear, or weariness no longer left him the free use of his own will. The emperor saw in the captivity of Francis the humiliation and ruin of France, and resolved to profit by his victory to the utmost. Francis fell sick in prison ; Charles, who had till that time refused to see him, visited him, and consoled him with kind and affectionate words ; but soon after, when the king recovered, he placed conditions on his liberation, fatal and dishonourable to France. Overwhelmed with grief, the king thought of abdicating, but had not the resolution to persist in so noble a design : he protested against the treaty which was imposed upon him, and signed it, secretly resolved not to observe it. By this treaty of Madrid, he gave up all his rights in Italy, and renounced the sovereignty of the counties of Flanders and Artois ; he abandoned to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy, the county of Charollais, and several other lordships ; engaged to marry Eleonora, queen-dowager of Portugal, sister of the emperor ; pardoned the duke of Bourbon and restored his property to him ; lastly, he contracted a league offensive and defensive with the emperor, promising to accompany him in person, when he should go on a crusade against the Turks or against heretics. Charles V., on his part, gave up the cities of the Somme, which had belonged to Charles the Bold.

After the signature of this treaty, the king was exchanged at the frontier for his two sons, and the same day reached Bayonne, where he found his mother and all his court. He believed, on escaping from his enemy, to be equally liberated from the obligations he had just contracted with them, and replied to the envoys of the emperor, that he could not ratify the treaty of Madrid without the consent of the States of the kingdom and the duchy of Burgundy.

CHAPTER II.

Continuation and end of the reign of Francis I. 1526—1550.

FRANCIS I. alleged the rights and wishes of the kingdom to dispense with his holding his engagements : he had however no intention to consult France ; he would have fancied he placed himself under the tutelage of the States if he convoked them. Wishing to oppose to the emperor a will that might appear national, he assembled the princes, the nobles, and the bishops, who then formed part of his court at Cognac, and this assembly released him from his word. The king likewise convoked the nobles of Burgundy, and some deputies to the States of that province, who declared they would not be separated from France. Informed of these declarations by Lannoy, Charles replied : " Let not Francis I. throw his want of good faith upon his subjects ; to keep his word, it would be sufficient for him to die in Spain ; let him do so."

Terrified at the colossal power of the emperor, the Venetians, and Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, concluded a treaty with Francis I. ; their league assumed the name of *the Holy*, and after some hostilities, a fearful event threw the whole of Italy into consternation. An imperial army, composed of Spaniards and Germans, in 1527, laid siege to Rome ; it was commanded by Bourbon and the adventurer George Frondsberg, who wore round his neck a gold chain, which was destined, he said, to strangle the pope. Bourbon was killed while placing a ladder at the foot of the ramparts : Rome was taken, and the Imperialists avenged their general by the sack of the city and a frightful massacre : eight thousand Romans perished on the first day, and the pope had a long siege to sustain in the castle of St. Angelo.

Henry VIII. and Francis I. resolved to deliver the pontiff and Italy. Francis was to furnish troops, and Henry a subsidy : this sum was far from being sufficient. The king, in a bed of justice, convoked an assembly of the notables to the Parliament ; he explained his conduct to them, and demanded of them money and their approbation. He obtained both, and levied a fresh army, which he confided to Lautrec. The two kings declared war against the emperor, who loaded Francis I. with reproaches, and received a challenge in reply. Lautrec entered Lombardy, began the war

with success, and penetrated into the kingdom of Naples ; there he was left without money : an epidemic thinned his army, already exhausted by fatigues and privations—he himself fell ill and died. Another French army, commanded by Saint-Pol, shared the same fate : scarcely entered into the Milanese, it was defeated and dispersed at Landriano ; Saint-Pol was made prisoner. About the same period, France lost the assistance of the celebrated Genoese admiral Andrew Doria, the best sailor of his age. Displeased at the imprudent disdain of Francis I., he quitted his service for that of Charles V., and replaced Genoa, his country, under the protection of the emperor.

Europe at this period was in dread of a new Mussulman invasion. Rhodes, considered as the bulwark of Christendom, had sustained, in 1523, a memorable siege against two hundred thousand Turks, commanded by Soliman the Magnificent : the heroic valour of the Knights of Rhodes and their grand-master De l'Île-Adam had proved powerless against numbers : after six months' siege, Rhodes succumbed, and the Turks advanced into Europe. Charles V., pressed by them, and menaced by the reformers, who now took the name of *Protestants*, on account of their protestations against Rome, modified his pretensions with regard to France. The misery of the peoples was frightful, and the resources of the two rival sovereigns seemed exhausted. Fresh negotiations were opened at Cambray, by conferences between Louisa of Savoy, in the name of her son, and Marguerite of Austria, governess of the Low Countries, in the name of the emperor, her nephew ; a treaty was concluded, less onerous, but more disgraceful in some respects than that of Madrid, the greater part of the clauses of which were maintained. The king undertook to pay two million gold crowns, and abandon all his allies to the resentment of the emperor ; at this price his two sons were liberated, and the duchy of Burgundy continued a part of the kingdom. This peace, which discredited France in the eyes of all Europe, was signed in 1529, and was named *la Paix des Dames* (the Ladies' Peace).

Louisa of Savoy and the chancellor Duprat continued to direct the interior government of the state and to plunder its finances. Duprat, who had entered into orders, became archbishop of Sens and a cardinal ; he imprudently took possession of the richest benefices, and excited general indignation : even Parliament ventured to raise its voice against him. The king immediately summoned this body to

a bed of justice, and forbade them with menaces to interfere with the acts of the chancellor or the distribution of the benefices. At the request of Duprat, he pitilessly persecuted the financiers, and dragged Poncher, the treasurer-general, and Semblançay, the ancient superintendent of the finances, before a commission. The son of Poncher, who was bishop of Paris, had, in his ministry, drawn upon himself the hatred of Duprat; Semblançay had excited that of Louisa of Savoy, by revealing the subtraction made by her of the four hundred thousand crowns destined to defray the expenses of the war of Italy. The judges, chosen from among the enemies of the accused, pronounced sentence of death. The two old men were hung, in 1527, from the gibbet of Montfaucon, and their property was confiscated.

Duprat, whose administration was so disgraceful, promoted, however, one measure of great utility. Francis I. till that time had only governed Brittany as duke of that province; Duprat advised him to unite the duchy in an indissoluble manner with the kingdom, and he induced the States of Brittany themselves to request this union, which alone would be capable of preventing the breaking out of civil wars, on the death of the king. It was irrevocably voted by the States assembled at Vannes in 1532. The king swore to respect the rights of Brittany, and to levy no subsidy without the consent of the provincial States.

Louisa of Savoy died the year preceding this event: her coffers were found to contain the prodigious sum of 1,500,000 gold crowns, the fruit of her exactions and sordid saving. Francis I. made a noble use of part of this sum. His Italian expedition, his taste for gallantry and magnificence, with a certain elevation of character, had awakened in him a love of the arts. He invited a great number of men of letters and celebrated artists to France: some, like the celebrated Lascaris, were fugitives from Constantinople; others, like the poet Alamanni and the historian Michael Bruto, were illustrious proscripsts from the republics of Italy. In the first rank of the celebrated Italians attracted into France by the king, were Leonardo da Vinci, who died in his arms, and Primatic, a painter of Bologna. Anxious to encourage the sciences and arts in his kingdom, Francis founded the College of France, of which, however, he only named the professors, at the head of whom he vainly wished to place the famous Hollander Erasmus, the most brilliant wit and learned man of his age. The king was unable to seduce

him by his offers ; but he succeeded in attaching to his person William Cop, the restorer of medicine, and the learned Budé, the friend of Erasmus, and first founder of philological studies in France. These studies, which soon acquired incredible activity, favoured, without the king's dreaming of such a result, the progress of the Reformation.

The new opinions, now spread through all Europe, were well received by most of the princes and states of Germany. Many of these princes believed that by adopting them they were authorized to seize upon the wealth of the Church for their own advantage, and were even suspected of having embraced them more on account of the embarrassment of their finances than from any hatred for the abuses of the court of Rome. Already Frederick I. had granted liberty of conscience to Denmark, whilst Gustavus Vasa adhered, with the Church of Sweden, to the confession of faith drawn up at the diet of Augsburg by Melancthon, a disciple of Luther, but the most mild of the reformers : the German princes, partisans of the Reformation, united together against the emperor, in 1531, by the celebrated treaty of Smalcald, and Henry VIII., to whom the court of Rome did not dare to grant a divorce from his wife, Catherine of Arragon, aunt of the emperor, repudiated that princess in order to espouse Anne Bulleyn, combating at the same time both Luther and Rome by executions, and causing himself to be proclaimed head of the Church by his servile parliament. The populace of a great number of countries became agitated, renewing the war of the *Jacquerie* and the pretensions of the *Levelers* ; a crowd of visionaries took up arms ; the rallying-word was the necessity for a second baptism, the real aim, a terrible war against property, which, they said, constituted a perpetual spoliation with regard to the poor, and against science, which they accused of destroying the natural equality of mankind. According to them, books, pictures, and statues were the inventions of the devil ; they ran from church to church, breaking the images and overthrowing the altars. The peasants of Swabia and Thuringia broke into insurrection : the latter, under the name of Anabaptists, followed the fanatic Muntzer, and afterwards John of Leyden : they attempted to form a union with their brothers of Franconia, Alsace, Lorraine, and the Tyrol : they everywhere deposed the magistrates, and seized the property of the noble and wealthy, upon whom they inflicted frightful treatment. By their excesses they did immense injury to the true reformers,

who united with the Catholics to combat them and exterminate them as wild beasts.

Such was the religious state of Europe at the moment that Francis I. thought proper to commence violent persecutions against Lutherans and Protestants. For a length of time his court and family had been divided in opinions. His sister, Marguerite of Valois, and Anne de Pisseleu, duchess d'Etampes, his mistress, protected the new belief; Louisa of Savoy had condemned it, inflicting atrocious rigours upon its disciples. Francis I. was, it is said, at first undecided; but his eyes were constantly turned towards Italy, the conquest of which might be so much facilitated by the pope: this motive, joined to his antipathy for every kind of independence, directed his conduct. He closely united his cause with that of Rome, by making his second son, Henry, marry Catherine de Medici, niece of Pope Clement VII. He did not, however, obtain the advantages he expected from this union: this pontiff survived the marriage but a short time, and had for a successor Alexander Farnese, who was pope under the name of Paul III.* Francis I. persevered, nevertheless, in the rigorous measures he had marked out for himself, and proved himself in France the most barbarous persecutor of the Protestants. John Morin, criminal-lieutenant, seized a great number of them in the year 1535; and the king, who found a violent distribe against the mass stuck upon his door, resolved to appease Heaven by taking vengeance upon this crime. A procession one morning issued from the church of St. Germain, preceded by the holy relics preserved in Paris; after them came a great number of cardinals, bishops, and abbots, and behind them John de Bellay, bishop of Paris, bearing the holy sacrament; then the king, bareheaded, with a torch in his hand; after him walked the queen, the princes, two hundred gentlemen, the Parliament and all the ministers of justice: the ambassadors likewise were present. This procession perambulated all the quarters of the city. In each of the six principal places a *reposoir* was erected for the holy sacrament, and close to it a scaffold and a funeral pile. At these six points perished,

* This pope promulgated, during the reign of Frances I., the bull which instituted the order of Jesuits, of which Ignatius Loyola was the founder. The object of this order was to combat the progress of heresy, to convert the whole world to the Romish faith, and subject it to the pope, whose infallibility in all which concerned faith, the Jesuits acknowledged. The sovereign pontiff names the general of the order, and all the members take an oath of implicit obedience to the general.

burnt alive, six unfortunate wretches, amidst the maledictions of the people. The king ordered that they should be bound to an elevated machine, called an *estrapade*, which by lowering the condemned upon the pile and then raising them again, prolonged their torments. At each station, the king gave his torch to the Cardinal de Lorraine, joined his hands and remained humbly prostrated, imploring the Divine mercy for his people, and waiting till every victim had perished in tortures. The ceremony was terminated by a grand mass and a banquet, at which the king declared that if his own children should become heretics, he would immolate them. This horrible procession, ordered by the king out of hatred for the spirit of independence, took place on the 21st of January : it was followed by an edict which proscribed all reformers, confiscated their property to the profit of their denunciators, and forbade the printing of any of their books under pain of death.

Notwithstanding all this ardent zeal for the Catholic faith, Francis kept up active relations with the Lutherans of Germany and the Protestant princes of the League of Smalcald. These were exceedingly indignant at his cruel severities, and wished to break with him, but he calmed them by giving them to understand that the persons he had exterminated were like the fanatical sectaries of Muntzer and John of Leyden. Calvin, the apostle of the Reformation in France, began to appear ; he avenged his outraged brethren, by establishing in his work of *The Christian Institution*, dedicated to the king, that if the French reformers passed the bounds laid down by Luther, they at least set out from the same principles, and that their doctrines were consistent with public order and the purest morality. The king began to perceive the necessity for relaxing his persecutions, and issued, the same year, an edict of toleration, attributed in part to the influence of Antoine du Bourg, the successor of Duprat in the post of chancellor.

Charles V. constantly persevered in his endeavours to stifle Protestantism, and he might, perhaps, have annihilated it in his states, if other enemies had not suspended his attacks, and diverted the efforts of his arms. The Mussulman invasion made rapid progress. An innumerable Turkish army, conducted across Hungary up to the walls of Vienna, had been repulsed in 1529 ; but the slave-trade of the *whites*, carried on by the corsairs of Barbary, a scourge till that time unknown, desolated the shores of the Mediterranean.

Two brothers, of the name of Barbarossa, famous corsairs, had obtained possession of Algiers and Tunis, and covered the sea with their vessels, plundering the coasts of Spain, France, and Italy, and carrying off every year a multitude of Christians into slavery: one of them, first admiral of Soliman, alarmed all Europe. Charles V. armed a formidable fleet against him, commanded by Andrew Doria; he conquered Barbarossa, took Tunis, and delivered twenty thousand Christians. On his return, he was desirous of peace with France. Negotiations were opened, in the midst of which Francis I. declared war, without the shadow of a motive, against Charles III., duke of Savoy, brother-in-law of Charles V., and gave orders to his admiral, Chabot, to invade Piedmont. The French entered Turin the following year. The emperor, extremely enraged, marched to meet them at the head of a powerful army. Chabot was suspected, though without any proof, of betraying France in Piedmont; a great number of places fell into the hands of the Imperialists, and Charles V. entered Provence, where Anne de Montmorency commanded. This general ordered the country to be laid waste by his soldiers, pulling up the vines and burning all the harvest: Charles V. found nothing but a desert, and retreated from want of provisions: Turin and a great part of Piedmont remained in the power of France.

The dauphin Francis died, and although his death appeared natural, Montecuculli, his cupbearer, was accused of having poisoned him; he confessed the crime in the midst of frightful tortures, named the emperor as his accomplice, and was quartered. Francis I. then formed an alliance with the Turks, and invited Soliman into Italy. Barbarossa had landed the vanguard of the Mussulmans at Turin, and Francis I. was advancing to his assistance with fifty thousand men, when Pope Paul III. succeeded in persuading the rival monarchs to sign a truce of ten years. They consented to meet at Aigues-Mortes, and these two sovereigns, who had inundated Europe with the blood shed in their quarrels, and one of whom accused the other of having poisoned his son, presented the strange spectacle of a perfectly amicable conference, accosting each other with open arms, and lavishing, reciprocally, evidences of esteem and affection.

A revolt of the Gantois soon called Charles V. into Flanders: he was then in Spain, and his shortest road was through France: he demanded liberty of passage across that

kingdom, and obtained it, after having promised the constable de Montmorency to bestow the investiture of Milan upon the second son of the king. His sojourn in France was a season of expensive festivity, and cost the treasury four millions ; nevertheless, though surrounded by pleasures, the emperor was not without inquietude. Kings, authorized by the usages of still barbarous times, rarely sacrificed their interests to their word : the duchess d'Etampes and all his court blamed the scruples of the king : his fool Triboulet having said one day that, on learning the arrival of Charles in Provence, he had set his name down in his tablets in the list of fools : " If I should allow him to pass," replied the king, what would you do ?"—" I would efface his name," replied Triboulet, " and put yours in its place."* Francis, however, respected the rights of hospitality ; and yet Charles did not bestow the investiture of Milan on his son. The angry king exiled the constable, to punish him for having trusted to the word of the emperor without requiring his signature, and avenged himself by making his alliance with the Turks still closer. Two of his envoys to Constantinople were killed by order of Du Gast, the emperor's lieutenant in Piedmont, and that prince refused the king any satisfaction for this crime. He was then arming a vast expedition which he destined for the conquest of Algiers ; but a frightful tempest swallowed up a great part of his vessels, and the enterprise failed.

The hatred of the two monarchs was carried to its height by the last relations they had had together : they mutually outraged each other by insulting libels, and submitted their differences to the pope. Paul III. refusing to pronounce between them, they again had recourse to arms. The king invaded the Luxembourg, and, in concert with the Turks, one of his armies besieged Nice, the last asylum of the dukes of Savoy, by land, whilst Barbarossa attacked it by sea : the city was taken, the castle alone resisted, and the siege of it was raised. Barbarossa consoled himself for this check by ravaging the coasts of Italy, where he made ten thousand captives. The horror he inspired recoiled upon Francis I., his ally, whose name became odious to both Italy and Germany. He was declared the enemy of the empire, and

* The name of *fou du roi*, or king's jester, was given to a buffoon, most frequently disgraced by nature, charged with the office of amusing the monarch by his sallies. He carried in his hand and wore upon his head the attributes of folly, and, by favour of his title and his costume, was permitted to speak truths to kings, which the most respected and the most wise would not have dared to utter.

the Diet levied an army of twenty-four thousand men, to act against him, at the head of which Charles V. penetrated into Champagne, whilst Henry VIII., now reconciled with the emperor, sent ten thousand English to attack Picardy. The battle of Cerisoles, completely gained, the same year, in Piedmont, by Francis de Bourbon, duke d'Enghien, over Du Gast, the imperial general, did not prevent this double and formidable invasion. Charles V. advanced as far as Meaux ; but discord prevailed in his army ; he wanted provisions, and might be easily surrounded ; he then again promised the Milanese to the duke of Orleans, the king's second son. This promise irritated the dauphin Henry, who feared to see his brother become the founder of a house as dangerous for France as that of Burgundy had been : he was desirous that the emperor's offer should be rejected, and his retreat cut off. It is said that a rivalry between two women saved Charles V. The duchess d'Etampes was the mortal enemy of Diana of Poitiers, the mistress of the dauphin, and was anxious, in the event of the death of the king, to find a powerful protector in the second son : it is asserted that she combated the advice of the prince, and Charles was allowed to retreat in safety by the way he came.

The war was almost immediately terminated by the treaty of Crespy, in Valois. The emperor agreed to give the duke of Orleans his daughter, with the Low Countries and Franche-Comté, or one of his nieces with the Milanese : Francis restored most of the places he held in Piedmont to the duke of Savoy : he renounced all ulterior pretensions to the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, as well as the suzerainty of Flanders and Artois : Charles, on his side, renounced the duchy of Burgundy. This treaty put an end to the rivalries of the two sovereigns, which had deluged Europe with blood during twenty-five years. The death of the duke of Orleans saved the emperor the pain of parting with either the Milanese or the Low Countries ; he refused all indemnification to the king, but the peace was not broken.

Francis I. took advantage of this repose to redouble his rigour with regard to the Protestants. A population of several thousands of Vaudois inhabited the confines of Provence and the comtat of Venaissin, and for some time had entered into communion with the Calvinists. The king permitted John Mesnier, baron of Oppido, first president of the Parliament of Aix, to execute a sentence pronounced

against them twenty-five years before by this parliament. John of Oppido himself superintended this frightful execution. Twenty-two towns or villages were sacked and burnt; the inhabitants, surprised during the night, were pursued among the rocks, by the light of the fires which were consuming their houses; the men perished, and the women were subjected to horrid violences. At Cabrières, the principal city of the canton, seven hundred men were slaughtered in cold blood, and all the women were burnt: in short, in accordance with the sentence, the houses were razed, the woods cut down, the trees of the gardens pulled up, and in a short time, this once fertile and well-peopled country became an uncultivated desert. This terrible massacre was one of the principal causes of the religious wars which so long desolated France.

Charles V. oppressed the Lutherans in Germany, and maintained the Catholic faith in Spain by means of the Inquisition, whilst Henry VIII. persecuted equally the sectaries of Rome and those of Luther. The war still continued between him and Francis I. The English took Boulogne, and the French fleet ravaged the coasts of England, after taking possession of the Isle of Wight. Hostilities were, however, at length terminated by the treaty of Guines, which the two kings signed on the verge of the tomb. Boulogne was to be restored for the sum of two million gold crowns. Francis had for a long time suffered from the consequences of a shameful disease brought from America into Europe by the Spaniards, and which led him to the grave. When he felt the approach of death, according to the custom of kings, he addressed some very wise counsels to his successor. He sent for his only surviving son Henry, then entering into his twenty-ninth year, to his bedside. He recommended him to free his people from the tributes which he had been forced to lay upon them, and to take advantage of the good state in which he left the finances. He owed, he said, this fortunate circumstance to the wisdom of his ministers, particularly the admiral d'Annebaut and the cardinal de Tournon, whose counsels he advised Henry always to follow, whilst he warned him against the pernicious policy of the constable de Montmorency and the ambition of the Guises, advising him to exclude them carefully from power. Henry wept by the bed of his father, but he avoided giving any promise. Henry VIII. and Francis I. died in the same year: the latter had reigned thirty-three years.

The chivalric bravery of Francis I., his magnificence, and the protection he afforded to talent, gave popularity to his name ; he was styled *the father and restorer of letters*, although he issued several severe ordinances against printing, invented in the preceding century. In the number of Frenchmen whose labours he encouraged, we may name the learned William Budé, the brothers Du Bellay, negotiators and historians ; the poet Clement Marot, and the celebrated printer Henry Stephen. Marguerite of Navarre, the king's sister, cultivated literature herself, and in his time also the celebrated Rabelais, curé of Meudon, wrote his satirical works. Under this reign flourished Dumoulin and Cujas, great jurisconsults, the painter John Cousin, and Philibert de l'Orme and John Goujon, illustrious architects. Francis I. built, in part, the châteaux of Fontainebleau, Saint Germain, and Chambord, and began the Louvre.

The brilliant qualities of this prince were tarnished by great faults and odious abuses of power. His cruelty with regard to the Protestants must be attributed, in a degree, to the manners and prejudices of his age ; but we may, however, doubt whether a sincere faith inspired these frightful persecutions, when we remember that he supported with energy the same sect in Germany towards which he was so severe in his own kingdom. He sacrificed the blood of his people to the interest of his ambition, and their gold to his guilty pleasures. To provide for his mad expenses, he multiplied and degraded judicial offices, alienated the royal domains, and instituted lotteries. He caused several men of eminent rank, among whom were the chancellor Poyet and the admiral Chabot, to be persecuted illegally, and dragged before commissions arbitrarily chosen ; in the sentence pronounced against Chabot, the king substituted his own will for the decision of the judges. He no doubt ameliorated the national character by encouraging the progress of the arts ; but by abasing the magistrature, by placing his caprices above the laws, and by publicly practising adultery, he corrupted the morals of his court and of his subjects, and this corruption continued to increase to the end of the reign of the Valois. The long conflict between Charles V. and Francis I. brought no advantage to the kingdom. His cruel severities against the reformers prepared bloody civil wars ; and his reign may be pronounced less useful than fatal to France.

CHAPTER III.

Reign of Henry II. 1547—1559.

HENRY II., son of Francis I., was twenty-nine years of age when he ascended the throne. In contempt of the advice of his father, he changed the counsellors of the crown, and recalled near to his person the constable De Montmorency, whom he called his *gossip*, and who governed him during his whole reign. The duchess d'Etampes was banished and sent back to her husband : her partisans only saved themselves from death, imprisonment, or exile, by yielding up their castles, their lands, and their offices, to new favourites. The duke de Guise and the Cardinal de Lorraine his brother, Montmorency, Diana of Poitiers, qualified with the title of mistress of the king, with the queen Catherine de Medici, endowed with a supple and deeply dissimulative mind, were each at the head of four factions which divided the court.

One of the first edicts of the new king condemned blasphemers to have their tongues pierced with red-hot irons, and heretics to be burnt alive. Another edict assigned, without appeal, to the provosts of the marshals, assisted by a commission of judges chosen from the tribunals, the trial of assassins, smugglers, poachers, and people without employment. This edict deprived the Parliament of its special attributes, and gave up the lives of the citizens to an arbitrary authority. The magistrates made useless remonstrances, and being compelled to yield, they registered, but with this clause : *On account of the evil of the times*. A serious revolt broke out in the provinces beyond the Loire, where the impost upon salt had been recently imposed by Francis I. Poitou and Guienne were in a state of insurrection ; at Bordeaux, in particular, the populace committed great excesses ; they repulsed the garrison of the Trompette Castle, and massacred its governor, whose body they tore to pieces. The king promised justice and satisfaction : the people were quieted, and the Parliament punished the seditious. Montmorency was charged by the king to render the justice he had promised, or rather to exercise his vengeance. "*Here are my keys*," said he to the Bordelais, pointing to his cannon ; and he entered Bordeaux as into a conquered place. All the burgesses tried by the commission were condemned and suffered death : two colonels of the communes were broken on

the wheel, with a crown of hot iron round their heads. The entire city, accused and convicted of the crime of felony, lost its privileges ; the bells were unhung, the faces of the bastions of the walls were destroyed ; a hundred and twenty of the notables were condemned to dig up with their nails the dead body of the murdered officer, and the inhabitants paid 200,000 livres for the expense of the armament. Montmorency went through the provinces where revolt had appeared rather as an executioner than a judge, leaving gibbets behind him everywhere to mark his passage. Bordeaux did not recover its privileges till the following year.

France had scarcely breathed a year, when war broke out afresh. Henry II. supported Octavius Farnese, duke of Parma, against Pope Julius III. and the emperor : the latter, without any inquietude on the side of France, had gained, in 1547, the famous battle of Muhlberg over the confederates of Smalcald. The venerable Frederick, elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse, had fallen into his power. Charles V. forced the former to cede his electorate, which he bestowed upon Maurice of Saxony, son-in-law of the landgrave. Germany began to give way, and the Protestant league had no hope but in France ; they implored the assistance of Henry II., who granted it upon condition that he should occupy the city of Cambrai and the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and hold them as vicar of the empire. He immediately took possession of them ; then, placing on his banners, as a symbol of liberty, a red cap between two poniards, he declared himself defender of German independence and protector of the captive princes ; but following the example of his father, and condemning at home that which he encouraged abroad, he caused the edict of Châteaubriant to be published, which aggravated all the penalties directed against heretics, authorized secret perquisitions regarding private opinions, and established an inquisitor of faith.

An unhopèd-for success rendered the assistance of Henry II. useless to the Lutherans of Germany. Young Maurice of Saxony, reviled in his own country as a traitor and a usurper, preferred the part of head of the oppressed Protestants to that of a creature of Charles V. A profound dissimulation covered his projects. When he believed himself strong enough, he removed the mask, and proceeded by forced marches to attack Inspruck, where the emperor, sick and almost alone, was near being surprised. Constrained to yield,

Charles signed with the Protestants the Convention of Passau, changed three years later, at the Diet of Augsburg, into a definitive peace : it is from that era that the religious liberty of Germany dates. France had no part in this victory ; but she preserved the price of her alliance by keeping the three bishoprics, in spite of the efforts of the emperor to wrest them from her. Hostilities between this prince and Henry II. were still prolonged three years with various success in Piedmont, Italy, and Corsica, upon the frontiers of the north and the east, and upon the sea. The principal events of this war are : the immortal defence of Metz by the duke of Guise, in 1552, against Charles V., who besieged that place with a hundred thousand soldiers and a formidable artillery ; the raising of this siege, in which the emperor lost forty thousand men ; the ravaging of Picardy by the imperial army, and that of Hainault by the French army ; the conquest of Hesdin by Henry II. ; the loss of Théroutenne, which Charles V. completely destroyed ; the combat of Renti in Flanders, between these two sovereigns, a combat glorious although very little advantageous for the French, in which the duke of Guise, Coligny, and Tavannes, greatly distinguished themselves ; the defence of Sienna by Montluc ; the ravaging of the coasts of Italy by Dragut, the Ottoman admiral and ally of the French ; and the fine campaign made in Piedmont against the duke of Alva by the Marshal De Brissac, the most humane general of this age.

After these wars, the advantages of which were fluctuating, and after great troubles in Germany, arising from the death of Maurice of Saxony, and the rivalry of Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans and hereditary sovereign of Bohemia, a celebrated diet was opened at Augsburg, which ought to have immediately followed the convention of Passau. Charles V., borne down by labour and disease, left the presidency of this diet to his brother Ferdinand, who held a language very different from that he had been accustomed to hold : " We have no right to expect," said he, " from a general council a religious peace which the Council of Trent was not able to establish, and it would be still more difficult to bring the German ecclesiastics to a friendly agreement in a national council : " it was then to the Diet itself that this work of prudence and charity must be looked for. The Diet then took the state of religion into consideration. It was agreed that the Catholic and Protestant states should exercise their worship freely ; that the

Catholic clergy should renounce all spiritual jurisdiction over the states professing the Confession of Augsburg; that the ecclesiastical property seized before the treaty of Passau, should be left to its present possessors; that the civil power of each state should rule its doctrines and its worship, but that entire liberty should be granted to every German who did not comply with these regulations to retire with his fortune in peace to whatever country he chose to go. Such was in great part the decree of the Diet of Augsburg, of the 25th of September, 1555; and upon it the religious peace of Germany reposed for a length of time. This decree dealt a fatal blow to the policy of Charles V., the object of which always was to maintain the unity of the Church under his sole dependence. Tormented as much by his disgraces as his infirmities, incapable of exertion, and convinced that everything would go to confusion when he no longer could direct everything, he convoked the heads of the Low Countries at Brussels, and there, on the 25th of October, 1555, solemnly abdicated his hereditary crown, and placed it in the hands of Philip II., his son. He retained the imperial crown six months longer, and then retired to the convent of the Hieronymites of St. Just, where he died, after having commanded the office of the dead to be sung around his coffin while he was still alive. His brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans, was his successor in the empire. Philip II. had married, the preceding year, Mary, queen of England, daughter of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Arragon. This well-assorted couple rivalled each other in maintaining Catholicism in their states by means of the Inquisition and the stake.

As soon as Philip II. ascended the throne, Henry II. signed with him the treaty of Vaucelles, the principal clause of which was a truce for five years. The nations received the news of it with transport, but their joy was of short duration: it was from Rome that the germs of fresh discord arose. A contradictory treaty had been concluded between the pope and Henry some months before that of Vaucelles. Paul IV., whom his nephews, the Caraffas, urged to the commission of extreme rigours, in order to produce confiscations for their advantage, and provoke a war between the empire and France, suspected Charles V., before his abdication, of having endeavoured to kill him; he pronounced him a poisoner in full consistory, and pressed Henry II. to avenge him, promising him, by a treaty signed at Rome, the investiture of the kingdom of Naples.

Two parties then divided the court of France: one, stimulated by the Cardinal Caraffa, nephew of the pope, demanded the observance of the treaty of Rome; the other supported that of Vaucelles. All the young nobility wished for war; Montmorency inclined for peace, and partaking, in this respect the wishes of the people, he wisely persuaded the king to maintain it. But hostility suddenly broke out between the pope and the Spaniards, and war was resolved upon.

A French army, under the orders of the constable and his nephew Coligny, entered Artois, and another marched towards Italy, under the duke of Guise. The first gave battle, near St. Quentin, to Philibert, duke of Savoy, at the head of the Spanish and English forces; it was completely conquered, in consequence of an error of the constable De Montmorency: a charge of cavalry, led by the counts of Egmont and Horn decided the victory. The French lost ten thousand men, their baggage and their convoys: the road to Paris was open: the indecision of the conquerors spared France the greatest disasters. Guise was soon recalled from Italy, and signalized his return by a memorable exploit: he surprised Calais, and took it. This city, by which foreigners had so often been introduced into the kingdom, had remained two hundred and ten years in the hands of the English. France, in the course of the same year, lost the battle of Gravelines, in which the old Marshal De Thermes was conquered by the count of Egmont. These two events were followed by the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, signed in 1559. It was named the *Unfortunate Peace*. Henry II. surrendered his conquests, with the exception of the three bishoprics; he renounced all his claims to Genoa, Corsica, and the kingdom of Naples, and only kept Pignerol and some fortresses in Piedmont. This but little glorious, and yet very necessary treaty, terminated the wars of Italy: they had lasted sixty-five years.

Happy had it been for France if she had known how to take advantage of her interior happiness and her peace with the foreigner! Her finances were exhausted, and Henry, to provide for the expenses of a war and those of a prodigal, dissolute court, had recourse to deplorable expedients: he put up to sale the places of the presidials or inferior tribunals, which he created and multiplied in the provinces; he established for the same end, and by the same means, a parliament in Brittany, compelled the clergy to purchase an edict of

inquisition, sold a multitude of new offices, ordered that the titles or provisions of a crowd of public officers should be revised, and forced them to buy new ones; he authorized cities, when extraordinarily taxed, to create funds upon themselves; he ventured to give the name of States-General to an assembly of notables chosen by him and devoted to his will, and disguised under the name of loans the taxes which he required of them.

The edict of inquisition which he had sold to the clergy was not executed. The inquisitor, Matthew Ori, was already named by the pope, but the Parliament made an energetic resistance. It was not that they felt any pity for the sectaries—their rigours against them were excessive, but they were jealous of their rights, and would not allow another tribunal to have the privilege of prosecuting and punishing heretics. Henry did not persevere in his edict, and the inquisition took no root in France.

Foreign war, towards the end of this reign, in some degree relaxed the Catholic persecutions. The Protestants grew bolder, religious zeal served as a mask for the ambition of some; several princes of the blood, and with them some illustrious warriors and magistrates, embraced the new creed. Taking confidence in their strength, they assembled openly at Paris even. The promenade of the Pré aux Clercs served as a point for their meetings; they met there, singing aloud the psalms translated into French verse by Clement Marot.

The court and the clergy dreaded above all that the Parliament, charged with the punishment of heresy, should be drawn into this. The powerful Cardinal de Lorraine, therefore, persuaded the king that it was necessary he should go to the Parliament to hold a bed of justice there, and propose a *mercurial*,* for the purpose of censuring several magistrates who adhered to the doctrine of Luther, and allowed persons accused and convicted of heresy to escape, without condemning a single one to death, contrary to the ordinance of the late king, which ordered them to be burnt and reduced to ashes. "If it should only serve," said the cardinal, "to show the king of Spain you are firm in your faith, you ought to set about it with great

* The mercurials were a sort of domestic tribunal, composed of the presidents of the chamber and the most esteemed men of the company, authorized by the choice of their brethren to exercise a kind of censure over them. The conferences held for the maintenance of morals and discipline were called mercurials, because they were held on Wednesdays.

courage, in order also to gratify all those Spanish princes and lords who have accompanied the duke of Alva, to solemnize and honour the marriage of their king with madame your daughter, by the death of half a dozen counsellors, who must be burnt in the public places as Lutheran heretics as they are, and who are injuring that excellent body the Parliament : if you do not put an end to it by these means, the whole court will soon be infected by it, even to the ushers, procureurs, and clerks of the palace." The king relished this advice, and proposed to go to the Parliament on the morrow ; but having that evening communicated his intention to his counsellor Vieilleville, the latter was of opinion that the matter had better be left to the Cardinal de Lorraine and the bishop of Paris. "It is best to leave to the priests," said he, "that which is the duty of priests ; if you undertake, sire, to play the part of a theologian or an inquisitor, the Cardinal de Lorraine will be for teaching you to run a course in the tilting-ground, and showing you how to handle your weapons ; besides, sire, it would only be mingling melancholy objects with joy, for to perform such cruel and sanguinary executions in the midst of nuptial festivities, would be considered at least a very bad presage." The king yielded to these reasons, and said he would not go ; but the Cardinal de Lorraine learning this resolution, was extremely enraged. Vieilleville, in his Memoirs, thus relates the end of this tragical event :—"At the king's rising, there entered into his apartment the cardinals de Bourbon, de Lorraine, de Guise, and de Pelvé, the archbishops of Sens and Bourges, the bishops of Paris and Senlis, three or four doctors of the Sorbonne, and the inquisitor of the faith, who threatened him so strongly with the anger of God, that he must think himself damned unless he went. He therefore marched out with all his guards, drums beating, not forgetting his Swiss and the hundred gentlemen of his household, with great magnificence. Upon coming to the Augustine, where the Parliament was assembled, he ascended to the Great Chamber, seated himself in his bed of justice, under the dais, and commanded the procureur-general, Bairden, to propose the mercurial. The procureur immediately attacked five or six counsellors of suspected faith ; among whom was one named Anne du Bourg, who maintained his creed so audaciously before the king, at the same time deprecating ours, that his majesty swore, with great wrath, that he would see him burnt alive with his own eyes before six days were

over : he commanded that he and six others should be taken to the Bastille ; then rising, ordered the assembly to perfect the matter. When he arrived at the Tournelles, he repented not having believed M. de Vieilleville ; for, as he passed through the streets, he heard many murmur against the affair, on account of the imprisonment of the counsellors, who were of the best families of Paris, and administered justice very conscientiously to all parties.*

The counsellor Louis du Faur was one of the magistrates arrested on their seats of justice. Henry placed them in the hands of Montgomery, the captain of his guard, and gave orders for their immediate trial.

The French Calvinists held their first synod at this period, and drew up the constitution which was to bring their scattered societies into union, and regulate them by one and the same discipline. The king was informed of this amidst the festivities of the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with Philip II. of Spain, widower of Mary of England. He swore to take a terrible vengeance on the Calvinists, whom he considered as rebels. His death prevented the accomplishment of his vow. Wounded in the eye in a tournament, by the lance of Montgomery, he died of the injury, after a reign of twelve years. He left four sons, three of whom wore the crown. Francis, the eldest, had married Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, as celebrated for her misfortunes as for her beauty.

* Vieilleville became marshal of France, and honoured his country by his tolerance and the nobleness of his character. Receiving one day a brevet, by which the king granted to him and five other gentlemen, among whom were M.M. D'Aphem and De Biron, the confiscated property of all the Lutherans of the countries of Guienne, Limousin, Quercy, Perigord, Saintonge, and Aunis, the produce of which would be at least twenty thousand crowns to each, he replied, "that he was not willing to be enriched by such odious and sinister means ; that he found no dignity in it, and still less charity. Here we should be, enregistered in the courts of parliament, with the reputation of devourers of the people, besides having, for twenty thousand crowns each, the maledictions of a number of women, maidens, and little children, who would die in the hospitals from the confiscations of the bodies and property, right or wrong, of their husbands and fathers ; that would be damning ourselves at too cheap a rate." Having said this, he drew his dagger, and plunged it into the brevet at the spot where his name was signed. M. D'Aphem, blushing with shame, drew his likewise, and cut through his name in the brevet. M. De Biron did no less. And all three went away, without another word, leaving the brevet for whomsoever chose to pick it up ; for they threw it on the ground.—*Mémoires de Vieilleville.*

The character of Henry II. was distinguished by neither greatness nor virtue. Intimidated by the Guises, and dominated by Montmorency, the slave of his mistress and his favourites, he lavished upon them the treasures of the state, introduced still more libertinism into the court, already corrupted by his father, plundered the people without mercy, violated the rights of the magistracy, obtained no personal military glory, and left the kingdom forty millions in debt.* The ignorance and misery of the people, the increasing embarrassment of the finances, the scandals of the court, proselytism on one side, and Catholic intolerance on the other, prepared the volcanic field in which great talents and great ambitions met and clashed during the following reign. The struggle lasted thirty-six years, and covered France with ruins.

* This sum would equal 160 millions of the present day; money having then more than four times its present value.

BOOK THE SECOND.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF FRANCIS II. TO THE PEACE OF VERVINS AND

THE PUBLICATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.

Religious Wars.

1559—1598.

CHAPTER I.

Reigns of Francis II. and Charles IX. 1559—1574.

FRANCIS II.

FRANCIS II. ascended the throne at the age of sixteen, and all the vices of the law of Charles V., fixing the majority of kings at their adolescence, whilst no other law decided in whose hands the regency should be placed during their minority, came into operation, and produced horrible calamities in both this and the following reign. The reigns of Charles VI. and Charles VIII. had sufficiently proved, that power, during the childhood of kings, belongs to the person who can get possession of it. Under the reign of Francis II., the Guises, princes of the house of Lorraine, and uncles of the young queen, Mary Stuart, shared all the authority with Catherine de Medici. One of them, the cardinal, was of a haughty and cruel disposition; the other was the famous Francis, duke of Guise, whose prudence equalled his intrepidity, who had already rendered himself illustrious by the defence of Metz and the taking of Calais, and was beloved by the French for his great qualities. The two brothers, however, proved themselves equally ungrateful towards Diana of Poitiers, their benefactress: it was by sacrificing her that they purchased the favour of Catherine de Medici. The most striking characteristic of this queen, who played so conspicuous a part during the reigns of her three sons, was profound dissimulation, joined to an intriguing, demoralizing spirit. Brought up in Italy, in the schools of the Machiavellis and the Borgias, she put in action on the throne their

dark and fearful policy, the weakness of which was attested by the misfortunes of France, at the same time that they unveiled its infamy. The party opposed to Catherine and the Lorraine princes was that of Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre, and his brother Louis de Condé, both princes of the blood, descended from Robert, count de Clermont, youngest son of Saint Louis; to them likewise rallied the veteran Montmorency, an opponent of the Guises, but without credit at the court, and disgraced by the queen-mother. A great number of French nobles, indignant at seeing all authority usurped by the princes of the foreign house of Lorraine, increased the party of the princes of the blood, and secret conferences were held at Vendôme, of all the malcontents, the aim of which was to convoke the States-General, and wrest the power from the hands of the Guises. The latter, on being informed of these hostile projects, and aware of the weakness of the character of Antoine de Bourbon, prevented the danger by intimidating that monarch. Upon being solicited by Catherine de Medici, Philip II., king of Spain, answered, that, even if it should cost him forty thousand men, he would support in France the authority of the king and his ministers. This letter, read in full council, before the king of Navarre, terrified that weak prince, who accepted the mission of conducting to the frontiers Elizabeth of France, sister to Francis II., who was about to espouse the king of Spain, happy at thus escaping the perils of his own resolutions.

The Guises triumphed: they hastened to effect the destruction of Protestantism in France, and ordered the trial of the counsellor Anne du Bourg to be proceeded with. This great cause fixed the attention not only of Paris but of Europe; the Protestant party was put in motion: the queen-mother received alarming advices; several German princes put themselves forward in favour of the victim, and wrote to save him. The Guises began to be aware that Du Bourg would be more redoubtable if he died a martyr to his faith than if he lived and abjured it, and left no means untried to induce him to recant. The advocate charged with his defence, confessed in his name that he had offended against God and the Church, and that he was ready to reconcile himself with her: the judges immediately, and without waiting to hear what Du Bourg would himself say, held a conference to solicit pardon for him. Whilst they were deliberating, a note from his own hand was brought to them.

Du Bourg disavowed the declarations of his advocate, and persisted in his faith, which he was ready to confirm by his blood. From that time his ruin was certain : he, however, was not to perish without being avenged ; his trial was followed by an assassination ; the president, Minard, his enemy, and one of his judges, was killed by a pistol-shot, which became the sinister signal for a frightful persecution. The sentence of death was immediately pronounced against Du Bourg ; he heard it read with an heroic countenance, and replied by the cry of the martyrs : " I am a Christian ! I am a Christian ! " His eloquent adieux drew tears from even his judges. He was executed the following day, December 23rd ; he was spared the torture of the fire, being strangled before his body was cast into the flames.

The death of Du Bourg appeared to give fresh activity to persecution : the Cardinal de Lorraine planned, as Francis I. had already done, a parliamentary chamber, particularly charged with the punishment of the reformers. Fire was the chastisement they pronounced against them, and the ferocity of their judgments procured their assembly the awful surname of the Burning Chamber (*Chambre Ardente*).

The peace of Cateau-Cambrésis had left without employment a vast number of gentlemen and soldiers, whose only resource was war : a crowd of these came to the court to solicit, some for what was due to them, others for pensions and favours. Annoyed by their demands and their misery, the Cardinal de Lorraine ordered a gibbet to be erected near the entrance of the castle of Fontainebleau, with a threat that all petitioners who did not leave the court should be hung on the following day : they departed, but they promised to present the *Lorrains*, as the princes of the house of Guise were vulgarly called, with petitions of another fashion. These men, among whom were many nameless people, united themselves with the lordly enemies of the tyranny of the Guises, and formed with them the party of the *malcontents*, which doubled its strength by allying itself with the Protestants. These reckoned with pride in their ranks the Prince de Condé, a man of a stout heart and clear head, brother of the king of Navarre, and the three brothers Châtillon, the eldest of whom, the Admiral de Coligny, of austere manners, steady firmness, skilful in repairing his reverses, without ever despairing of fortune, was the most illustrious of the Protestant leaders of France : D'Andelot, one of his brothers, celebrated for his bravery, commanded

the French infantry ; his other brother, Odet de Châtillon, a skilful negotiator, had secretly embraced the Reformation, and had married, although he was bishop of Beauvais and a cardinal. The capacity of the three brothers, their posts and their alliances, soon rendered the party which adopted them as its leaders formidable, and which already counted upon the tacit concurrence of the Prince de Condé.

An extensive plot, known in history by the name of the Conspiracy of Amboise, was then got up in secret by the enemies of the government, Catholics as well as Protestants. All bound themselves by an oath to attempt nothing against the king, the queen, or the authority of the laws. Their object was to carry off the king, then at Blois, to withdraw him from the influence of the Guises, to arrest these, and to bring them to trial under an accusation of high treason. A skilful, bold gentleman, named La Renaudie, was chosen as apparent leader of this enterprise, which he conducted with great ability. The real leader, only known by the name of *The Dumb Captain*, was the Prince de Condé. In all parts bands of armed men were put in motion without being in the secret of the conspirators. The Guises, from some vague suspicions, transferred the court from the castle of Blois to that of Amboise : the conspirators persisted in their plot with incredible audacity. An advocate named D'Avenelles, a friend of La Renaudie, revealed their designs, and whilst this news held the court and the Guises in a kind of stupor, the conspirators, informed of the treachery, marched forward, and directed their course, in several separate bands, towards the castle of Amboise, on the 16th of March, 1560. The city was already filled with troops, got together in haste by the Guises. Coligny and Condé were both then at court, and both found themselves the objects of extreme mistrust. Condé, very closely watched, received orders to defend some posts : contests ensued, and were unfortunate for the conspirators ; the Guises fell upon a crowd of men, collected by the orders of their leaders, and conspirators without knowing it : the party was dispersed, and the punishments began.

Whatever name may be given to this enterprise—whatever motive may be supposed to have actuated it, it was culpable, because its object was to overturn a legal government by violence. Nevertheless, the barbarities exercised upon the captives, and the constancy they displayed, drew general interest upon them and horror upon their executioners. The vengeance of the Guises were atrocious : the

waters of the Loire bore away a multitude of bodies, floating along fastened together by long poles: the streets of Amboise were flooded with human blood. The conspirators marched intrepidly to meet death: most of them were slaughtered before they had even heard their sentence: one of the principals, the Sieur de Castelnau, with fifteen of his companions, surrendered to the duke de Nemours, on condition that no harm should happen to them; the Guises condemned them as well as the rest. Nemours interposed to save them in vain. Castelnau bathed his hands upon the scaffold in the blood of his decapitated companions, and raising them towards heaven, he called down the vengeance of God upon those who had betrayed him, and particularly upon the chancellor Olivier, who had condemned him. This latter, although secretly attached to the conspirators, had been forced to minister to the vengeance of the Guises. On hearing the words of Castelnau, whom he loved, he wept, and, seized with remorse, he fell sick of an extreme melancholy, which caused him continually to sigh and murmur against God, afflicting his person in a strange and frightful fashion. Whilst he was in this furious state of despair, the cardinal of Lorraine came to visit him; but he would not look at him, and turned the other way, without replying a word; and when he knew that he was gone, he cried out, "Ah! cursed cardinal! thou art damning thyself, and all of us with thee." Two days after he died.* During a whole month there was no cessation to beheadings, hangings, and drownings. Condé himself was in danger: his courage supported him; he boldly justified himself to the king; he by this silenced his accusers, but did not remove suspicions, and civil war appeared imminent.

The two parties repaired in arms to Fontainebleau, at which place the Guises had convoked the princes and the principal magistrates, to consult upon means of maintaining peace. In this assembly, Coligny uselessly presented a petition from fifty thousand *religionnaires*, as the reformers were designated, who implored that they might be allowed temples and permission to pray to God according to the dictates of their hearts. The assembly demanded a meeting of the States-General, and the Lorraine princes acquiesced in their wish. Plots were laid on both sides. Orleans was fixed upon as the place for the convocation of the States; and the king repaired thither accompanied by a formidable reti-

* De Vieilleville.

nue. The two Bourbon princes were seduced to the meeting by the Guises : the king of Navarre ran the risk of his life, in an audience granted him by Francis II., and Condé was made prisoner. A commission named by the Guises, and presided over by Christopher De Thou, father of the historian, condemned Condé to lose his head. The death of Francis II., who was carried off by a languishing disease, prevented the punishment of the prince.

This reign finished under the most sinister auspices : the efforts of the wise and virtuous Michael de l'Hôpital, recently made chancellor of the kingdom, were powerless, though earnest, to divert the storm which was ready to break over France.

CHARLES IX.

Charles IX. was only ten years of age when he succeeded Francis II., his brother. The States-General were then assembled at Orleans, and took but a very feeble part in political affairs. Catherine de Medici assumed the regency, by the advice of the chancellor De l'Hôpital, and acknowledged the king of Navarre in quality of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Condé was liberated, and Montmorency recalled to court, where, nevertheless, the Guises remained powerful and redoubtable.

The queen-mother finessed between the two parties, sometimes supporting the Guises and the Catholics, and sometimes attaching herself to the Protestants and the Bourbons against the Guises. These latter-named princes sought the protection of the stern and cruel Philip II., king of Spain, the firmest champion of Catholicism in Europe, who had already, in the preceding reign, declared himself protector of the kingdom of France. The Guises felt equally the necessity for bringing back the constable to their side : they knew that in the eyes of the old warrior every interest disappeared before that of the Catholic religion : they made him believe it was in danger, and he entered into their views. The Marshal de St. André was likewise won over to the party of the Lorraine princes, and formed, in conjunction with the constable and Francis de Guise, a league, which received the name of the Triumvirate. Then an edict appeared, dated in the month of July, which granted the Protestants amnesty for the past and ordered them to live catholicly for the future, under penalty of exile : death was not again to be pronounced against them. This edict only created malcon-

tents, and was not observed. The queen endeavoured to reconcile Francis de Guise and Condé : they embraced, and remained mortal enemies.

The States-General met in the course of the year at Pontoise. The electors were assembled by province, and not by bailliage, and each of the thirteen provinces having named but one deputy of each order, thirty-nine members only sat in the States. They voted the election of the prelates by the chapters, and the abolition of the annates, and made most of the public charges fall into the hands of the clergy : this body, dreading more rigorous measures with regard to their immense wealth, imposed upon themselves a tax of fifteen millions, which they offered under the name of a gratuity. About the same time was held another assembly, celebrated under the name of the *Colloquy of Poissy*. Anxious to display his eloquence and erudition, the Cardinal de Lorraine had invited the Protestant ministers, and Calvin himself, to open with him and the Catholic bishops, conferences, in which the principal points of the two religions should be discussed. Poissy was fixed upon as the place for this theological combat. Several French cardinals, forty bishops, and a great number of doctors, appeared there : there were only twelve Protestant ministers. Calvin did not appear ; he sent, as his representative, Theodore Beza, the most distinguished of his disciples. The discussion ended as all theological quarrels do ; every one remained more convinced than he was before of the excellence of his own opinion.

The edict of July was observed nowhere ; the Protestants braved it openly, and assembled in a great number of places. Catherine de Medici then commanded all the parliaments to name deputies to assist in drawing up an edict more suitable to existing circumstances. This meeting was presided over by L'Hôpital, who pronounced the following beautiful words : "Inquire," said he, "if it be not possible for a man to be a good subject of the king without being a Catholic, and if it be impossible for men who hold not the same belief to live in peace with each other. Do not then fatigue yourselves by endeavouring to ascertain which is the better religion of the two : we are met here not to establish a creed, but to regulate the state."

The wise *edict of January* was the result of the efforts of the chancellor. It was therein decreed that the Calvinists should restore the usurped churches, the crosses, the images, and relics, and submit to the levy of the tenths ; they were

ordered to observe festivals and respect the external rites of the Catholic worship. They were, however, permitted to assemble, for the exercise of their religion, on the outside of cities and without arms ; and the magistrates were commanded to see that they were neither troubled nor injured. The parliaments of Rouen, Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Grenoble, made very little difficulty about registering this edict ; that of Burgundy rejected it, and those of Languedoc and Dauphiny made a long resistance to it. This celebrated edict was received by the Calvinists with an enthusiasm that doubled their confidence, whilst the Catholics contemplated it in sullen, angry silence. The peace it appeared calculated to maintain between them was of very short duration : each party strengthened itself and prepared for war. The Guises had seduced to their party the king of Navarre, whom Philip of Spain successfully flattered by promising him Sardinia, whilst Condé, his brother, declared himself openly head of the Protestants, to whom, also, the queen-mother seemed just then to incline. The Catholics, alarmed at the favour of Condé, recalled Guise to Paris. He hastened from Joinville, and happened to pass through the little city of Vassy, in Champagne, at the moment the Protestants were assembled at prayers and sermon. His fanatical troop fell upon them sword in hand ; the duke of Guise was wounded in the cheek in the tumult, and sixty Protestants were slaughtered : this massacre became the signal for open war.

Guise entered Paris as a conqueror, amidst the acclamations of the people ; Catherine, jealous and alarmed at his influence, drew closer to the Protestants, but without declaring openly for them : the two parties watched each other for several days in arms in Paris, and the queen, to prevent the effusion of blood, prevailed upon their leaders, Guise and Condé, to quit the capital : they obeyed, but it was only for the purpose of concentrating their partisans and preparing for war.

The great captain, however, who was the firmest supporter of the Reformation in France, the Admiral Coligny, hesitated to take up arms : his brothers, the Cardinal de Châtillon and Andelot, pressed him to mount on horseback ; but he calculated all the evils of civil war ; he thought with terror on the number of their adversaries, on the weakness of his party, the greatness of the peril. For two days he had resisted all arguments and entreaties, when he was awakened in the night by the sobs of his wife. It was not on her own

account she wept, but that her husband should abandon his brethren in Jesus Christ, whom she could perceive were condemned to perish in tortures. "To be so wise and prudent for men is not to be so for God, who has bestowed upon you the skill of a great captain for the service of his children." Coligny repeated to her the just motives for his fears, and added: "Lay your hand upon your bosom, examine your conscience well, and see if it can digest the general disorder, the insults of your enemies, the treacheries of your apparent friends, flight, exile, hunger, and that which is harder to bear, that of your children, perhaps, moreover, your own death by the hands of the executioner, after seeing the mangled body of your husband exposed to the ignominy of the vulgar. I give you three weeks to consider this." "These three weeks are already past," replied this heroic woman; "you will never be conquered by the virtue of your enemies; employ your own, and do not take upon your own head the deaths of three weeks."* On the morrow, Coligny set out in company with his brothers, and joined Condé.

The prince meditated getting possession of the person of the king; the triumvirate forestalled him; they took the young monarch from Fontainebleau, and conducted him to Paris, whither Catherine herself accompanied him. The constable no longer restrained his fanatical zeal; he marched into the faubourgs, at the head of his troops, attacked the Protestant congregations, and with his own hands set fire to their temples, which were consumed amidst the joyous and ferocious cries of the populace: it was thus the first war was declared. Condé, the Admiral Coligny, and his brother Andelot, immediately took possession of Orleans, to which point they gathered their forces. Both sides applied for foreign succour: the Guises were assisted by the king of Spain, and purchased, at the price of the city of Turin, the support of the duke of Savoy; the Calvinists negotiated with Elizabeth; they sold Dieppe and Havre to her, and called into France a body of German knights, known under the name of *Reîtres*. A great number of nobles, in addition to the Châtillons, embraced their party; among whom were Antoine de Croix, La Rochefoucauld, Rohan, Montgomery, and Grammont; some governed by true zeal for the Reformation, others by their hatred for the Guises and by the chances which a civil war always offers to the ambitious.

* D'Aubigné, Notice sur Coligny.

The army of Huguenots* or Protestants attracted admiration by its fine and severe discipline : in it were seen neither games of chance, nor women of evil life, nor marauders ; profane swearing was strictly forbidden ; ministers pervaded the companies, and kept up the religious enthusiasm which had drawn them together : but beneath this austere exterior fermented a fanaticism as dark and cruel as that of the Catholic army. Woe to the conquered ! Woe to cities taken by either army ! the most frightful atrocities were committed in cold blood : Beaugency, carried by assault by the Protestants, Blois, Tours, Poitiers, and Rouen, subdued by the Catholics, first experienced the furies of this atrocious war. The city of Rouen, defended by Montgomery, the involuntary murderer of Henry II., was besieged by Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre, who was slain beneath its walls : the only merit this prince can claim is having been the father of Henry IV.

Of all the great cities of France which he had held, Condé only possessed Lyons and Orleans, when the two armies, commanded, one by the prince and the other by the constable, met near Dreux. They joined battle, and the conflict was most bloody. The constable commenced by charging impetuously ; his squadrons were broken by Coligny ; Montmorency, surrounded on all sides, was taken prisoner ; the Marshal de St. André was killed whilst hastening to his aid. A part of the Catholic army took to flight, and the Protestants dispersed in pursuit of the conquered. Then Francis de Guise, till that moment motionless with his cavalry, taking a rapid glance at the field of battle, exclaimed : "They are ours ! they are ours !" and poured down at a gallop upon the astonished Protestants : this unexpected charge decided the victory : Condé himself was made prisoner. This new triumph, the captivity of the constable, that of Condé, with the death of Antoine de Bourbon and the Marshal de St. André, rendered Francis of Guise the most powerful man in the kingdom. Named lieutenant-general, he hastened to march upon Orleans, the siege of which he closely followed up. But there was the termination of his success and his life : a Protestant, named John Poltrot de Méré, assassinated him with a pistol-shot :

* The name of Huguenots began at this time to be given to the Reformers of France, and by which they designated themselves. The word comes from the German noun *Eidgenossen*, which signifies confederates, and which the Swiss adopted among themselves.

his death was the salvation of Orleans. Guise terminated his illustrious career by pardoning his murderer, and by attempting to justify himself for the massacre of Vassy. The assassin, in the midst of tortures, named Coligny as his accomplice ; but his confessions varied, and the noble character of Coligny placed him beyond any suspicion of being concerned in an assassination. Henry, the son of Francis of Guise, however, received this accusative evidence as a proof, and vowed an implacable hatred to the admiral.

Desolation weighed heavily upon the cities and plains of France ; bands of assassins or ferocious soldiers covered its soil ; the finances were given over to pillage, and commerce was annihilated. These calamities, and particularly the ascendancy which the death of Guise gave Condé, induced Catherine to propose peace. The prince, unknown to Coligny, and without obtaining sufficient guarantees, signed a treaty which guaranteed to the Protestant nobles the free exercise of their worship in their lordships and mansions. The citizens obtained liberty of conscience, but they were not allowed public worship, except in one city of each bailliage, and in places of which the Protestants were in possession. The death of the duke of Guise had placed Condé in a position to dictate the peace and obtain better conditions, and this treaty, named *the Convention of Amboise*, was received with indignation by Coligny, Calvin, and the Protestant leaders : "There is," said the admiral, "a stroke of a pen which overthrows more churches than the enemy's forces could have destroyed in ten years."

The Protestant army was disbanded, and the Reîtres returned into Germany : Catherine gave them a safe-conduct, and endeavoured to have them massacred on their way. This period presents nothing but a series of perfidies and cruel vengeance. Montluc, among the Catholic leaders, and the Baron Des Adrets among the Protestants, distinguished themselves by their ferocity. "*One may easily know*," says the first in his *Memoirs*, "*by which way he has passed ; for upon the trees by the roadside hang his ensigns.*" The second obliged his prisoners to precipitate themselves from lofty towers upon the pikes of his soldiers.

The peace was taken advantage of against foreigners. The constable, at the head of the remains of the Protestant army, drove the English out of Havre, and the clergy paid the expenses of the expedition : their wealth, by the advice of De l'Hôpital, was alienated to the annual amount of a

hundred thousand crowns : this was the first time such an expedient was employed to provide for the exigencies of the state. The expenses of this year were calculated at eighteen millions, the receipts promised no more than eight, and there was a deficiency of forty-three millions in the treasury. Charles IX. was entering his fifteenth year, and was declared of age : Catherine preserved her power. Condé was forgetting himself in the pleasures of the court, whilst the constable, but little favoured by the queen, endeavoured to break the peace, by again exciting the people to the massacre of the Protestants. Three hundred sentences of death were, it is said, signed by his hand : the queen detected and defeated this frightful plot. Danville, son of the constable, and governor of Languedoc, Tavannes, governor of Burgundy, and several other commanders of provinces, seconded the projects of Montmorency. The thunders of the Vatican, the anathemas of the Council of Trent, the solicitations of foreign princes, everything excited the passions of the Catholics, and everything presaged that peace would be of short duration. Pope Pius IV. cited before him several French bishops accused of having embraced the Reformation : of this number were the Cardinal de Châtillon, Saint Romain, archbishop of Aix, and Montluc, bishop of Valence, brother of the redoubtable captain of that name. At the same period, Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre, and widow of Antoine de Bourbon, having been accused and convicted of heresy, was, by a bull, declared degraded from her royal dignity, and her states given up to the first occupant.

The Council of Trent drew near to its end, after twenty-one years had passed away from its first sitting. "It slept so soundly," says Fra Paolo, "that nobody knew whether it was alive or dead." At last, just previously to its dissolution, it decided some serious questions. The bishops drew up clear and precise canons, which defined, in an invariable manner, the articles of faith of the Catholics, and refused all concession to the spirit of the times. The council was dissolved in December, 1563.

In the course of the following year, the queen made a journey through the provinces of the east and south, taking with her the young king and all the court. Affairs of state were quite forgotten during this tour, and ruined cities and devastated countries were passed through amidst rejoicings, festivities, and spectacles. The duke of Alva went to visit the king at Bayonne, and, in a conversation which he held

with the queen, upon the best means of annihilating the Calvinists, he pronounced a saying which has since become famous :—"Ten thousand frogs are not worth the head of one salmon." Thus pointing out how the heads of the Protestant party were to be dealt with.

Charles IX., on his return, convoked an assembly of the notables at Moulins, and, by the advice of L'Hôpital, they issued the edict of Moulins, calculated by its moderation to conciliate the parties. He endeavoured to bring together the Guises and the Colignys : the latter had but too much reason for alarm : the Convention of Amboise was everywhere violated by the Catholics, and the infractions remained unpunished. Catherine negotiated the destruction of the Protestant leaders with Philip II., and redoubled her injurious suspicions with regard to them. The creation of the French guards belongs to this period ; they were composed of ten companies of fifty men each ; the Swiss guards, created by Louis XI., were, at the same time, very much augmented. These precautions gave umbrage to the Protestants ; they obtained advice of the projects of their enemies, and thought of the best means of defeating them. Medici suspected their design, and charged some of her confidants with the task of watching the admiral. They found him, on the 26th of September, in his usual household dress, *getting in his vintage*, and on the 28th, fifty places were in his power ! The king, almost surprised at Menceaux, by Condé, gained Meaux in great haste, and afterwards Paris, under the protection of six thousand Swiss ; the cavalry of Condé hovered constantly around his escort, and the second civil war was declared. The battle of St. Denis followed closely these first hostilities. The advantage remained with the Catholics, but it cost them very dear ; the old constable lost his life on this day. He had been famous under four reigns ; his intolerant and fiery zeal for religion rendered him guilty of great violences : no illustrious warrior before his time, had shown so much devotedness to his king. The battle of St. Denis produced no decisive result.

The duke of Anjou, brother to the king, was proclaimed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, although he was but sixteen years of age, and the Prince Casimir, of the Palatine house, at the head of a numerous body of Reîtres, joined the Protestants. The latter, animated by the example of their leaders, despoiled themselves of their jewels and money to provide the pay of these useful auxiliaries. Catherine,

seeing them in force, made fresh advances for peace, offering to allow the exercise of the Reformed religion, by replacing the Convention of Amboise in vigour, and to pay the Germans upon the restitution of the captured places. These conditions were accepted, in opposition to the advice of the principal leaders ; and the two parties signed a second peace at Longjumeau. The people, who perceived the motives and foresaw the results of it, gave it the name of the *Ill-grounded Peace* ; it scarcely suspended hostilities, and multiplied assassinations.

L'Hôpital once more proffered wise and conciliating words, and attempted to contend against furious passions : he was disgraced. Moderate men, such as he was, received, in derision, the name of *Politicians*, and were despised by all parties. Medici herself appeared to have given over temporizing, and to have abandoned prudence : she endeavoured, but in vain, to surprise the Protestant leaders. Violent edicts were then issued against the Calvinists, and their worship was interdicted throughout the kingdom. They took up arms in all directions, and in their fury, profaned altars, devastated and burnt churches and convents, and committed a thousand atrocities. Briquemont, one of their leaders, excited them to murder, wearing as a necklace a string of priests' ears suspended round his neck : but Louis de Bourbon, duke of Montpensier, a Catholic general, excelled all others in barbarism : history refuses to describe the frightful punishment of which he gloried in being the inventor. The Catholic army, under the command of the duke of Anjou and the Marshal de Tavannes, met the Protestant army, commanded by Condé, on the banks of the Charente, near Jarnac. There was fought a bloody and unequal battle, sustained by the cavalry of the prince only, against all the forces of the Catholics. Condé, wounded the evening before, carried his arm in a scarf, and just as the battle was about to begin, a vicious horse kicked him, and broke one of his legs. "Now, ye French nobles," said the prince to the gentlemen who surrounded him, "here is the combat ye have so long wished for : remember in what state Louis de Bourbon begins it, for Christ and his country." Thrown from his horse, Condé still defended himself like a hero ; among those who made a rampart for him of their bodies, was an old man named La Vergne, who, with twenty-five young men, his sons, grandsons, and nephews, fought valiantly till he and fifteen of his party were killed ; the others were made prisoners.

Condé then surrendered, but immediately after came up Montesquiou, captain of the guards to the duke of Anjou, and basely assassinated him by a pistol-shot. Thus died Louis de Condé, scarcely thirty-nine years of age.

The Protestants were depressed, and the court abandoned itself to all the intoxication of triumph, when the queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, a woman of great piety and noble courage, revived the hopes of her party.* She repaired to Cognac, in Angoumois, where the wreck of the Calvinistic army was assembled, and brought with her Henry, her son, the prince of Béarn, and Henry, son of Louis, prince of Condé, both just sixteen years of age. Jeanne presented herself to the soldiers, holding these two young men by the hand—"I offer you," said she, "my son, and I confide to you Henry, the son of the prince who excites our regrets. May Heaven grant that they both show themselves worthy of their ancestors." The prince of Béarn then immediately advanced and said:—"I swear to defend religion and to persevere in the common cause, until death or victory shall have restored to us all the liberty for which we fight." Condé announced by his gestures that a similar resolution animated him, and immediately the prince of Béarn was proclaimed general-in-chief, to the acclamations of the army, under the direction of Coligny.

The duke des Deux Ponts, at the head of a considerable body of Germans, came to join the Calvinists, whose forces now amounted to more than twenty-five thousand men. The battle of La Roche-Abeille, the first in which Henry of Béarn distinguished himself, was to their advantage. The two armies soon after found themselves in face of each other near *Moncontour*, in Poitou: a simple defile separated them. The Calvinists were the more numerous, but they occupied a bad position. Coligny wished to change it, but his soldiers were eager to fight, and the battle began: the carnage of the Protestants was frightful, and in half an hour, of twenty-five thousand men, five or six hundred only rallied round Coligny. This warrior, seriously wounded, arose on this fatal day even above himself: he had recently lost his brother Andelot, and almost alone saved the wreck of his army. He brought them back, with the young princes, into Languedoc, where Montgomery joined them with his troops.

* A queen having nothing of the woman about her but her sex, her mind given entirely to manly objects, a mind powerful in great affairs, a heart invincible to adversities.—D'Aubigné, *Hist. Universelle*.

The Calvinists once again reappeared in an imposing attitude, and Coligny led them upon Paris, by forced marches. On both sides the necessity for repose was extreme, and peace was signed at Saint Germain, where the court then was.

The Calvinists, in addition to the advantages accorded by preceding treaties, obtained, at their choice, four places of safety. They chose Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité, which they undertook to restore at the end of two years. Charles IX. almost immediately married Elizabeth of Austria, daughter of Maximilian II., and from that time dissembled profoundly his hatred for the reformers. The dark and malignant Philip of Spain perpetrated at the same period some atrocious cruelties upon his subjects. The Moors, who composed the most industrious part of the population of Spain, had been, on account of their worship, reduced to the most miserable condition; they were, under Philip II., decimated by fire and sword. The Spanish monarch, secured from Mussulman attacks by the victory of Lepanto, wished to extirpate heresy in his states, and the duke of Alva went into Belgium, the worthy minister of his fury. Philip, glorying in the awful triumphs of his general, never ceased to excite Charles IX. to imitate him; but Charles stood in no need of his counsels to become his emulator.

Peace restored France to order and security; the people began to hope that the end of their troubles was approaching. The condescension and friendly behaviour of the court to the Protestants, instead of rendering them more circumspect, appeared to them to be so many guarantees of a happy future. Jeanne d'Albret, the young princes, Coligny, and the principal leaders, were invited to the court, and promptly responded to the summons. The king was prodigal of flattering words of kindness. "I have you now," said he graciously to the admiral, "and you shall not easily leave us again." The marriage of the prince of Béarn with Margaret of Valois, sister of Charles, was projected: the difference of religion was an obstacle, but the king himself removed all difficulties. Jeanne d'Albret died in the midst of these negotiations. Some affirmed that she had been poisoned; but little attention was paid to this event, at a time when death by poison or the poniard seemed almost a natural manner of dying. The projected marriage was concluded between Margaret and young Henry, who, soon after the death of his mother, assumed the title of king of Navarre.

Catholic troops were on their march upon several points of

the kingdom. The court exchanged civilities with foreign powers, and redoubled their attentions to the Calvinists : these latter remained in a state of profound security. Coligny, upon being consulted by Charles IX., advised him to check the progress of the Spanish power by supporting Flanders, then in a state of insurrection against Philip. The king appeared to approve of the project, and troops were ordered to march in the direction of Belgium. Then Medici, and the duke of Anjou, whether they had perceived any hesitation in the mind of Charles IX., and wished to commit him beyond the power of retreating with the Calvinists, or whether they desired above all things to get rid of Coligny, hired an assassin named Maureval, who wounded him dangerously with an arquebuse. The admiral was carried to his home, covered with blood. Charles was playing at tennis when this news was brought to him. " Shall I for ever, then, meet with fresh troubles ?" said he, throwing down the raquet with fury. He accompanied his mother to the admiral's abode, and loaded him with perfidious caresses and false demonstrations of regret and indignation.

Medici had already fixed upon the day for the most appalling of crimes. Seconded by the duke of Anjou, she convinced the king that the moment to strike the blow was come. Charles at once gave way to a bitter frenzy of passion, and exclaimed : " Perish all the Huguenots, then ; but let not one remain to reproach me !"

Every means was employed to draw the greatest possible number of Protestants to Paris. Charles, with this view, inspired them purposely with some inquietude, and gave them to understand that it was necessary for them to be in force, in order to be secure from surprise or danger. They came to Paris in crowds, and the necessary preparations for the work of blood were immediately set about. A council was held at the Tuileries, at which were present the queen, the duke of Anjou, the duke de Nevers, Henry d'Angoulême, grand prior of France, René de Birague, marshal de Tavannes, Albert de Gondi, and the baron de Retz. The parts were distributed, and it was decided that the execution should commence with the dawn of the next day, which was the feast of St. Bartholomew. Tavannes gave orders, in the presence of the king, to the provost of the traders, John Channon, to arm the citizen companies, assemble them at midnight at the Hôtel de Ville, and to launch them upon the Calvinists at the first sound of the tocsin. In order to prevent confusion, the murderers were to wear a scarf on the

left arm, and a white cross on their hats. At daybreak, the impatient Medici ordered the signal to be given by the clock of St. Germain l'Auxerrois : at the sound of the dismal bell, the city was filled with assassins, and almost the first step was to surround the house of Coligny by a band of soldiers, led by Henry de Guise : the doors were opened at the name of the king ; the murderers ascended to the chamber of the admiral, and found him at prayers. " Art thou Coligny ?" asked their leader Bême, threatening him with his sword. " Yes, I am," replied he :—" young man, you should respect my gray hairs." As his only reply, Bême made repeated cuts at him with his sword, mutilated his body, and cast it into the street, where Henry de Guise awaited it, and trampled it under his feet. Already death, with frightful haste, pervaded Paris ; the Huguenots, terrified at the noise of the tocsin, issued half-naked from their dwellings, and perished by thousands. Tavannes, the dukes of Angoulême and Anjou, Henry de Guise, and Montpensier animated the executioners to the carnage : " Bleed, bleed !" cried Tavannes ; " physicians say that bleeding is as wholesome in August as in May." The citizens rivalled the nobles in ferocity : the goldsmith Crucé boasted of having himself killed more than four hundred Huguenots in one day. He who had ordered the crime was anxious to take a part in the execution of it. " The king was seen," says Brantôme, " firing from a window of the Louvre upon the Protestant fugitives." He then went with a brilliant train to the gibbets of Montfaucon, from one of which were suspended the half-consumed remains of the admiral. He appeared to enjoy the spectacle, and repeated, it is said, the odious saying of Vitellius : " The body of a slaughtered enemy always smells well." The ladies of the court and the maids of honour to the queen partook of the delirium and fury of the executioners ; they came out from the palace to contemplate the bleeding remains of many nobles they had known, and to make immodest examinations of their persons. The king, the queen, and the courtiers, accepted from the hands of the assassins, jewels which had belonged to their victims. The massacre lasted three days in Paris, where five thousand persons lost their lives. On the third day, Charles IX. repaired to the parliament, where he had the audacity to justify his conduct, and the president, Christopher De Thou, had the servile baseness to approve of it. Royal orders were despatched through the provinces to command similar massacres : Meaux, Angers, Bourges, Orleans, Lyons, Toulouse,

and Rouen, became theatres of horrible scenes: several governors, however, refused to obey. The viscount d'Orthez, commandant of Bayonne, wrote to the king:—"Sire, I have found in this city only good citizens and brave soldiers, but not one executioner." The count de Tendes, in Provence, made a similar reply: the death of both was sudden and premature. The young king of Navarre and Henry de Condé ran great risk of their lives during the massacre. Charles ordered them into his presence, and cried with a threatening voice: "The mass, or death!" Yielding to necessity, the two princes abjured in appearance, and were held prisoners. Such were the principal scenes of this frightful event. Rome welcomed the news with enthusiasm. Pope Gregory XIII. ordered cannon to be fired, and a solemn mass to be sung in honour of a day, of which L'Hôpital said, whilst throwing open his doors to the assassins, "Perish the memory of this execrable day." Elizabeth of England showed a dignified anger. When the French ambassador came to announce and justify the horrors of St. Bartholomew, he was received by a court in mourning, and ushered into apartments hung with black; the queen's demeanour but too plainly showing the detestation in which the crime was held.

Medici and Charles IX. had looked for a peaceful reign as the result of their crimes; but they were deceived: civil war broke out, more terrible than ever, and a great number of Catholics embraced the Retormation from the horror inspired by the St. Bartholomew, as the day of massacre was called. The party of the Politicians rose up against the court, and soon some of the most illustrious nobles of France were seen in its ranks, two of the most conspicuous being Damville and Thoré, sons of the Constable de Montmorency. Contempt and the thirst for vengeance doubled the forces of the Protestants. The weakest places even resisted the royal troops, whom the insurgents reviled from the tops of their walls: "Come on, assassins!" cried they; "come on massacrers! you shall not find us asleep, as you did the admiral." Rochelle was the principal place of the Protestants; Charles felt the necessity for getting possession of it. The duke of Anjou set out upon this expedition at the head of a numerous army, and dragged the two captive princes to the siege. The defence was heroic; it lasted six months, and cost the Catholics immense sums of money in addition to twenty thousand men. Sancerre sustained a memorable siege: Montauban, Nismes and other cities were in the power of

the Protestants. A fourth peace was signed : it granted the reformers, in those places, most of the advantages guaranteed by preceding treaties.

The duke of Anjou had just been elected king of Poland, and had soon set out for his kingdom. An enterprise called *des jours gras* (shrove-tide), because it was undertaken in carnival time, was attempted the following year, to deliver the two princes. It partly failed, and cost the lives of La Môle and Coconnas, its authors : they were decapitated. The queen of Navarre and the duchess de Nevers, whose lovers they were, caused their bleeding heads to be brought to them, and, at the sight of them, abandoned themselves to the most violent transports of grief and rage. Condé alone succeeded in escaping : Henry of Navarre was guarded more narrowly than ever to the death of the king. The health of Charles IX. declined from the St. Bartholomew. He often seemed a prey to a furious delirium, in which he beheld the spectres of his victims rise up before him. "During the last night of his life," says L'Etoile, "there only remained in his chamber two persons and his nurse, whom he loved tenderly. When near falling asleep, she heard the king moan, weep, and sigh : she approached the bed softly, and having drawn the curtain, the king said to her with a deep sigh, and weeping so violently that his sobs interrupted his words : 'Ah ! nurse, nurse ! what blood ! what murders ! Ah ! what evil counsel I have followed ! Oh, my God ! pardon me !'" His own blood issued from the skin of his body, and inundated his bed. He died on the 30th of May, 1574, at the early age of twenty-four.

CHAPTER II.

Reign of Henry III. 1574—1589.

THE duke of Anjou succeeded his brother, under the name of Henry III. He was in Poland when Charles IX. died, and Catherine de Medici once more seized upon the regency. One of the first acts of her authority was to order the death of Montgomery, the accidental murderer of Henry II., who had been made prisoner at Domfront, and was looked upon as one of the most illustrious leaders of the Reformers. His execution provoked fresh vengeance on the part of the Protestants.

When informed of the death of his brother, Henry quitted his kingdom of Poland as a deserter, and then allowed himself to fall asleep for four months, amidst the festivities with which he was greeted by the sovereigns through whose states he passed, scattering gold and jewels on his route. On arriving at Turin, he had nothing left to give ; but he ceded to the duke of Savoy possession of the cities of Pignerol, Saviglione, and Perouse, the only fruit France had obtained for all the blood shed in Italy. Henry III. arrived at length, and showed himself for the first time in public at Avignon, in the procession called *des Battus*, with Catherine de Medici and the Cardinal de Lorraine, all three clothed in the sackcloth of penitence. The king and his courtiers walked barefooted, with a crucifix in their hands, flagellating themselves. The Cardinal de Lorraine was seized with a fever, on coming from this ridiculous ceremony, and died almost immediately. No one had been more active than he in fanning the flames of civil war, or had proved more cruel. Medici appeared to breathe more freely on learning his death ; but the following night she roused her women by uttering loud cries of terror. Upon hastening to her, they found her in a state of delirium : "Deliver me from that sight," cried she ; "the cardinal ! the cardinal pursues me, and drags me down to hell !"

A fresh war broke out : the Protestants saw with horror the principal author of the St. Bartholomew on the throne, the man who had most signalized himself on those execrable days. Condé assembled his forces and negotiated with John Casimir, the elector palatine, to obtain a considerable reinforcement. Several nobles of the party of the Politicians had joined the Protestants, among whom were, in the first rank, Damville and Thoré, the two sons of Montmorency. All on a sudden the duke of Alençon, suspected by the queen since the enterprise of the *jours gras*, and irritated against the king his brother, escaped from the court in which he was narrowly watched, joined the confederates, and appeared in arms before the gates of Paris. Soon afterwards, the king of Navarre, deceiving in the same manner the watchfulness of Medici, and tearing himself from the voluptuous snares with which she surrounded him, succeeded in effecting his flight, joined the two princes, and abjured Catholicism in their camp, where he found Prince Casimir at the head of a numerous body of troops. Henry III. had already signed a truce with the confederates : he had engaged

to deliver up to them six cities, and to pay the garrisons of them, they being under the orders of the duke of Alençon and the Prince de Condé.

Amidst so many agitations and perils, it is difficult to describe the unworthy life which the effeminate monarch then led at Paris. He divided his time between boundless debaucheries and the minute practices of a puerile devotion: surrounded by young favourites whom he named his minions, and dissolute women, sometimes he caused to be borne before him the shrines of saints, which he followed in the habit of a penitent, mingling obscene buffooneries with the litanies of the Church; sometimes he frequented places of debauchery, reciting, to the lights of their orgies, his chaplet of death's-heads; he frequently wandered through the streets, or sought, from door to door, with the queen his wife, for little dogs, monkeys, and paroquets, of all which both were passionately fond. Some historians have said that Henry III. pursued a profoundly combined plan amidst all these shameful disorders; that the book of Machiavelli was his gospel, and that he wished to subdue the highest class by all the seductions of vice. However it may be, his mother, in this respect, afforded him both precept and example, by surrounding herself with maids of honour skilled in the arts of seduction, to lure all those whose ambition she wished to quell or whose resentments she wished to stifle. Although entirely without religious faith, she believed in witchcraft and sorcery: astrologers, particularly one of them, Cosmo de Ruggieri, were in high favour at the court. A power was attributed to these impostors of inflicting death by pricking the hearts of waxen figures, over which they uttered mysterious words. The practices of an absurd devotion were mingled with the poisonings and dissoluteness of this infamous court: enjoyment was the reward of crime; and Margaret of Valois, worthy of her mother and her brother, purchased in this manner the death of Dugast, her enemy and one of the favourites of the king, who saw him poniarded at his feet, and neglected to punish the assassin.

Catherine de Medici alone evinced spirit in the king's party. At the head of her ladies, whom she termed her *flying squadron*, she repaired to the camp of the confederates, and quickly seduced her son, the duke of Alençon, whose appanage she tripled. He from that time assumed the title of the duke of Anjou, and quitted the party of the Reformers. The queen was lavish in the hopes she held out to the

other leaders : they separated to go into cantonments, the king of Navarre in Guienne, Condé in the environs of Rochelle, Damville in Languedoc, at the head of the *Politiques*, and Prince Casimir upon the frontiers of Champagne.

The disgraceful conduct of the king rendered him contemptible even in the eyes of his own party, and made violent zealots forget his exploits on the St. Bartholomew. For a length of time separate leagues had been formed in the provinces for the defence of the Catholic religion ; they now united into one great one, under the name of the Holy Trinity. The apparent aim of this league was the maintenance of Catholicism, the safety of the king, and the destruction of the Protestants ; but its authors in secret proposed to bring to judgment and death the duke of Anjou, as a punishment for the support he had lent the Reformers ; to depose the unworthy Henry III., a descendant of the usurper Hugh Capet, and confine him for life in a cloister : and, lastly, to transmit the crown to Henry de Guise, surnamed *le Balfré*, son of the great Francis de Guise, who, they said, was descended from Charlemagne. Some of the words of the formula of the oath were these : " We engage ourselves to employ our wealth and our lives for the success of the holy union, and to pursue to the death all who shall oppose it. As soon as possible, a leader shall be elected, whom all the confederates shall be bound to obey. Such as will not join the holy union shall be treated as enemies, and be pursued with fire and sword. In all disputes that may arise among the confederates, the leader shall decide, and recourse shall never be had to the ordinary magistrates without his consent." Thus the leaguers transferred all royal power to their future chief, who was to be the duke de Guise. Pope Gregory XIII. encouraged this league, and Philip II. promised to support it with both men and money. It was already formidable when Henry III. was made acquainted with its existence, and learnt the objects of the association ; and it was amidst the plots of the leaguers and the threats of the confederates that he called together the States-General at Blois, in 1576. He opened it by a speech full of dignity. The States, in which the Protestants were not represented, required that one religion alone should be tolerated in France ; they wished for war, and yet they refused to furnish the king with money to carry it on. Most of the deputies were attached to the league. The king, by the counsels of his mother, circumvented their plots, and

disappointed the hopes of Henry de Guise, by declaring himself the head of the holy union. A formula was drawn up : the monarch swore to it, made the States accept it, and ordered that it should be signed at Paris and throughout France. On learning this news, the duke de Guise, who was absent, hastened to join the confederates, and urged the necessity for immediate war. For want of money, they were at first compelled to negotiate, but two Catholic armies were soon in the field, the one under the duke of Anjou, and the other under the duke de Mayenne, brother of Henry de Guise. Several places were taken from the confederates, and Damville and his partisans, the *politiques*, were detached from them by means of intrigue. These successes and this defection were followed by a fresh peace, for which the celebrated edict of Poitiers and Bergerac had paved the way. By this edict, Henry III. granted the Protestants the public exercise of their worship in every chief place of a *bailliage*, and in every royal jurisdiction, except Paris ; it restored to them their privileges as citizens, with a right to charges and dignities, approving their actions as useful to the state ; gave them separate judges in each parliament, and granted them nine places of safety. In addition, the king permitted, on certain conditions, the marriage of priests, he condemned the St. Bartholomew, and proscribed the League.

The edict of Poitiers, shortly afterwards confirmed by the treaty of Nérac, might have pacified the kingdom, if the king had in the least attended to the execution of it ; but the moment he was released from the fears and cares of war, he again plunged with increased avidity into his disgraceful pleasures. All bounties, all dignities were lavished upon his minions, from whom he strangely required at the same time infamous personal debasements and acts of ferocious courage. A mad vertigo took possession of the whole court, in which time seemed to be divided among prostitution, duels, and murders. The king rendered extravagant honours to the memory of two of his favourites, Quelus and Maugiron, both killed in duels by the duke de Guise ; another, named Saint Mégrin, was assassinated by the duke de Mayenne ; whilst Bussy d'Amboise, an audacious and sanguinary man, a favourite of the duke of Anjou, and a mortal enemy of the minions of the king, was seduced into an ambushade and murdered. All these murders remained unpunished : the king sold his clemency ; the scaffold was only prepared for the people or the Huguenots, and it was deemed want of

management and a thing to be laughed at, to think of being condemned for an assassination. The duke de Villequier stabbed his wife, who had repulsed the guilty wishes of the king, and was made governor of Paris. Licentiousness had no bounds or check, and debauchery of the most disgusting kind presided at the festivities of the queen-mother, in which Henry III., himself disguised as a woman, affected to imitate the language and effeminate carriage of the sex whose costume he wore.

Under one frivolous pretext or another, war soon broke out again in all parts. The intrigues of gallantry, which in part occasioned it, caused it to be named *the War of the Lovers*. Henry III. wrote to the king of Navarre, in the hope of making a schism between him and his wife Marguerite ; he however did not succeed, and the Navarrese answered him by the heroic capture of Cahors. Condé soon appeared in arms in Languedoc, ready to succour him. A peace advantageous to the Reformers was signed, the following year, at Fleix, by the intervention of the duke of Anjou, whom Henry III. promised to second in his views upon Belgium. Philip II. had just obtained possession of Portugal, and all his forces were then employed in subduing the Low Countries, and in contending with the celebrated prince of Orange, William the Taciturn, who had wrested the northern provinces from the Spanish tyranny. The great captain Alexander Farnese succeeded, in quality of governor of this country, to Don John of Austria, the victor of Lepanto ; the Flemings were reduced to extremity, and implored the assistance of the French Protestants. The duke of Anjou, to whom Queen Elizabeth had given hopes of her hand, might, by this marriage, secure them the assistance of England : they proclaimed him count of Flanders and duke of Brabant. Profiting by the peace of Fleix, and backed by the consent of Henry III., this duke recruited an army among the reformers of France. With it he delivered Cambrai, and obtained possession of Ecluse. His natural disposition then began to show itself ; he exercised despotic power in Flanders, chastised such cities as ventured to oppose his pretensions, and stained himself with blood in the massacre of the citizens of Antwerp, executed by his orders. Driven out by the very people who had called him in, he retired to his own domains and died. A month later, the illustrious William of Orange perished at Delft, assassinated by the hand of

Balthazar Gerard, the fanatical emissary of Philip II., who loudly applauded this murder after having purchased it.

The king of Navarre became, by the death of the duke of Anjou, next heir to the throne,* but, in the eyes of the people, his religion rendered him incapable of occupying it. This circumstance revived the audacity and efforts of the League. Henry III., although in the vigour of his age, was supposed to be incapable of having children, and the zealous Catholics turned their eyes towards the old cardinal Charles of Bourbon, uncle of the king of Navarre: they availed themselves of his name until they should be able to throw off the mask, and declare openly for the duke de Guise. This prince again placed himself boldly at the head of the League; nevertheless he hesitated to begin the war: Philip II. determined him to do so. This monarch knew that the revolted Flemings had offered to acknowledge themselves subjects of Henry III., and that the best means of depriving them of the support of France was to foment the interior troubles of that kingdom: he therefore excited Henry of Guise by both promises and menaces. Paris became the focus of the League, and from this centre the leaguers extended ramifications through the whole of France. They made the preachers thunder from their pulpits denunciations against the heresy of Henry of Navarre, and against the disgraceful life of Henry III.; they posted up in all the streets representations of the frightful punishments to which the Catholics, they said, would be given up if the heretic prince became king. The people, rendered furious by these means, called for war and the extermination of the Calvinists. The League addressed Pope Sixtus V., who fulminated a bull of excommunication against the king of Navarre, and declared him incapable of succeeding to the throne. Terrified by the popular effervescence, Henry III., after long hesitations, deemed it politic to connect himself with the duke de Guise. He had the weakness, by the treaty of Nemours, to admit all his pretensions: he interdicted, under penalty of death, throughout his kingdom, the exercise of any other religion but the Roman Catholic, surrendered the places of safety to the duke, and took foreign troops into his pay. The Calvinists almost immediately resumed their

* Henry of Navarre was descended in a direct line from Robert de Clermont, fifth son of Saint Louis.

arms, and this eighth war was named *the War of the three Henries*.

The princes of Condé and Conti, La Rochefoucauld, Rohan, the four brothers Laval, the intrepid La Noue, La Tremouille, Roquelaure, and Biron drew their swords for Henry of Navarre ; the faithful Rosni sold his woods and brought the produce, through a thousand perils, to the feet of Bourbon. This prince, after having, to spare the blood of the people, vainly proposed to his enemies to call a meeting of the States, or to decide the question by a council or a duel, astonished them by his skilful manœuvres, and caused his authority to be acknowledged in several provinces of the south. But Condé was less skilful and less fortunate ; he marched rashly to meet the Catholics, who were, beforehand, on the other side of the Loire ; he was not able to pass that river, and his army dispersed without fighting. The brilliant duke de Joyeuse, the favourite of Henry III., commanded the Catholic army ; he met the Calvinist troops of Henry of Bourbon near Coutras, in Perigord. A multitude of young courtiers had followed Joyeuse, and their armour glittered with gold and precious stones : Henry had nothing but iron and steel to oppose them with. Before the action, a minister of the gospel issued from the ranks, and represented to the young king of Navarre that he had brought trouble into a worthy family by criminal connection ; that he owed the public reparation for this scandal to his army, and the humble avowal of his fault to God, before whom, in an instant perhaps, he would have to appear. Henry confessed to the minister Chandieu ; and said to the nobles of his court, who endeavoured to dissuade him from it : " We cannot be too humble before God, or too brave before men." He then, with his Protestant soldiers, fell on his knees, the pastor pronouncing the prayer. Joyeuse, at the head of the Catholic army, upon seeing this, cried out : " The king of Navarre is frightened !" " Not so," replied Lavardin, " they only pray when they are resolved to conquer or die." Henry arose ; he animated his troops by gesture and voice, and turning to Condé, Conti, and the count de Soissons, his cousins, said : " To you I shall say nothing, except that you are of the blood of Bourbon, and, by the living God ! I will prove to you that I am your elder brother." The battle was immediately begun, the whole army of Joyeuse was destroyed, and he himself perished fighting. Henry, after his victory, showed himself as humane and generous, as he had been

brave during the action ; but he failed to take advantage of his triumph, and wasted both his time and the opportunity in the indulgence of pleasures. A German army which he endeavoured to join, was repulsed by the duke of Guise, and his own was dispersed from want of pay. The prince de Condé survived this victory but a very short time : he died by poison.

Elizabeth, the Protestant queen of England, at this period tarnished her glory by ordering the execution of Mary Stuart, widow of Francis II., and Catholic queen of Scotland, who, flying from her revolted subjects, had sought an asylum in the states of her rival. Elizabeth could neither pardon her the superiority of her personal charms, nor her assumption of the title of queen of England : she detained her a prisoner nineteen years, and finished by sending her to the scaffold. The tragical death of this queen, the sister-in-law of the king of France, contributed, as much as the defeat of Coutras, to increase the fierce zeal of the leaguers, and their contempt for Henry III. This prince bestowed the fortunes of Joyeuse upon his favourite D'Epernon, and gave himself up with renewed earnestness to his frivolous occupations. His present fancy was the study of grammar, and he passed his time in declining nouns and conjugating verbs, surrounded by his dogs, his paroquets, and his minions. Henry de Guise, however, as prudent as he was brave and ambitious, always skilful in profiting by his advantages, advanced in public favour, and the League redoubled its audacity. The faction of the *sixteen* began to render itself particularly redoubtable. Paris was then governed by a municipal régime ; the burgesses guarded the walls and the principal posts ; the echevins were intrusted with the keys of the gates. A species of council was established in each of the sixteen quarters of the city, in which the interests of the *holy union* were the chief objects : after their meetings, the head of the assembly went to give in his report to the general council of the League. Each of these chiefs was moved by the same passions ; and having the same interests to sustain, they became united, and thus formed the famous council of the sixteen, of which Bussy le Clerc, an ancient master-at-arms, was one of the most ardent members. They got up a great many plots against Henry III., but being constantly betrayed by one of the conspirators, named Nicholas Poulain, they failed in all their projects. The king, perfectly informed of all their intentions, and aware of their

power, and secretly pressed by Henry of Navarre to join his party, entertained the idea of seeking refuge in his army; then, all at once forming a bold resolution, he forbade Guise to approach Paris. But such was the poverty of the treasury that he could not obtain twenty-five crowns to provide a courier to send to the duke: the king's letter was forwarded by the post, and the duke denied the receiving of it.

Summoned by the leaguers, Guise entered Paris amidst the acclamations of the multitude; his feeble escort was speedily increased by an idolatrous crowd, eager to see him and to touch either his person or his clothes: the people named him the new Gideon, the new Machabæus. "France," says an historian of the time, "was mad after that man." He alighted from his horse at the palace of the queen-mother, who conducted him, without guards, to her son at the Louvre. The king deliberated whether it would not be better to have him poniarded at once. Colonel Alphonse offered his arm, but Henry hesitated. "Why are you come here against my orders?" said he, on perceiving the duke. Guise pretended to have been ignorant of them, and replied that he came to justify himself against the calumnies of which he was the object; but, alarmed by the fierce and menacing looks of the persons present, he bowed to the king, and departed with his best haste. On the morrow he came again to the Louvre, but well accompanied, and more disposed to give law than to receive it. He demanded that an exterminating war should be made upon the Huguenots, and that the favourites, D'Epemon, La Valette, and all suspected persons should be driven from the court. The weak monarch consented to his demands, upon condition that the duke would assist him in purging Paris of strangers, and people with no obvious means of living. Guise promised to do so, and the people murmured loudly. The king called upon his nobility to attend him in arms, and ordered four thousand Swiss to march to Paris. They entered with their arms displayed and colours flying. The sight of them rendered the people furious, and excited a general rising; the streets were quickly unpaved, and the windows supplied with stones; chains were extended across the streets, and behind them the multitude formed a thousand miscellaneous barricades; the royal troops found themselves invested and attacked on all sides, without a hope of either retreat or safety. The terrified king desired

that the duke de Guise should be supplicated to check the disorder, and prevent the effusion of blood.

"They are wild bulls broken loose," coolly replied the duke; "I cannot restrain them." At length when he judged that the moment for action was arrived, he quitted his hotel and showed himself to the people, with a riding-wand only in his hand. At the sight of him the crowd abandoned themselves to frantic transports, and the barricades all fell before him. Guise in this manner penetrated to the posts of the unfortunate Swiss, put an end to the combat, opened a road for them, and saved their lives. Catherine de Medici hastened to the scene of action, being carried over the barricades till she reached the spot where Guise was. She at once attempted to negotiate with him: he demanded that the claims of the Bourbons should be denied, that the lieutenant-generalship of the kingdom should be conferred upon him, that the places of safety should be in his hands, that money should be given to him, and that the war should continue. Catherine prolonged the discussion as much as she could, and before it was terminated, the duke was informed that the king had fled from Paris. At this unexpected intelligence:—"I am a dead man, madam," said he; "the king is gone in order to destroy me." Henry III. had taken advantage of the tumult to leave Paris at full gallop, and did not think himself in safety till he reached Chartres, where he was joined by his troops and his court. This famous day, in which the people gave up Paris to the duke of Guise, is named in history *the Battle of the Barricades*.

Guise took advantage of his victory by exercising the functions of king before assuming the title. He assembled the people, caused new city officers and other captains to be created, and then begged the first president, Achille de Harlai, to assemble the Parliament in order to devise with him measures suitable to circumstances. But this magistrate only replied to his demands by these bold and severe words: "It is a great pity when the servant drives out the master: as for the rest, my soul is in the hands of God, my heart is with the king, and my body in the power of the wicked." Guise persisted. "When the majesty of the prince is violated," boldly resumed Harlai, "the magistrate has no longer any authority." The president Brisson proved more flexible, and lent himself to the views of the duke de Guise. This prince, however, having failed in his project of

getting possession of the king's person, endeavoured to dispel all suspicion of violence : he was not willing that it should be attributed to him, that he had driven away his master before it was in his power to crush him. He endeavoured then, secretly encouraged by Catherine, to subdue the anger of Henry, and he inspired the people with the same idea. The Parisians, well acquainted with the king's love of processions, imagined the plan of conducting one as far as Chartres, and the heads of the League gave in to the fancy. Their fiery friends, the monks of all orders, the most dissolute women, every one clothed as a penitent, were desirous of forming part of this extravagant procession. Henry de Joyeuse, a courtier turned monk, marched at the head, under the name of Brother Angel. A Capuchin was on each side of him, the one representing the Virgin, and the other the Magdalen. Brother Angel, with great difficulty, bore an enormous pasteboard cross, and four vigorous satellites flagellated him whenever he exhibited any signs of weakness. Trumpets and clarions announced and accompanied the march of this strange train. The frivolous monarch, contrary to general expectation, evinced nothing but disgust, and beheld only rebels in these pretended penitents. Nevertheless Henry consented to treat with the duke, and the negotiations continued : the famous *edict of union* appeared, and the king seemed to have delivered himself up to his enemy. He engaged by this edict, to exterminate the heretics to the last one ; he disinherited Henry of Bourbon of his right to the crown, named Guise generalissimo with absolute power, and abandoned the places of safety to him for several years.

These concessions were only cloaks to the designs of the king. He had already formed a strong resolution, and to accomplish it, convoked the States-General afresh at Blois. Henry of Guise and his brother the cardinal boldly presented themselves at this assembly. Most of the deputies belonged to the League, and in the opening sitting, during the king's speech, all eyes were turned upon the duke de Guise as the true king. His project, which he scarcely deigned to disguise, was to depose the weak Henry and to cause himself to be proclaimed in his place. His pride took delight in hearing his imprudent friends compare him to Pepin, whilst they stigmatized the monarch with the name of *fainéant* king. His sister, the violent duchess de Montpensier, transported with rage against Henry III., wore a pair of golden

scissors in her girdle, destined, as she said, to make the monkish crown for the new Chilperic. These rash speeches were reported to the king, who, without consulting his mother, formed a violent but decisive resolution. He communicated with his enemy, and whilst sharing with him the host at the holy table, swore to him in public friendship for the future and oblivion for the past : he had at that moment secretly resolved his death. Henry stood in need of a murderer : he cast his eyes upon the forty-five gentlemen of his guard, and sounded the brave Crillon, their leader. This noble soldier refused characteristically ; he offered to challenge the duke of Guise to single combat ; he would strike him, at the peril of his life, but not as an assassin. Henry commanded secrecy. Loignac offered himself : the king depended upon his hand. The hour and the day were fixed, but secret rumours circulated ; the partisans of Guise were alarmed at the menacing intelligence that reached them from all parts. One day he found a note under his plate, which informed him of the designs of the king. Without troubling himself, he wrote underneath : *He would not dare*, and threw the note under the table. The next day, the 23rd of December, he appeared at the council ; the door was closed, the guard took their arms, and an officer informed him that the king wished to see him in his apartment. He directed his steps towards the king's closet ; he had scarcely entered, when Montlhery, one of the forty-five, plunged his poniard into his breast, crying : "Traitor, thou shalt die for it." Others threw themselves upon him and struck him : Loignac plunged his sword into his reins. Finding himself wounded behind, the duke cried out : "*Miséricorde !*" "and well he might," says the historian of the times, his sword entangled in his mantle, and his legs confined, he nevertheless continued to drag his assassins from one end of the chamber to the other. He staggered along, with his arms extended, his eyes sightless, his mouth open, as if already dead. He sunk upon the bed of the king. The Cardinal de Guise, seated at the council-table with the archbishop of Lyons, heard his brother crying out upon God for mercy : "Ah !" he exclaimed, "they are killing my brother !" And as he rose in great trepidation, Marshal D'Aumont, with his hand upon his sword, said to him, "Do not stir, sir, the king has business with you too." The cardinal and the archbishop were immediately transferred to the tower of Moulins.

After the event Henry came out of his closet to survey

the body of his victim. He trampled it under his feet, as Guise had trampled upon the body of Coligny. He contemplated it for a moment, and said : "My God ! how large he is ! he appears larger dead than living !" L'Etoile reports that he pushed the body with his foot a second time, and said to Loignac : "Does he appear to you to be dead, Loignac ?" The latter, taking the body by the head, replied to Henry of Valois : "I believe he is, sire." "And," continues the chronicler, "I think that if M. de Guise had only breathed once when he was kicked, the king would have fallen down with fright by the side of him." All the relations and friends of De Guise that could be found were arrested, and on the following day, the cardinal, his brother, was assassinated in the tower of Moulins. Seeing his murderers enter, he threw himself upon his knees, covered his head, and said : "Perform your office." He was despatched with halberts.

Such was the bloody catastrophe of the States of Blois. Catherine de Medici only survived the Lorraine princes a few days. Faithful to her custom of seeking strength where she thought it was to be found, she had never completely broken with them, and, perhaps, had betrayed her son more than once for the sake of securing to herself the homage and support of the Guises. Their death greatly disturbed her mind ; on learning it, she said to the king : "It is well cut out, my son, but it will require stitching." Henry profited ill by this advice ; he remained undecided, he did not march upon Paris, where the storm was brewing, and again swore, in the States, to the edict of union, before he dissolved them. He allowed several prisoners of great importance to escape. His two most redoubtable enemies, the dukes of Mayenne and Aumale, brothers of the assassinated Guises, were free, although they had been closely pursued, and they hastened to endeavour to rouse the people and the army.

The rage of the Parisians stood in no need of being excited : the news of the sinister event of Blois provoked the explosion of their hatred and their fury. Fanatical preachers, at the head of whom was the curé Lincestre, thundered in the pulpits against the assassin, and pronounced anathemas upon his head ; children, women, half-naked men, went in procession with wax-lights in their hands to the cemetery of the Innocents. When there they extinguished their lights, and were heard to exclaim : "Thus be extinguished the detestable race of the Valois !"

The duke de Mayenne was proclaimed lieutenant-general of the kingdom ; the powers of the Sixteen were confirmed ; the furious Bussy le Clerc, governor of the Bastille, confined in that prison most of the members of parliament who were enemies to these disorders, and a new parliament was instituted : from that time all hopes of conciliation with the party of the Guises were at an end for Henry III.

Pope Sixtus V. redoubled the audacity of the enemies of the monarch, by refusing to give him absolution for the murder of the cardinal, and excommunicated him by the famous bull *In Cœna Domini*. Upon the point of being invested by Mayenne in the city of Tours, Henry had only one resource left, and he seized it, by uniting himself with Henry of Navarre, whom he had so recently disinherited. "Against the thunders of Rome," said the king of Navarre to him, "there is no other remedy but to conquer ; you need not doubt that you would then incontinently be absolved ; but if you are conquered, you will remain excommunicated, admonished, ay, reprimanded more strongly than ever." The interview of the two monarchs took place in the castle of Plessis-lez-Tours : the frankness and loyalty of the king of Navarre soon gained the confidence of Henry III. and touched his heart. After a glorious success at La Noue at Senlis, the united monarchs marched upon Paris. Bourbon established his camp at Meudon, and Henry pitched his tents upon the heights of St. Cloud, from which spot, whilst contemplating his capital, he exhaled his anger in these words : "Paris, thou head of the kingdom ! but a head too large and too capricious, thou requirest bleeding, as does all France, to cure thee of the frenzy which thou communicatest to it." Time and strength were wanting to allow him to execute his threat. The monks, the Jesuits, and the curés preached regicide loudly in all the pulpits of Paris. A miserable enthusiast, named Jacques Clément, rendered fanatically mad by them, and likewise by the duchess de Montpensier, who, in her delirious hatred, drew from him a promise of murder, took an oath to assassinate the king. This wretch repaired on the 1st of August to the camp of Henry III. and requested to speak to him. When admitted into the tent, he fell on his knees, presenting a petition to the monarch, and, at the same time, plunged a knife into his bowels. The king drew the weapon from the wound, and with it struck the assassin on the forehead, who was immediately massacred by the guards.

When informed of the event, Henry of Navarre hastened to him from his quarters at Meudon. The king's recovery was not despaired of, and Bourbon left him after a friendly interview. The physicians, however, soon declared the wound mortal, and Henry III. prepared for death; he received absolution, and ordered all the doors to be thrown open, and the nobility to be introduced. He exhorted his officers to recognise as his successor the king of Navarre, the legitimate heir to the throne, without heeding the difference of his religion, and then expired at the age of thirty-eight, after a reign of fifteen years. Henry de Bourbon returned with all possible speed, to receive the adieux of the dying king, but it was already too late. As he entered St. Cloud, with twenty-five gentlemen, among whom were Rosni, D'Aubigné, and La Force, they heard this cry in the streets: "We are lost, the king is dead!" They advanced and met the Scotch guard, who fell at the feet of Henry of Navarre, saying: "Sire, you are now our master." Biron, Bellegarde, Dampierre, and several others, immediately came to salute him as Henry IV.; but when removed to scarcely ten paces from him, they whispered to each other: "Better surrender to all sorts of enemies than endure a Huguenot king."* This expression explains all the difficulties of the new reign.

Thus in the person of Henry III. the branch of the Valois became extinct; it had reigned two hundred and sixty-one years, and had given thirteen kings to France.

CHAPTER III.

From the death of Henry III. to the peace of Vervins and the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes. 1589—1598.

THIS history must have too often saddened the reader by depicting the fate of a people abandoned to weak, unskilful, or sanguinary hands. These painful emotions are about to be, for a time, suspended, and give place to admiration and love for a king the most truly French that ever occupied the throne. Henry IV. prepared himself to reign; he was worthy of his high mission: it was to him Providence reserved the double task of restoring peace to his country and curing its deep wounds.

This prince had been brought up by his pious and noble mother, Jeanne d'Albret, in the fear of God, and in principles

* Sully, *Economies royales*.—D'Aubigné, book ii.

of virtue. Snatched away when quite young by her from the corruption of the court of Charles IX., he passed his tender years in the mountains of Béarn, surrounded by companions of his own age. He became acquainted with men by living from his childhood among them ; it was thus he learnt to love them and to have consideration for them. Passing through the ordeal of adversity at an early period of his life, he knew how to endure it with courage and conquer it by perseverance. No prince was ever in a more difficult position than his was after the death of Henry of Valois. He had arrayed against him the League, the anathemas of the pope, the gold of Philip of Spain, and the half of his own army. Scarcely had his predecessor yielded his last breath, than he was subjected to a very hard trial. The Catholic leaders held a council, and declared to the king, by the mouth of D'O, superintendent of the finances, that the moment was come to choose between the paltry state of a king of Navarre and the lofty position of a king of France ; but that if he wished to reign over the kingdom, he must become a Catholic. The king changed countenance at these words, but quickly recovering himself, he energetically uttered this noble answer : " Among the astonishments to which the will of God has subjected us during the last twenty-four hours, I receive one from you, gentlemen, that I did not at all expect. Are your tears already exhausted ? The memory of your loss and the prayers of your king, are they in the space of three short hours entirely dispersed, together with the respect that is due to a dying soul ? It is not possible that all you who are here should agree in all the points I have just heard. From whom can you expect such a change in his belief but from one who had none at all ? Would you wish for a king without a God ? could you place any reliance in the faith of an atheist ? in the day of battle could you fight with confidence under the banner of a perjurer and an apostate ? Yes, the king of Navarre, as you say, has undergone great miseries, and has not been subdued by them : is he likely to abandon all spirit and quail at entering his royal mission ? Those who cannot deliberate more wisely, those whom their fears and the short prosperity of the enemies of the state alienate from us, we freely permit to depart and seek elsewhere wages under insolent masters. I shall still have with me, even among the Catholics, all who love France and honour." Notwithstanding this noble reply, eight hundred gentlemen and nine regi-

ments quitted his standard. A small number of devoted friends, with the Swiss and some companies of cavalry, formed the permanent foundation of his forces : his adherents came by turns to range themselves under his banners, and, for want of pay, returned home after a sojourn of a few months : he was compelled to march from city to city, and to fight and negotiate without cessation.

When the news was spread that Henry III. had been assassinated, fanaticism and frenzy were carried to the highest excess in Paris. The duchess of Montpensier threw her arms round the neck of the man who first brought her the intelligence ; then getting into her carriage with Anne d'Est, her mother, she promenaded the streets, crying, "*Good news ! Good news !*" and used every means to excite the people to revolt. Bonfires were lighted, and preachers loudly proclaimed the merits of Jacques Clement, whom they styled a martyr. Crowds flocked to see his mother, a poor villager, who had been sent for, and exalted into an idol by the duchess of Montpensier. The portrait of the regicide was placed over the altars. The people, on their knees before it, cried, "*Saint Jacques Clement, pray for us !*" And then, the haranguers of the Sixteen, borrowing the language of Scripture, exclaimed, "*Blessed the bosom which bore thee, blessed the breasts which nourished thee !*" Now they heaped insults upon the memory of Valois, and next broke into furious invectives against Bourbon, reminding their hearers of the edict of union, the bull of the pope, and the decree of the Sorbonne, which declared him incapable of mounting the throne. They looked about for a leader, and fixed upon Mayenne, the brother of Henry de Guise, the only member of the family competent to the direction of affairs. Mayenne assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and caused the old cardinal de Bourbon, whom Henry IV. held prisoner at Tours, to be proclaimed king under the title of Charles X. ; he marched out of Paris at the head of twenty-five thousand men, publishing that *he was going to take the Béarnais*. He, with all his forces, came up, near Dieppe, with the feeble army of the king, consisting at most of seven thousand soldiers. Henry sustained several attacks in his camp, and gained a signal advantage in a sanguinary battle fought near the village of Arques. Three colours, however, fell into the hands of Mayenne, who hastened to send them to Paris, as the proofs of a victory, announcing that he should soon bring Henry into the capital

in bonds (*lié et garrotté*). The intoxication of the Parisians had not subsided, when Henry IV., strengthened by five thousand English and a numerous nobility, appeared before Paris, attacked the suburbs, and obtained possession of them, driving the Parisians back into the interior of the city.

The king was forced to allow the plunder of the suburbs, in order that the booty might serve as pay for his soldiers ; but he forbade murder, fire, or extreme license, and preserved the churches and monasteries. He offered battle to the duke de Mayenne in vain, and quitted Paris to subdue lower Normandy, of which he made himself master. At this period, the ambassador of Venice presented his letters of credit to him : this republic was the first Catholic power which recognised him as king of France. Discord prevailed in Paris ; some wished to crown Mayenne, others declared for the old cardinal de Bourbon, a prisoner to his nephew, Henry IV. ;—the gold of Philip II. corrupted both the *Sixteen* and the population. This king claimed the throne for his daughter Isabella Clara Eugenia, a niece of Henry III., by his mother Elizabeth. Pope Sixtus V., struck with the madness of the leaguers and the great character of Henry of Navarre, sent a legate named Caëtan, into France, with orders not to pronounce for either one party or the other without perfect conviction. Caëtan, neglecting his instructions, quickly embraced the party of the League : pursued by Henry IV., he gained Paris as a fugitive, and was received as a martyr. The Sorbonne fulminated against the Béarnais, declaring all who should think of adopting him as king in a state of mortal sin and excommunicated, even if he should become a Catholic. The Parliament of Paris, presided over by Brisson, ordered Charles X. to be recognised : the Parliament sitting at Tours, and presided over by Achille de Harlai, recently escaped from the Bastille, annulled the decrees of that of Paris, and proclaimed Henry IV. The faction of the *Sixteen* added greatly to so many causes of disorder, and carried trouble to such an excess, that Mayenne broke up and then removed this council, whose replaced members continued to form a redoubtable cabal.

Henry IV. drew nearer to the capital, and Mayenne endeavoured to close the road against him. The two armies met near Dreux, in the plains of Ivry. On the very next morning, at break of day, dispositions were taken for battle : Henry took none for retreat. "No other retreat," said he, "but the field of battle." On both sides, the armies went to

prayers. Henry, advancing before him, on horseback, completely armed, but bareheaded, exclaimed, "Lord ! you know my thoughts ; if it be advantageous for my people that I should reign, favour my cause and protect my arms !" Then, after the acclamations excited by these words had ceased : " My children," said he to the soldiers, " if standards should fail you, follow my white plume, you will always find it in the road to honour." He commanded the charge, and the army of Mayenne, although very superior in numbers, was almost destroyed.* The conqueror marched immediately upon Paris, and blockaded the city. At this period died the old cardinal de Bourbon, the rival and prisoner of Henry IV., whose rights, however, he recognised ; but Henry knew his weakness, and dreaded lest he should serve as an instrument to the leaguers if he fell into their hands.

The blockade of the capital brought famine and mortality within its walls ; every day produced fresh horrors. The people, destitute of bread, sought food in vile and impure objects, and even in the cemeteries : a mother was seen to roast and eat her dead child, and die after this execrable repast. The heart of Henry IV. suffered greatly at the extremity to which these unhappy people had reduced themselves : he often allowed provisions to be conveyed to the besieged. Two peasants were surprised driving a cart-load of loaves towards a postern ; they were about to be hung, when Henry came up : they threw themselves at his feet, alleging their misery as their excuse. " Go in peace ! Go in peace !" said he to them, giving them the money he had about him ; " the Béarnais is poor ; if he had more he would give it to you." During the siege, the monks, to reanimate

* After the battle of Ivry, Henry IV. meeting near the bloody field with the illustrious and faithful Rosni covered with wounds, he addressed to him these words, in which is painted to the life his good and generous heart :—" Brave soldier and valiant knight, your actions, signalized on such an important occasion, have surpassed my expectations, and therefore, in presence of these princes and captains who surround me, I will embrace you with both my arms, and declare to you, in their sight, true and brave knight, not so much with the accolade, such as I give you now, nor of the Holy Ghost, nor of St. Michael, but with my entire and sincere affection, which, joined to the long years of your faithful services, forces me to promise you, as I do to the virtues of all those brave and valiant men that listen to me, that never will I enjoy good fortune, or increase of greatness, without your participating in it ; and, fearing that speaking too much may be prejudicial to your wounds, I will return to Nantes ; and, therefore, adieu, my friend ! take care of yourself, recover as quickly as possible, and be assured that you have a good and an affectionate master."—*Mémoires de Sully*.

the courage of the besieged, made processions, carrying an arquebuse in one hand and a crucifix in the other, mingling discharges of musketry with the singing of sacred hymns. At length conferences were opened at the abbey of St. Antoine des Champs, between Henry and several deputies of the League. Gondi, bishop of Paris, came thither with the design of conciliating the parties, but he had no power to treat, and these conferences proved useless. Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, celebrated by his exploits in Flanders and by the taking of Antwerp, advanced towards Paris in conjunction with Mayenne, and penetrated as far as Meaux. He constrained the king to raise the blockade, forced his lines at Lagny, and revictualled the capital. Unable to come to an understanding with the Sixteen, and faithful to the instructions of Philip II., whose desire was that the French should continue to slaughter one another, Farnese returned into Artois, harassed in his retreat by the royal army. English and Spanish troops remained in the kingdom in nearly equal numbers.

Henry returned to establish his quarters at St. Denis, and failed in a new attempt to surprise the capital. The stratagem he employed gave the name of the *Journée des Farines* to this fruitless enterprise. Discord reigned in Paris. Mayenne acted on one side for the interests of his house ; on the other, the Sixteen and the populace acted for Spain ; in whose pay they were ; a new leader divided the suffrages of the Leaguers : the young duke de Guise, son of Le Balafré, recently escaped from his imprisonment, was received at Paris with transport, and by a numerous party opposed to Mayenne ; he, however, played no conspicuous part. The new pope, Gregory XIV., ardent in his support of the League, sent him a reinforcement of soldiers, who only signalized themselves by horrible brigandages. The most fanatical leaders were once more masters of Paris, in spite of the purification made by Mayenne of the council of Sixteen ; this council, modified and rendered more numerous, styled themselves the great council of the Union ; a committee of ten members, elected by the whole, directed affairs : these ten were chosen from amongst the most violent and the most enthusiastic. The curés and preachers urged on party fury to absolute madness ; they excited the people to massacre, and pointed out from the pulpits men suspected of moderation as wretches unworthy of pity. The president Brisson, and the counsellors Jean Tardif and Claude Larcher, wished to oppose such frightful excesses, and

were in consequence marked out as fit objects for assassination ; the committee of the Ten commanded their arrest, and Bussy le Clerc executed it: the three magistrates were taken and hanged at the gates of the very palace in which they had been accustomed to administer justice. Thus perished the head of the Parliament of the League, the famous president that had pronounced the deposition of Henry III., but whose violent acts were quite effaced by the new violences of his party. His death was the signal for cruel persecutions, power passed from the citizens to the populace, the magistracy and the army were searched narrowly into by the council of Ten, and all moderate men trembled for their lives. Warned by them, Mayenne hastened from Soissons, pointed his cannon against the Bastille, of which Bussy le Clerc was governor, obtained possession of that place, seized four of the most culpable agitators in their beds, and ordered them to be hanged immediately. Bussy le Clerc made his escape, abandoning the treasure that was the fruit of his extortions ; Mayenne re-established in their places the magistrates and officers turned out by the Sixteen, the citizens regained their ascendancy, and the Parliament acquired an influence in the League that it had never before obtained.

The war was carried on with the most violent animosity, and the duke of Parma re-entered France by well-directed marches. Henry exposed himself rashly in the fight of Aumale, and was wounded ; Farnese nearly gained possession of his person, and obliged him to raise the siege of Rouen. A misunderstanding between Mayenne and the duke weakened their efforts, and gave the royal army time to breathe. Although very inferior in strength, Henry carried on the war with advantage, displaying wonderful activity and the resources of a fertile and indefatigable genius, escaping the enemy when they deemed him almost in their hands, and falling unexpectedly upon them, when they thought him at a distance. It was thus, by a series of prudent yet bold manœuvres, he inclosed Farnese, near Dieppe, between the sea, the Seine, and the three bodies of his army. The duke of Parma, suffering seriously from fever, roused, in such circumstances, his nearly expiring genius ; he caused a bridge to be constructed, unobserved by the king, in one night, deceived his vigilance, passed the Seine, and covered his retreat. The Marshal de Biron, killed in the course of the same campaign, was suspected of having favoured this bold undertaking : his son begged him to let him have two

thousand horse, with which he felt assured he could cut the rear-guard of the Spaniards to pieces. The marshal refused, and it is asserted that he afterwards said to him : " If I had done so, the war would have been at an end, and thou and I would have had nothing to do but to go and plant cabbages at Biron." This speech reveals the numberless obstacles which surrounded Henry IV., and the causes of the prolongation of the war. A crowd of gentlemen promoted it for their own advantage, and the great nobles by it kept up the hope of restoring, to their own exaltation, the edifice of feudalism : they flattered themselves they should be able to retain their governments by title of sovereignty : thus the duke de Mercœur hoped to be acknowledged duke of Brittany, and the dukes of Nemours, Guise, Joyeuse, and Aumale dreamt of sharing among them the other provinces of the kingdom.

Henry drew near to Paris, where the States-General, convoked by Mayenne, at the desire of Philip II., were assembled for the purpose of electing a king. He received instructions in the principles of the Catholic religion, and Mayenne, amidst the factions which divided the States, remained undecided whether it would be better to proclaim Henry IV., if he abjured, or to remain faithful to his engagements with Spain. The duke de Faria and the jurisconsult Mendoza boldly maintained, in the meetings of the States, the interests of Philip II. This monarch pretended, in accordance with the cardinal de Plaisance, legate of the pope Clement VIII., that Henry, as infected with heresy, ought to be excluded from the throne, even although he should abjure that heresy, and that, by the fact of this exclusion, the Salic law would be abolished in France. He demanded then that his daughter Isabella, niece of the three last kings, should be proclaimed queen : but Farnese was recently dead, and no Spanish army supported the pretensions of Philip : Mayenne opposed them. The Catholic nobles of the royal army had been invited by him to the meeting of the States. Conferences were opened at *Surène*, and afterwards in the faubourg of *La Valette*, between them and several deputies. Henry declared to these latter that he was disposed to abjure. This news was alarming to the ambitious, and raised a perfect tempest in the States-General. The Spaniards immediately gave out, in the name of their master, that if the infanta were proclaimed queen, Philip would select a French noble for her husband : by naming no

one in particular, they flattered the ambitious hopes of several ; Charles of Savoy, the duke de Nemours, uterine brother of Mayenne, and the duke de Guise allowed themselves to be caught by this brilliant bait, and the States hesitated. The greatness and power of the kingdom would have been at an end if Spain had brought about the coronation of the infanta : Philip consented to everything in order to secure the sceptre, and France, which it was his interest to weaken, would have been dismembered and divided among the most powerful nobles. At this moment, the most critical of all for Henry IV., he obtained aid from a quarter upon which he had not reckoned. The Parliament, mutilated by the Sixteen and intimidated by the punishment of several of its members, issued nothing but servile decrees, imprinted with fanaticism, and dictated by a furious populace, kept in a state of agitation by the commanders of the Spanish garrison. All at once this Parliament shook off its stupor, and displayed a noble energy. In accordance with the opinions of Edward Molé, procureur-général, the Parliament ordered its president, John Lemâitre, to go to the lieutenant-general, to urge him to be careful that, under pretext of religion, no foreign house should be placed upon the throne, declaring all treaties made for such a purpose null, and contrary both to the Salic law and the constitution of the kingdom. This declaration surprised and irritated Mayenne ; but John Lemâitre maintained the decree before him with much courage. The Spanish faction did not, however, give up all hope, and to secure the support of the lieutenant-general and his powerful family, they offered the hand of the infanta to the young duke de Guise, in the event of her being acknowledged queen : Mayenne, however, supported the proposition of Spain and the pretensions of his nephew very indifferently : he himself aspired to the throne, and deferred the election.

The Parisians began to be tired of so many contests, intrigues, and sufferings. They read with avidity a book in which the follies and selfishness of the leaders of the League were laid bare and held up to ridicule. This book, entitled *The Catholicism of Spain ; or, the Menippean Satire*, inflicted a mortal blow upon the leaguers of the Spanish faction. Mayenne persisted in retaining power, and although undecided what party to take, he united his efforts with those of the legate to prevent the abjuration of the king, declaring that his conversion would not open for him the road to the

throne. A truce had been proposed by Henry, which fixed the day of his abjuration for the 25th of July. Mayenne forbade the Parisians to be witnesses of it, and caused the gates to be closed. They however disregarded his prohibition, and were present in crowds at the ceremony. Henry made his abjuration at St. Denis, between the hands of the archbishop of Bourges : he promised to live and die in the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church, and to defend it towards and against all ; he repeated his profession of faith at the foot of the great altar, and then began to sing the *Te Deum*, which the people interrupted by cries of *Vive le Roi !*

The conversion of Henry IV. confounded all those in Paris who only lived by trouble, and whose audacity constituted their only strength ; they abandoned themselves to the greatest excesses on learning his abjuration. The curé Jean Boucher preached during nine consecutive days in the church of St. Merry, seeking to persuade the Parisians that this act was the work of the demon ; but the people began to be desirous of repose, and they proved insensible to these fanatical declamations, the last convulsions of an expiring faction. A truce of three months proposed by Henry, was accepted by all parties. The duke de Mayenne ordered the oath of union to be repeated in the States, and prorogued them to September. Determined by personal motives to prolong the war, he had alienated the Parliament and the people, and was forced to seek support in the Spaniards and the faction of the Sixteen. He quitted Paris the year following to receive new troops upon the frontiers of Champagne, whilst Henry IV. was waiting at St. Denis for the opening of the gates of the capital : his desire was soon gratified. Charles de Cossé, count de Brissac, son of the marshal of that name, and one of the authors of the famous barricades under Henry III., had been named by Mayenne governor of the city : he negotiated in secret with the king, deceived the League by false appearances of zeal, came to an understanding with the *prévôt des marchands*, and in the night of the 22nd of March he surrendered the city to the royal troops. The soldiers entered in silence, marched through the streets in battle-array, and took possession of the squares, places, and great thoroughfares. One corps of Spanish guards alone resisted, and they were put to the sword. Surprise and terror restrained the factions. Henry at length presented himself : the *prévôt des marchands* and

the count de Brissac offered him the keys of the city ; he advanced at the head of a large troop of the nobility with lances lowered : his march was a triumph, and from that day he considered himself among the Parisians as in the midst of his children. "Let them alone !" cried he, to those who wished to drive back the crowd ; "let them alone, they are greedy to see a king." His clemency was extended to all his enemies, and he permitted the legate to take away under his safeguard the Père Varade, rector of the Jesuits, and the curé Aubry, whose fanatical exhortations had uselessly urged on to regicide a wild enthusiast named Barrière. The Spanish garrison quitted Paris the same day, with the honours of war ; the duke de Faria and the other ministers of Philip departing with them. The king placed himself at a window to see them pass, and when they were at a distance, he laughingly cried to them : "Make my compliments to your master, gentlemen, but don't come back any more." He received the Bastille by capitulation, welcomed the repentant and submissive Sorbonne kindly, and joined to the Parliament of Paris the magistrates of the parliaments he had established at Châlons and at Tours.

The situation of the king, however, between the Catholics and the Protestants, became extremely difficult. The one had beheld his conversion with mistrust, and accused him of hypocrisy ; he could only hope to win them by lavishing upon them numerous favours : the other party, irritated by his abjuration, saw with impatience the Catholics loaded with honours and bounties, which they thought themselves entitled to, and accused the king of ingratitude. Paris was then far from having the importance it now possesses : the war, in spite of the submission of the capital, was continued at all points of the kingdom, and it was Henry's greatest interest to keep the various parties in union and obedience. Nevertheless, Amiens, Beauvais, Cambrai, and Château-Thierry surrendered successively, after the taking of Laon. Montmorency, D'Épernon, the duke de Guise, La Châtre, and Bois-Dauphin submitted soon after, but they fixed an enormous price upon their submission ; the king was compelled to place in their hands immense sums of money, and an authority which rendered them almost sovereigns in their governments, and which afterwards gave birth to great troubles. La Châtre and Bois-Dauphin preserved the title of marshal of France, which they held from Mayenne : Montmorency was named constable.

About the same time, a fresh attempt placed the life of the monarch in peril : Jean Châtel, a pupil of the Jesuits, addicted to depraved habits, fancied he should redeem himself from the perils of hell by assassinating Henry. On the 27th of December, the king pardoned two gentlemen, ancient members of the League : they were kneeling at his feet, and the king stooped to raise them, when he felt himself wounded in the mouth by a blow given with a knife. The bloody weapon was seized upon the person of Jean Châtel : his confession inculpated the Jesuits, his masters, and he displayed a fanaticism which did not fail him among the frightful agonies of the tortures inflicted upon regicides. Le Père Guignard, a Jesuit, was hanged ; the Parliament pursued the whole order, and condemned all its members to exile. They quitted the kingdom, but with the hope of a speedy return. Philip II. would then have consented to make peace, if Henry would have allowed him to hold some possessions in France : the French nobles of his party were equally disposed to submit, upon condition of keeping the provinces of which they were masters, and paying homage to the crown. The king energetically rejected all these pretensions, and to deprive the supporters of Spain of all pretext or excuse, he declared war against Philip, whose most powerful partisans were the duke de Mercœur in Brittany, Aumale in Picardy, and Mayenne in Burgundy : this last, formerly head of the League, and aspiring to the crown, had become the tool of Spain ; he accompanied Velasco, constable of Castille, when the king advanced rapidly to meet him near Dijon.

The glorious battle of Fontaine Française, in which Henry, with only three hundred horse, maintained his ground against two thousand, and exposed his life to save that of Biron, confounded the hopes of Mayenne, who declared himself ready to acknowledge Henry IV. as soon as that prince should have received absolution from the pope. A negotiation upon this subject was already commenced. Clement VIII. seized this opportunity for re-establishing the authority of the Church above that of kings. By the advice of the Jesuit Toredó, who was already soliciting the recall of his order into France, he showed himself favourable to the king ; but he made him pay dearly for his absolution. A vast scaffolding was erected in the Basilic of St. Peter's ; and there, beneath a magnificent tent, in the sight of an immense number of people, Clement VIII. struck with his wand, in sign of chastisement, the abbés Duperron and D'Ossat, representatives of the king ;

he declared any absolution given to Henry by a French prelate null, he gave it afresh, and proclaimed him king of France and Navarre.

This solemn act took away all pretence for war, and destroyed the hopes of the Leaguers. Mayenne obtained from the king that the members of his family should be declared free from all complicity with the murderer of Henry III.: he fixed this price upon his submission. The edict was promulgated; Mayenne immediately acknowledged Henry IV., and from that time served him faithfully. The king, in all haste, gathered together the whole of his forces, in order to meet the Spaniards, who had obtained possession of Calais and several other places. The royal army was weakened by the defection of a great number of Calvinists, disgusted with the humiliation imposed upon the king by the pope; La Tremouille, Bouillon, and Rohan kept up these murmurs. In these circumstances, Henry convoked an assembly of the notables at Rouen. "I have not called you together," said he, "as my predecessors did, merely to make you approve of my will. I have assembled you to receive your counsels, to put faith in them, to follow them; in short, to place myself in guardianship in your hands: a disposition seldom shown by grey-bearded and victorious kings; but the ardent love I bear my subjects makes me find everything easy and honourable." The acts of this assembly replied but ill to these noble expressions. Nothing was regulated respecting the finances, no provisions were made for the war, and Henry himself appeared to forget his duties in the society of the beautiful Gabrielle d'Estrées, whom he publicly acknowledged as his mistress, and whose children he brought up with a magnificence perfectly royal. The Spaniards roused him from these disgraceful pleasures by taking Amiens. Henry being without money, was forced to make an appeal to his people. The faithful Rosni, duke of Sully, assisted in obtaining a few millions and in getting together an army. Amiens was retaken the following year; the duke de Mercœur then treated with the king, and Brittany laid down its arms. These successes paved the way for a general peace. Philip II., a prey to a frightful disease,—that of Sylla, began to be disgusted with human blood; in 1598, six months before his death, he signed the peace of Vervins, giving up to the king of France all the places occupied by his troops, with the exception of Cambrai.

Henry, delivered from the cares of foreign war, issued, the

same year, the celebrated edict of Nantes, which determined the rights of the Protestants in France. This edict, drawn up by Jeannin, Schomberg, Colignon, and the historian Jacques Auguste de Thou, allowed the Protestants the exercise of their worship ; it left open to them admission to all employments ; established, in every parliament, a chamber composed of magistrates of each religion ; tolerated the general assemblies of the Reformers ; authorized them to raise taxes among themselves for the benefit of their church ; it provided for their ministers, and granted them fortified places of safety, the principal of which was Rochelle. The Protestants were bound to the payment of the tenths and to the observance of the festivals and holydays of the Catholic Church. The edict of Nantes, registered by the parliaments after long and earnest resistance, put an end to the disastrous wars which for thirty-six years had desolated the kingdom.,

From that time Henry IV. laid aside the part of a warrior to assume that of a pacificator. The twelve last years of his life belong to another series of events,—to that which, re-establishing calm in the interior of the kingdom, strengthened royal authority and gave it a vigorous impulse, which permitted it to increase in despotism up to the great epoch of the French revolution : this event may itself be, in part, considered as a distant consequence of the principles promulgated by Luther.

A detailed examination of the immense results of the Reformation does not enter into the plan of this work ; it will suffice to say that this memorable event, in spite of the bloody wars which were among the number of its immediate consequences, communicated a great movement to the human mind : it assisted, almost everywhere, in separating the Church from the State, and spiritual power from temporal power ; it broke the yoke of the scholastic spirit, and replaced it by the critical and philosophical spirit, whose influence ended by endowing nations with civil liberty, and prepared their political emancipation. It was not possible for this revolution, provoked by the abuses of the Church, undertaken by Luther and some other ardent spirits, and afterwards continued by the efforts of human reason and the unbridled violences of all the human passions, to be accomplished without long divisions and frightful convulsions. The principles of the Reformers were but imperfectly naturalized among the French ; nevertheless they deposited in their soil a germ which bore fruit at a later period, by favour of the freedom

of inquiry, assured for a long time to France by the *edict of Nantes*.

The interior convulsions to which this country was a prey during so many years, deprived it of its political ascendancy in the equilibrium of Europe, and Philip II. for a long time entertained the hope of making France one of the provinces of his immense monarchy. Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, had perished with the flower of his nobility upon the coast of Africa, and his great-uncle, who succeeded him, had died, as he had done, without children. Philip resolved to take advantage of these circumstances; he got possession of Portugal, and added it to the vast states he had inherited from Charles V. in the old and new world. Spain then attained the apogee of her power: her redoubtable armies, her able generals, and the inexhaustible treasures of America, appeared to prepare for Philip the way to universal monarchy; but the part which France could no longer sustain against her, England and young Holland took up and maintained between them. The first of these two nations laid in this century, under the reign of Elizabeth, the foundations of its maritime power and of its future greatness; its fleets, aided by tempests, in 1588 destroyed, or dispersed upon the shores of the Channel, the redoubtable Armada or invincible fleet of Philip II.; eight years after, the earl of Essex planted the English standard upon the walls of Cadiz. The second people who held Spain in check, the Dutch, inscribed their name for the first time, in this inveterate struggle, among those of the nations of Europe: strong in their love of independence, in their religious faith, and their geographical position, they separated themselves violently from Belgium, and, protected by the genius of William, prince of Orange, and of his son Maurice, a greater captain, but not so great a citizen, they formed the republic of Holland, or the United Provinces, and withstood, without flinching, all the efforts of the Spanish power.

At the end of the sixteenth century, Protestantism and Romanism—the principle of free inquiry and the dogmas of authority in matters of faith—divided Europe into nearly equal halves. Most of the northern states—England, Scotland, Holland, Sweden, and Germany—had adopted the principles of the Reformation: the southern states—Austria, Italy, France, and Spain—remained faithful to Catholicism. The wars of religion added greatly to the military strength of Christian Europe: each man became a soldier in defence

of his creed, and from that period dates the decline of the Ottoman power : it never recovered from the mortal blow inflicted upon Islamism, in 1571, by the battle of Lepanto.

Great discoveries marked the course of the sixteenth century. The most illustrious is that of the true system of the world, made by Copernicus in 1543. It was followed by the reformation of the calendar, effected by the means of Pope Gregory XIII. : the first of January, from that time, became the first day of the year, which had previously begun at Easter, and the reformed calendar was designated the Gregorian calendar.

Among the inventions most useful to science, which do honour to this century, we must not forget telescopes, the thermometer, and the balance-pendulum. .

Letters, sciences, and arts, cast but little splendour in France during the long troubles of the religious wars. Nevertheless, the *Menippean Satire* was written during the League, which it attacked in a manner as biting as it was ingenious. Ronsard and some other poets obtained a reputation which has not been sustained ; Bishop Amyot, preceptor to the children of Henry II., rendered himself illustrious by the translation of the works of Plutarch, and Garnier founded the art of tragedy in France. A literary phenomenon likewise appeared in France towards the end of this bloody period—the *Philosophical Essays* of the immortal Michael Montaigne.

BOOK THE THIRD.

FROM THE PEACE OF VERVINS TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS XIII.

Re-establishment of order in the kingdom.—Destruction of the political power of the Protestants.—France regains her position among the European powers.

1598—1643.

CHAPTER I.

From the peace of Vervins to the death of Henry IV. 1598—1610.

HENRY IV. was the only prince able to make a legal claim to the throne upon the death of Henry of Valois ; a part of France recognised him as king immediately after that event, but his reign only in reality began from the epoch of his abjuration and the submission of the League.

The treaty of Vervins had assured peace with the foreigner ; interior tranquillity was established by the edict of Nantes : it became necessary, whilst healing the deep wounds of the kingdom, to recreate its wealth, to restore its strength, and to regain its position in Europe. Henry IV. performed this noble task worthily, and in twelve years elevated France to the highest degree of power it had ever attained : an eternal subject of surprise and admiration for those who are ignorant of the immense resources its soil possesses, and which only require a skilful hand to render them productive and abundant.

Two causes of agitation and disorder, however, threatened to check this reviving prosperity in its course ; one was the dissatisfaction of a great number of Catholic and Protestant nobles, ancient enemies of the king, or companions of his labours, most of them affected by the economical and severe measures of the monarch, and suffering from the diminution which the peace had brought about either in their fortunes or their political importance. They all cherished a dangerous remembrance of the feudal times, without renouncing the hope of dividing France among them. Henry contended against them with energy, and neglected no means of

ruining or weakening their pretensions. The second subject of disorder in the state arose from the weakness of the monarch. Often during the war, his affairs of gallantry and the attractions of pleasure had deprived him of the advantages won by his valour ; the same faults afterwards disturbed the peace of his reign ; they offered discontented nobles a pretext for revolt, and embittered the course of his latter years. The marriage of this prince with Marguerite of Valois proved sterile. Marguerite taking no pains to conceal the scandals of her conduct, lived separate from her husband, and the austere Rosni, duke of Sully, the confidant and prime minister of the king, would for a long time have pressed her divorce, if he had not dreaded the attachment of the king for Gabrielle d'Estrées, duchess of Beaufort.

Henry had already permitted the children, the fruits of their intercourse, to be baptized with royal pomp, and he more than once manifested a desire to raise their mother to the throne. Gabrielle died suddenly in 1599, and from that time the king's ministers employed themselves actively with the rupture of his marriage, which was pronounced the year following by the court of Rome. During these negotiations the king commenced a new intrigue with Henriette d'Entragues, who, directed by an ambitious father, required a promise of marriage. Henry was imprudent enough to write it, engaging to marry Henriette, if she brought him a son within a year : he showed this deed to Sully, who had the courage to tear it. The monarch went back into his closet, wrote a second promise, and sent it to Henriette, at the same time bestowing upon her the title of marquise de Verneuil. This guilty and unfortunate connection, particularly the fatal engagement that was the consequence of it, revived the hopes of the factious, and became a source of agitation for the state, and of bitter griefs for the heart of the king.

At the head of the dissatisfied nobles of the Protestant party were the dukes de Bouillon and de la Tremouille ; and among the Catholics were the duke d'Epemon, Charles of Valois, count d'Auvergne, a natural son of Charles IX., and uterine brother of the marquise de Verneuil ; but of still more consequence, Charles de Gontaut, duke de Biron, son of the famous marshal of that name, and himself one of the most illustrious and skilful generals of Henry IV. He had been loaded with riches and honours, as rewards for his glorious services, and named, at thirty-three years of age,

marshal of France and governor of Burgundy ; but his ambition was as immoderate as his pride, and it was upon him that the enemies of France most strongly reckoned. Charles Emmanuel, duke of Savoy, retained in his possession the marquisate of Saluces, which he had usurped : summoned by the king to make restitution of it, he came to the court of France to contrive plots, and united himself strictly, for that purpose, with the count de Fuentes, a personal enemy of Henry IV., and governor of Milan for Philip III., the new sovereign of Spain. One of the daughters of Emmanuel was offered to Biron, with the full sovereignty of Burgundy as a dowry : on this condition the marshal promised to raise all the malcontents in case of war, and rally them round him against the king. Strong in these assurances, which were brought to him by Lafin, the secretary and confidant of the marshal, Emmanuel refused to make restitution of the marquisate of Saluces, and Henry declared war against him. Sully, recently named grand-master of artillery, prepared everything to render the campaign rapid and glorious. The king put the two armies in motion ; he took the command of one himself, and confided the other to the marshal de Biron. The latter was forced to conquer in spite of himself : in vain he forewarned the enemy's generals of his marches and attacks ; their troops were beaten and their strong places were taken : Emmanuel sued for peace, and was allowed to keep the marquisate in exchange for Bresse, Bugey, and the banks of the Rhone as far as Lyons.

Henry IV. had received intelligence of the connection of Biron with his enemies. In a conversation which he had with him at Lyons, he revealed his suspicions to him : the marshal did not deny the crime, and was generously pardoned. The king, however, was but imperfectly informed, and Biron made an incomplete confession : this was one of the causes of his ruin. Henry had married, in the course of the year, Mary de Medici, daughter of Francis, grand-duke of Florence, and sent Biron ambassador into England, to announce his marriage to Elizabeth. This queen had just consigned to the scaffold her favourite, the earl of Essex, proved guilty of rebellion. After discoursing with Biron of this event and her consequent regrets, she added these remarkable words :—"If I were in the place of the king of France, there would be some heads cut off at Paris as well as in London." The marshal took no heed of this warning, and was soon engaged in fresh intrigues.

Mary de Medici made Henry the father of a dauphin, whereupon the family of Entragues demanded that the engagement signed by the king in favour of Henriette should be carried out : she had brought him two sons ; she claimed the succession to the throne for them, and several nobles, amongst whom Charles of Valois and the marshal de Biron, supported the cause of the favourite : they leagued together with the intention of causing the dauphin to be declared illegitimate, and negotiations were resumed between Biron, Charles Emmanuel, and the count de Fuentes. Biron was to have the command of the rebel troops : the baron de Luz, his friend, was employed in these last negotiations.

The king, however, was this time acquainted with the intrigues of the marshal, while the latter seemed to forget himself in a profound security. Lafin, acquainted with the suspicions of the king, anxious on his own account, and wounded by the coldness of his master, resolved to betray him. He had preserved the written proofs and particulars of the crime, and gave them up to the king. Biron was immediately ordered to come to Fontainebleau, where the court was held ; and he repaired thither. Lafin awaited him, and on his arrival said to him, "Take courage, they know nothing." These perfidious words emboldened Biron. Henry received him with kindness ; in a long walk which they took together, he endeavoured in vain to touch his heart, and induce him to confess ; he offered him if he would confess his crime frankly, his pardon and his future favour ; but Biron was inflexible. The king employed the influence of friends upon him, but in vain : taking Sully on one side : "My friend, said the monarch, what an unfortunate man is the marshal ! I wish to pardon him, to forget all that is past, and do him all the service in my power ; it is pitiable !" He made one more effort, and sent for him into his chamber towards nightfall, supplicating him to open his heart to him : "Confessing all freely," said he, "I would cover you with my protection, and would forget everything." The marshal became indignant at these instances, as insults. "Adieu, baron de Biron," then replied the king, "you know what I have told you." He left him alone in the apartment, but he was soon joined by Vitry, captain of the guard, who told him he was his prisoner, and demanded his sword. "My sword !" cried Biron, "my sword, which has performed such good service !" He desired to speak to the king, but the time was past. The count of Auvergne was arrested the

same day ; both were conveyed to the Bastille, and the Parliament received orders to proceed to their trial. Biron protested his innocence till he was confronted with Lafin ; then he perceived all was lost, and invoked the pardon which the king had granted him at Lyons, protesting that he had never conspired since that time. All presumptions were contrary to this declaration of the marshal, but there existed no evident proofs of his latter intrigues. The king retracted the pardon he had granted without knowing the extent of the crime, and Biron was condemned to death. At these news, he flew into a violent rage, became furious, and then implored the clemency of the monarch : but all was now in vain ; his head was cut off upon the place of the Bastille, on the 2nd of December. Henry pardoned the count d'Auvergne ; the other guilty persons escaped the hands of justice.

The sentence of the Parliament and the merited punishment of the marshal were blows fatal to the hopes which the ancient feudal system had still kept alive in the kingdom. Queen Elizabeth sent her felicitations to the king on this subject ; Philip III. disavowed all part in the intrigues of the count de Fuentes, and complimented the king upon the issue of the conspiracy. The two sovereigns remained not the less enemies : Henry still assisted the Dutch in their contest with Spain, and Philip, according to the expression of a contemporary, continued to water in France "the bad roots that were not yet dead."

The kingdom prospered by the vigilant attention of the king, by his economy, but, above all, by the cares of Sully. It is an immortal honour to the memory of Henry IV., that he should have given all his confidence to this austere minister, who had so little indulgence for the weaknesses of his master. After the signature of the treaty of peace, he found in the kingdom neither an organized army, nor commerce, nor industry : marshes and forests still covered immense portions of the soil, through which there were neither roads nor canals : an enormous debt weighed upon the treasury, besides which, considerable pensions had been granted to the leaders of the League, and the credit of France was annihilated. Sully, grand master of the artillery, and superintendent of the finances, created in a few years an imposing war *matériel*, and placed the army upon a redoubtable footing : he exposed all the frauds of the farmers-general, who allowed scarcely the tenth part of the public revenue to find

its way into the treasury, suppressed the under-letting of the taxes, with a multitude of financial offices, broke all the ancient leases, and made others much more advantageous for the crown ; he established order and the strictest economy in all branches of the administration, revised the funds of the state, and quickly abolished several vexatious imposts. Agriculture became the object of his particular care ; he permitted the exportation of corn, and almost doubled the price of land by causing to fall, by the security which his administration inspired, the interest of money from ten to six per cent. "Tillage and pasturage," said Sully, "those are the two breasts by which France is fed, the true mines and treasures of Peru." Manufactures likewise attracted the attention of Sully : he gave them a powerful impulse by suppressing the impost of a penny per pound upon all merchandise that was sold ; but it was against his advice that the king encouraged the fabrication of stuffs that ministered to luxury. Henry established manufactories of high-piled tapestries in wool and of silk decorated with gold ; he introduced a vast number of mulberry-trees into France, and the silks of Lyons soon acquired great celebrity. About the same time small glasses began to be made in imitation of those of Venice. The king loved luxury in his palaces and gardens, without neglecting any of the useful labours of the state. By his cares and those of Sully, numerous communications were established in the kingdom ; bridges were constructed, roads were repaired, Paris was enlarged and embellished : Henry joined the faubourg St. Germain to the city and caused it to be paved ; he constructed the Place Royale, completed the Pont Neuf, began the canal of Briare, and conceived the project of uniting the two seas. The people soon enjoyed the benefits of such wise administration ; their burthens were lightened to the amount of four millions ; and we cannot repeat without emotion the well-known saying of the good king : "If I live, there shall not be a peasant who cannot put his fowl into his pot on a Sunday."

So many useful labours and wise reforms were not effected without violent opposition on the part of all those who were interested in the waste of the public money. Numerous broils were formed in the court against Sully. One day, at Fontainebleau, the king's confidence appeared shaken : before setting out for the chase, he took his minister aside and required an explanation : his friendship soon prevailed over his suspicions ; he made Sully's enemies known to him, showed him

their written denunciations, and conversed with him with all the effusion of his loyal heart. Sully, profoundly agitated, threw himself on his knees, to embrace those of his master : "What are you doing, my friend," said he, pointing to the courtiers at some distance ; "they will fancy I am pardoning you." Then advancing towards them, "Gentlemen," said he, "learn all of you, that I love Sully more than ever, and that between him and me it is for life and till death."

Amidst the growing prosperities of the state, fresh weaknesses were near being fatal to the monarch. At the age of fifty he fell in love with the youngest daughter of the count d'Entrague, sister of the marquise de Verneuil. He disguised himself in order to see her, and went, by night and almost alone, through woods, to the meetings she appointed. The count d'Entrague, who saw nothing in this new passion of the king but a means of elevation for his family and himself, busied himself with laying new plots. His principal accomplices were the count of Auvergne, the dukes de Bouillon, d'Epemon, and Bellegarde, and the constable Montmorency. They all reckoned upon the armed intervention of the Spanish general Spinola, and of the duke of Savoy : the count d'Entrague was to have the king carried off in one of his love visits ; the throne was promised to the eldest son of Henrietta. Henry was, in fact, attacked in a wood by some masked men, and only owed his safety to his presence of mind and his courage. The conspiracy was discovered ; the counts d'Entrague and d'Auvergne, with the marquise de Verneuil and a great number of subaltern conspirators, were arrested. The king extended his grace to the two counts, who were condemned to death ; he pardoned the marquise de Verneuil, but he separated himself from her entirely. The penalty of the law fell upon their accomplices, and the heads of the conspirators of the lower order paid, on this occasion, as upon almost all others, for the crime of the leaders. The duke de Bourbon soon after made his submission ; and Henry was now at the height of his glory and his power. Master of a flourishing kingdom, of a treasure of forty millions, of a numerous army, and of the finest artillery in Europe, he found himself respected by all his contemporary sovereigns. Pope Paul V. himself had recourse to him to bring about a termination of his differences with the Venetian republic. Henry decided between them as arbitrator, and reconciled them. He enjoyed during five years the favour of the Roman court, but gained it by granting the

recall of the Jesuits into France, at the pressing instances of le Père Cotton, his confessor.

The latter days of this reign were less happy. Mary de Medici, of a haughty and jealous disposition, irritated by the infidelities of her husband, only kept up with him relations constantly embittered by the remembrance of her injuries. The Italians of her suite engrossed all her confidence, and formed a powerful party in the court: their faction was directed by the celebrated Galigai and by Concini, her husband, both of obscure birth, and owing their elevation to their intrigues and the favour of the queen, whose pride they flattered, and whose resentment they fanned with great art. Most of the old companions of Henry IV. had disappeared; some were dead, others had proved rebels; many, dissatisfied with him, absented themselves from his court; and in this number he saw with pain the brave Duplessis-Mornay, who had recently compromised his dignity in a theological dispute with the abbé Duperron. The king had also lost his faithful ally, Queen Elizabeth, who died in 1603, and the feeble James I., her successor, did not replace her either in the esteem of her subjects or in that of Henry IV.: but he still possessed Sully, and added daily to the splendour of his reign. The king had the still further glory of being, in 1609, mediator between Spain and Holland. The nascent but already formidable navy of this republic attacked the Spanish and Portuguese establishments in the Indies, whilst their armies triumphed under the famous Maurice: Henry IV. brought about a truce between the two nations for twelve years, which was signed in 1609.

It was at this period he committed the greatest fault of his reign, that which most injured his repose and stained his glory. Madly in love with Charlotte de Montmorency, whom he had himself bestowed in marriage upon the young prince de Condé, he was totally unable to master his fatal passion. Condé becoming uneasy, abandoned the kingdom with his wife, and demanded protection of the Archduke Albert, governor of the Netherlands. Upon receiving this unexpected news, Henry broke forth into menaces, and commanded the archduke to send back the fugitives. Condé quitted Flanders and repaired to Germany, whilst the Archduchess Claire-Eugénie took the young princess to Brussels under her safeguard, keeping her out of the way of the emissaries of the king, who summoned the prince to return to France, and declared war against Spain and Austria.

He had been for a length of time desirous of lowering the power of these two countries, and prepared to inflict a terrible blow at once ; but this sudden declaration of war, the apparent motive of which was a personal vengeance and the desire of satisfying a guilty passion, raised a general cry against him. Henry nevertheless formed some useful alliances. John William, last duke of Clèves and Juliers, had just died without children ; several pretenders disputed his heritage, and the emperor Rodolph II. had evoked the cause to his tribunal. The Protestant princes refused to admit him to be judge, and formed a celebrated league against him at Hall, under the name of the Evangelic Union. They claimed the support of France, and obtained it. Henry IV. united himself equally with the duke of Savoy, with the little sovereigns of Italy, and with the Grisons. Philip III., justly alarmed, spoke of peace, and offered the infant, his daughter, to the dauphin. Henry rejected this pacific proposition ; he was sensible of being wrong, he suffered without justifying himself or without altering his conduct ; he was agitated and irritated by the mere mention of the name of the princess he persecuted, and hastened his warlike preparations, impatient to be at the head of his army and march towards Flanders.

He intended that the queen should be regent during this campaign, and, either in accordance with her wishes, or to render her authority more imposing, he gave orders that she should be crowned : this ceremony took place on the 13th of May. The king was lowspirited and restless during the whole day. For some time past, the absence of his old companions, the plots which were incessantly in action around him, the ingratitude and malice of those whom he had loaded with kindnesses, had weighed upon his mind, and filled his heart with sorrow. Sometimes he meditated punishing his enemies, but his goodness of heart soon inspired other thoughts, and he contented himself with saying, "When I shall be no more, they will find what I am worth." On the 14th of May his sadness increased, he was agitated by painful presentiments, which his friends could not remove. After dinner, about four o'clock, the exempt of his guards, whom he had sent for, said to him : "Sire, your majesty is quite pensive ; you had better take a little air, it will enliven you." "That's well thought of," replied the king ; "order the carriage to be got ready ; I will go to the Arsenal, and see the duke de Sully, who is indisposed." The king left the Louvre, followed only by a small number of gentlemen and footmen.

The carriage was open on both sides, the weather being very fine, and the king wishing to see the preparations which were being made in the city for the solemn entry of the queen. On entering the street of La Ferronnerie, a confusion occasioned by two carriages obliged the king's coach to stop, and dispersed the royal servants. At this moment, a man, named Francis Ravailac, mounted upon the wheel, and struck the king a blow with a knife between the second and third ribs. Henry cried out, "I am wounded !" but the villain, without being disconcerted, repeated the blow, and stabbed him to the heart, after which the king, breathing a deep sigh, instantly expired. The monster did not offer to move, but stood erect, as if to show himself and take glory from his crime.

Thus perished Henry IV., at the age of fifty-seven. The emperor, the king of Spain, the queen of France, the duke d'Epemon, and the Jesuits, were all, by turns, suspected of having instigated the crime, because all benefited by it ; but the assassin declared that he had no accomplices. He had conceived the idea of the murder from the sermons he had heard ; he believed the king to be a Huguenot in his heart, and thought he rendered a great service to France by ridding it of this monarch. Condemned to the usual punishment of regicides, his astonishment was extreme when he saw the people ready to tear him in pieces themselves, and eager to offer their horses to quarter him. Never did the death of a king create such a stupor, or cause more tears to flow. France seemed to be plunged into real mourning : trade was suspended in Paris ; work of all kind ceased ; the roads were covered by the inhabitants of the country, anxiously inquiring for news ; and when assured of their misfortune, they cried out, with tears and sobs : "*We have lost our father ! We have lost our father !*" Henry was worthy of the great and endearing title of the *Father of his People*, for the happiness of his subjects was the hope of his heart and the aim of his whole life : he ameliorated their lot, created for them new sources of riches, and rendered his kingdom as flourishing as it could become in twelve years after the horrible calamities of the religious wars. The wise government of this good king, as well as his heroic qualities, well merited the title of *Great*, which posterity has accorded him.

Letters and the arts made some progress in France during his reign, and he encouraged them. The presidents De Thou and Jeannin, and the cardinals D'Ossat and Duperron formed part of his council ; Pierre Pithou, one of the authors of the

Menippean Satires, wrote a treatise on the liberties of the Gallican church ; Jerome Bignon began his great works upon jurisprudence ; Arnaud and Stephen Pasquier were the glory of the bar ; Regnier distinguished himself by his spirit in satire. Henry was the true founder of the Royal Library ; he gave a strong impulse to works of architecture ; he increased and decorated the royal residences of Saint Germain, Monceaux, Fontainebleau, and particularly the Louvre ; he gave lodgings in the palace, under the long gallery which is his work, to artists of all kinds ; Paris, indeed, owes many embellishments to his cares and taste. When Don Pedro de Toledo was sent ambassador by Philip III. to Henry IV., he could not recognise the city he had formerly seen so wretched and degraded : "That was because the father of the family was not at home," said the king ; "now he takes care of his children, and they prosper."

Henry IV. had, to the end of his days, to reproach himself with culpable weaknesses, and which punished him severely : it is the duty of history to record that he regretted them, and that he sometimes was able to conquer them. Every one knows his reproof to Gabrielle d'Estrées : "Know, madame," said he to her in the presence of Sully, whom she was accusing, "know that I would rather consent to lose ten mistresses like you, than one single servant like him."

The barbarous practice of duelling was at this period one of the grievances of the kingdom, and cost, it is said, in one year, four thousand gentlemen to France. Henry IV. issued some severe edicts upon this head. He condemned duellists to death, and ordered that the tribunal of the marshals of France should decide all differences between gentlemen : he could, however, only partially triumph over a ferocious prejudice, too deeply rooted in national manners. According to the evidence of his minister, he meditated, towards the end of his reign, noble plans for the good of humanity : after having abased the power of the house of Austria, he dreamt of establishing a perpetual peace in Europe, by creating a kind of mutual legal obligation for sovereigns in their relations with each other : death prevented the attempt or accomplishment of these generous projects. Many reproach Henry with having made an insincere abjuration from a motive of ambition entirely personal, and without an absolute necessity. This reproach is too rigorous. It is probable that Francis I. might have continued to reign over France, if he had adopted the Protestant religion ; but when those who ought only to have

inspired the people with tolerance and Christian charity, had persuaded them that men, by differing in their worship, became mortal enemies, when they had excited Catholics and Protestants to throw themselves upon each other like wild beasts, and to tear one another to pieces during nearly forty years, the fatal mistrusts and implacable resentments which they thus gave birth to, rendered all reconciliation for a long time impossible : they were like two nations upon one soil, and never could the weaker expect to impose their head upon the stronger. It became necessary then, after the death of Henry of Valois, that Henry of Bourbon should become a Catholic, or that the civil war should have no end. The whole life of Henry IV. authorizes us to believe that his abjuration was dictated by the love he bore his people : if that act had less noble motives, if his sincerity be doubtful, it is God alone has the right to pronounce a severe judgment upon him : France can have but one voice to absolve and bless the best of her monarchs.

CHAPTER II.

Reign of Louis XIII. to the administration of Richelieu. 1610—1624.

HENRY IV. left his kingdom flourishing, fifteen millions in his treasury, several well-appointed armies, strong places supplied with abundant warlike stores, solid alliances, and a well-composed council. After his death, the weakness of the government, discord among the princes, with the jealous ambition and caprices of the queen-mother, soon dissolved all these elements of prosperity. During the civil troubles, the great had acquired habits of independence and sovereignty ; in their character of governors of provinces and cities, they raised soldiers, levied imposts, and retained in their pay a certain number of gentlemen always ready to support them with their swords against the royal authority. Most of the nobles had lost during the civil wars the inviolable respect for the person of the prince, even to the sentiment of their duties towards him. There was thus formed a class of powerful men, who did not constitute, as we have often repeated, a new feudalism, since they had no power which did not emanate from the crown, and which was not revokable at will ; but they who possessed great charges were always ready to abuse, against the interests of the sovereign, the authority that had been confided to them.

Patriotism was no worship of their hearts : all the efforts of the princes and nobles were directed towards their own aggrandisement, and at no period were the first personages of the state known to give without blushing more shameful examples of boundless ambition and insatiable cupidity. Notwithstanding, however, so many elements of ruin and anarchy, no shock was at first experienced upon the news of the death of the king. Mary de Medici, an imperious, violent, and vindictive woman, immediately claimed the regency of the kingdom. Condé, then absent, and the count de Soissons, might have been able, in quality of princes of the blood, to combat the pretensions of the queen ; but the Parliament was convoked by her in a bed of justice, the very day after the assassination : the duke d'Epemon, devoted to Medici, put troops under arms to intimidate the partisans of the princes, and the queen was declared regent. From that time the Parliament often interfered, and by its own authority, in the government of the state, and alone contended for a long time against the absolute power of the throne : no law, however, defined its political attributes, the monarchy had no fundamental constitution, and thence arose all the calamities which agitated France upon the occurrence of a minority. Mary de Medici, recognised regent, at first followed the advice of Villeroy, who had been minister under the four last monarchs, and kept together the council of the late king, which she however weakened by admitting to it a great number of ambitious pretenders.

The question of war or peace was the first to be determined. Sully wished to follow up the way opened by Henry IV., and to carry on the war with the house of Austria with vigour : his opinion only half prevailed : an illusory assistance was afforded to the duke of Savoy, who had compromised himself for France ; this prince was obliged to implore pardon of Philip III., and to submit. Hostilities were carried on with more vigour in Germany. The most important fact of this war was the taking of the city of Juliers by the marshal de la Châtre and Maurice, prince of Orange. A great number of sovereigns laid claim to it. France placed it in the hands of the two principal competitors, the marquis of Brandenburg and the duke of Neuburg, who held it in common. This campaign had no other important result. Condé returned to France, and his appearance at court was the signal for fresh intrigues and the revival of civil troubles.

Mary de Medici had exalted Concini to the very height of honours and fortune ; he was a marshal of France, without ever having borne arms ; first gentleman of the chamber, governor of Amiens, Peronne, and several other places ; he had purchased the marquisate of Ancre, of which he bore the title, and directed the queen in everything. After his example, all the courtiers coveted gold and dignities, and Medici believed she had nothing to do but to enrich both her friends and her enemies, to secure the peace of her reign. Dominated over by this mistaken idea, she converted the treasure of the late king into gifts and pensions, and when it was exhausted, she found herself deprived of power against all those whose ambition and cupidity she had excited without being able to satisfy them. Never did the high nobility prove themselves more devoured by an insatiable thirst of gain than at this period : France appeared to be given up to pillage, and the numbers of the depredators insured their impunity. The nobles established tolls upon free roads, and levies upon free cities ; they created offices, conferred letters of nobility, granted privileges of which they received the value, and quietly and secretly increased the gabelles and the imposts. Sully quitted a council which countenanced such criminal acts ; he was forced to resign the superintendence of the finances and the government of the Bastille, retaining the charge of grand voyer of France and Rochelle ; he came but seldom to court, and retired to his estates, where he lived respected to the age of eighty-two years.*

The prodigious favour of the upstart Concini aroused a violent indignation in the minds of the princes and nobles : Condé and the prince de Soissons were particularly offended by it. They opposed the projected marriage of Louis XIII. with the infanta, the daughter of Philip III., and retired, the first to his government of Guienne, the second to that of Normandy. All at once a new adversary was introduced at court : this was the young chevalier de Guise, endowed with the most brilliant qualities. The princes of the blood dreaded his influence over the queen and the ambition of the house of Lorraine ; they attached them-

* Being one day summoned to attend Louis XIII. upon some business of importance, he perceived that his antique costume excited the mirth of the young courtiers :—"Sire," said he to the king, "I am too old to change my habits for nothing. When the late king, your father, of blessed memory, did me the honour to command me to attend his person, to speak with me of affairs of state, he previously sent away the buffoons and jesters."

selves, therefore, to the marquis d'Ancre, and the court was divided into two factions,—that of Guise and that of Concini. The baron de Luz, formerly engaged in the culpable negotiations of the marshal de Biron, had quitted the party of the chevalier de Guise to join that of his enemies: the chevalier met him one day in his carriage in Paris, made him alight, obliged him to draw his sword, and killed him; the son of the baron wished to avenge his father, and died in the same manner and by the same hand. This double homicide raised new storms at court; the countess de Soissons, whose husband had recently died, and the duchess de Nevers, daughter of the famous Mayenne, were concerned in several plots; resentments burst forth from all parts, Concini excited general hatred; the great took up arms. Condé was at the head of the movement, and published a manifesto which exposed the anarchical government of the queen, called down pity upon the lot of the people, and openly attacked the Spaniards and insolent foreigners, whose influence dominated over the kingdom. This formidable league of the nobles soon mastered a considerable part of France. Public indignation was at its height; Sully himself, with his son, and son-in-law, the duke de Rohan, openly took part in this confederation. A great number of other Protestants wished to join it; Duplessis-Mornay kept them in a state of inaction. Villeroi advised the queen to attack the confederates immediately, and his advice was the best; but Concini preferred negotiating, and his opinion prevailed: the treaty of Sante-Menehould, named the Paltry Peace (*Paix Malotruée*), was concluded in 1614. By this treaty, the queen augmented the dignities and pensions of the malcontent nobles, and promised a prompt convocation of the States-General.

Louis XIII. was in his fourteenth year, and had just been acknowledged of age; but for a long time after, he was only nominally king, and Medici retained the power in her hands. She convoked the States-General for the 26th of October of that year: these States were the last that assembled before those of 1789. The queen and her ministers endeavoured to paralyze their influence by dividing them. They succeeded; every order was loud in its demands for its own interest: the clergy required that the decrees of the council of Trent should be adopted in France without restriction; the nobility that the *droit de Paulette** should be abolished; and the

* This right rendered offices of finance and judicature hereditary for an

third estate that the pensions which exhausted the public treasury should be suppressed or diminished. This order was cruelly humiliated by the two others ; it was but little that, according to the custom, the *prévôt des marchands*, Miron, who presided over it, was only allowed to address the king on his knees, he was reproached with having compared the three orders of the assembly to a large family, of which the members of the nobility and clergy were the elder-born, and those of the third estate the younger. The queen herself treated this order with rudeness and arrogance, and yet they proved the most ardent defenders of the royal prerogative. They demanded that it should be established in principle that kings were not to be deposed on account of heresy, and expressed a wish that the crown should be acknowledged, by an express law, to be independent of spiritual power. The clergy, by their organ the Cardinal Duperron, the ancient minister of Henry IV., formally combated this proposition, and the States declined to decide. The assembly was dissolved the following year, without having produced any important result.

Richelieu, bishop of Luçon, the orator of the clergy, then appeared for the first time upon the political stage : he exhorted the king in his harangue to continue to follow the counsels of his mother. When dismissing the three orders, she promised to consider their demands, and comply with them if the Parliament addressed her with remonstrances on the subject. This was confounding all the powers, and recognising the superiority of a judicial body over the States-General. The Parliament, many of the members of which were deputies of the third estate, eagerly seized the opportunity of avenging this order for its humiliations, and to increase its own importance : it invited, by a decree, to come and deliberate with it upon public affairs, the princes, dukes, and peers, all, in short, who had a right to sit, and among whom many were personal enemies of Medici. The queen saw in this proceeding nothing but a direct attack upon her, and an infringement upon her authority. She forbade the decree of Parliament to be executed. This body immediately addressed energetic remonstrances to the king,

annual tax of the tenth of the price at which they had been purchased. The nobility were jealous of the hereditary of these charges or offices, which were possessed by members of the third estate. The *Paulette* had received its name from Charles Paulet, who was the inventor of this contribution.

which were read before him, in the presence of his mother and her ministers. These remonstrances condemned the deplorable government of the queen; demanded that all abuses should be redressed; that no edict should be executed without verification of the sovereign courts and preliminary enregistering; and that the Parliament should be allowed to convoke the peers and the princes as often as it judged it necessary. This company further demanded authority to name to the king the authors of all the disorders, and to point out their malversations. These celebrated remonstrances, pronounced by the advice of the duke de Bouillon, excited the anger and indignation of the queen, the courtiers, and the ministers: on the very next day appeared an order of council which suppressed them. The Parliament resisted; then, having received from the king letters of order, it yielded, and gave no consequence to its decree of convocation, but yet, however, without revoking it.

The malcontents, particularly Condé, strongly opposed the marriage of Louis XIII. with the infanta. They alleged the wrongs with which Spain had loaded France, and the necessity for crushing the house of Austria instead of adding to its strength. The queen despised these representations, and the marriage was resolved upon; Condé immediately retired to Clermont in Beauvoisis, Bouillon to his principality of Sedan, Mayenne to Soissons, and Longueville into Picardy; they had now no hopes of succeeding but by arms, and prepared to fight. The Protestants, excited by the duke de Rohan, joined them, and raised troops. The principal ministers of the king were then old Villeroy, the president Jeannin, and the chancellor Sillery; they beheld these hostile preparations without inquietude, and hastened on the marriage. Louis XIII. went as far as Bordeaux to meet his bride, his march partaking of the appearance of both festivity and war. Marshal de Laval and Bois-Dauphin protected his route with an army, which was followed by that of the malcontents and Calvinists, directed by Bouillon, under the orders of Condé. The people took no interest in this war, and the armies never came to blows. The duke de Guise conducted the Princess Elizabeth into Spain, as the destined bride of the infant, and brought back with him the future wife of Louis XIII., celebrated under the name of Anne of Austria. This marriage was not a happy one, and the king and queen, soon tired of each other's society, lived almost always apart. Medici, quickly after the marriage, negotiated

with her enemies, and signed the treaty of Loudun, entirely to their advantage. The prince and his adherents were declared innocent and good servants of the king ; considerable sums were paid to them, and some satisfaction was granted to the Calvinists and Protestants. The article of this treaty most disagreeable to the queen was an engagement entered into by the king not to confer any of the posts or dignities of the kingdom upon foreigners.

The old ministers, whom the court named *les barbons* (men hoary with old age), were all immediately dismissed. The bishop of Luçon was a member of the new council, governed by the prince de Condé, who soon became all-powerful, and caused his authority to be felt by the queen, her favourites, and particularly by the marshal d'Ancre. The partisans of the prince believed they were now in a position to attempt anything, and the duke de Longueville carried insult so far as to take possession of Peronne, of which Concini was governor, with an armed force. The queen sent troops to recover the place, and Longueville defended it against her. Medici then plainly perceived that Condé meant to deprive her of all influence in the government or over the mind of the king. She resolved to conquer him, and, as a commencement, liberated Charles of Valois, count d'Auvergne, who had been a prisoner in the Bastille for twelve years. This act was hostile to the prince, who saw in Valois the greatest enemy of the reigning branch. Condé, as well as the principal leaders of his faction, Vendôme, Bouillon, and Mayenne, foresaw their danger, and agreed never to present themselves at the same time at the Louvre, where the prince was arrested in the name of the king, on the 1st of September, as he entered the council-chamber. Orders had been given to seize his partisans, but, by the above-mentioned precaution, they escaped and flew to arms. The king held a bed of justice in the Parliament, wherein he stated his reasons for arresting his cousin, alleging his culpable hopes, incompatible with the duties of a subject, the pretensions of his partisans, subversive of royal authority, and their audacious rallying-word of *Barre à bas** (down with the bar), which proved that nothing less than the throne was the aim of the prince. The Parliament did not venture to make one observation ; Condé was confined in the Bastille, and the

* A bar in the arms of Condé alone distinguished them from the royal arms ; to ask for this bar to be removed, was to demand that he should be king.

queen set on foot three armies against the malcontents, who had taken refuge at Soissons. Concini reappeared at court more powerful than ever ; his pride knew no bounds, and such was his wealth, that he maintained at his own expense an army of from five to six thousand men. The young king, however, whose wishes he frequently ventured to thwart, endured with as much impatience the despotism of the marshal as he had done that of the prince, and at length resolved to emancipate himself from all tutelage. He might have adopted legal means, but his gloomy spirit preferred assassination. On Monday, the 26th of April, the marshal entered the Louvre for the purpose of attending the council ; Vitry, the captain of the guard, stopped him, and demanded his sword ; Concini made a movement of surprise, but immediately fell, pierced by three balls, and expired. The crowd of his flatterers disappeared, and Louis XIII. quickly exhibited himself at a window of his palace, as if to accept the responsibility of the murder. The courtiers broke out into loud demonstrations of joy, and hastened in crowds to felicitate him. From that moment he believed himself to be king ; he disarmed his mother's guards, and bricked up the door of his apartments which communicated with Medici's.

The people detested in Concini a foreigner and an insolent upstart, and accused him of all their evils ; their fury was atrocious ; they tore the body of the marshal to pieces, put the bloody fragments up to sale, and the populace ate them ! Concini was pursued in those connected with him ; Galigai, his widow, a favorite of Medici, was dragged before the Parliament, where, for want of other crimes, she was accused of magic, and condemned as a sorceress. The sentence decreed that she should be decapitated, and her remains consumed by fire : she underwent her punishment with courage. The house of the marshal was demolished and razed to the ground, his immense wealth was confiscated, and the sentence of the Parliament pronounced his son degraded from nobility, and incapable of holding any charge or dignity in the kingdom.

When informed of this great catastrophe, the malcontents of Soissons laid down their arms, and repaired to court, without requiring either caution or promise of safety. The old ministers, Villeroy, Sillery, Jeannin, and Du Vair, returned with them. The queen was exiled from the court, and chose Blois as her place of residence. The subtle Richelieu, minister under Condé, requested permission to follow her,

in appearance the devoted servant of his protectress, but in reality her implacable enemy.

He who had the greatest share in this revolution of the palace, and to whom it was most advantageous, was young Charles Albert de Luynes : a companion in the pleasures of the king, he had gained his good graces by his skill in laying sparrow-traps, and rose rapidly in the royal favour. He was created duke, loaded with honours and wealth, and became the heir of the confiscated wealth of the all-powerful marshal.

Condé, from the depths of his prison, and the queen from the place of her exile, continued to carry on intrigues and maintain partisans. The duke de Luynes neutralized their influence, by opposing them to each other : sometimes he threatened Condé with the recall of the queen, sometimes he made Medici dread the deliverance of Condé. A plot, skillfully laid, soon changed the face of affairs. An Italian named *Ruccelai*, a man of pleasure, resolved to serve the queen, and carry her off from Blois. The duke d'Epéron, the possessor of an immense fortune, governor of Metz, and several other provinces, colonel-general of infantry, and always dissatisfied, was better able to second such a project than any other person, and place Medici in a state to resist her enemies. He hated Ruccelai, who, however, won him over by flattery, and he resolved to attempt the enterprise. He one morning left Metz, at the head of a hundred well-appointed horsemen, after having requested permission of the king to visit his governments of Saintonge and Angoulême. His rapid and secret march met with no interruption, and when the queen learnt that D'Epéron was near, she left the castle from a window, by means of a ladder of ropes, got into a carriage, escorted by Ruccelai and fifteen gentlemen, and met the duke d'Epéron at Loches, whither he had come to meet her at the head of his household and his guards, and conducted her to Angoulême. When the court was at length informed of the flight of Medici, De Luynes advised that she should be instantly pursued by an armed force ; the king preferred temporizing, and endeavoured to prevail upon his mother to sacrifice the duke d'Epéron ; but the queen energetically defended her liberator. The negotiations continued, and an astute conciliator presented himself : this was Richelieu, who, after having secretly obtained the consent of the king, succeeded in winning the favour of the queen by means of the jealous D'Epéron himself : he brought about peace. The queen obtained the

government of Anjou, with regal rights, and three cities were assigned her as places of safety. The king granted letters of pardon to D'Epernon. His first care then was to liberate Condé and restore him to his ancient power. France again became divided between two factions. The partisans of the queen, irritated at the favour enjoyed by Luynes and Condé, quitted the court in crowds ; they took possession of a multitude of places, and were soon masters of half the kingdom. War appeared imminent ; Mayenne and D'Epernon, fearing a surprise at Angers, were desirous, and with reason, to conduct the queen into Guienne, where they would have been able to oppose a rampart of small fortified places to the attacks of the royal army. Richelieu, secretly devoted to the king, opposed this advice, and the queen remained at Angers. Louis XIII. commenced his march at the head of his army. He first subdued Normandy, then passed through Maine and Perche as a conqueror, and arrived with all his forces before Angers. De Luynes employed the arts of seduction against the rebels. He thus won over many of the principals, as Matignon, Beauvais, and Montgomery, by loading them with honours and pensions. Condé wished to act and not to temporize ; an engagement took place at the Bridge of Cé, and the queen's troops fled at the first shock. Peace was concluded by the ministers of the king, and by Richelieu ; the reconciliation of Medici and her son appeared, this time, to be cordial and sincere ; she returned to Paris, and a cardinal's hat was promised to Richelieu as the reward of his services, or rather of his double treachery. A great number of the subaltern leaders paid their rebellion with their heads. The king led his army into Béarn, which he reunited to the crown ; he re-established in this province, by a solemn edict, the Catholic worship, abolished by Jeanne d'Albret, and caused all their wealth to be restored to the clergy ; he then gave a parliament to Pau, with the same powers as the other sovereign courts of the kingdom. Louis XIII. returned to Paris, where he was received in triumph.

All Europe began to be agitated by the famous war of thirty years between the Catholics and Protestants of Germany. The indolent emperor Rodolph had been in part plundered of his states by his brother, the ambitious Mathias, who inherited the imperial dignity. Mathias died in 1619, without children. He had, in his lifetime, caused Ferdinand of Styria, his cousin-german, and grandson of Ferdinand I., the brother of Charles V., to be elected king of Bohemia.

This prince, brought up by the Jesuits and crowned by the Spaniards, wished to deprive the Bohemians of liberty of conscience ; they became irritated, carried their complaints to the council of Prague, and threw four officers of the government out of the windows into the ditches of the castle. They immediately raised troops and refused to acknowledge Ferdinand II. as successor to Mathias ; they offered the imperial crown to Frederick V., elector palatine, son-in-law of the king of England, and nephew of the stadtholder of Holland. If Henry IV. had been alive, he would have eagerly seized upon such an opportunity for lowering the pride of the house of Austria ; but the father of the elector palatine had actively assisted the Calvinists in France, and the perfectly Spanish and Catholic spirit, which governed Louis and his court, had made him for a long time abandon the cause of the Protestants in Germany, and neglect the noble part of arbitrator of Europe. The king, however, felt that he ought to dispute with the Spaniards and the house of Austria possession of the Valteline, a valley of the Alps dependent upon the Grisons, and which opened an easy communication between Germany and Italy.

The Reformers of the kingdom became more and more uneasy at the Catholic tendencies of the government. In an assembly held by them at Loudun, in 1619, they had warmly taken up the cause of their brethren threatened in Béarn. Their remonstrances were vain ; and two years later, in a general assembly at Rochelle, they divided their seven hundred churches into eight circles, and drew up a kind of constitution in forty-seven articles, in which were regulated, *under the authority of the king*, the levying of taxes, and the disciplining of troops : this was creating a separate government in the state. Louis XIII. marched against them, and subdued Saintonge and Poitou. Rochelle was invested, and Montauban, defended by the marquis de la Force, sustained a glorious siege, which uselessly cost the lives of eight thousand Catholics and of the duke de Mayenne, son of the celebrated leader of the League. There was but one cry in France against the duke de Luynes, to whom this reverse was imputed. The favourite had again established himself during this expedition : he had joined to his numerous offices those of constable and keeper of the seals. He knew that with the king it was necessary to be everything in order to rule him ; but he did not long enjoy these last dignities : a violent fever carried him off in four

days. Lesdiguière, head of the royal army, although a Protestant, became converted, and was made constable : his conversion proved the signal for a great defection in the Calvinist party. The marquis de la Force and the count de Châtillon, grandson of Coligny, surrendered, the one Montauban, and the other Aigues-Mortes, for a large gratification and the bâton of a marshal : Rohan remained incorruptible, but desirous of peace. It was signed at Montpellier, in spite of Condé, by the advice of Medici, ever jealous of this prince, whose credit decreased during a calm, and was augmented by war. The edict of Nantes was confirmed : the king permitted the Protestants to assemble for the interests of their worship, but interdicted all political union. After this peace, Richelieu obtained a cardinal's hat, and the marquis de la Vieuville opened to him the doors of the council-chamber. La Vieuville inherited a part of the favour which the duke de Luynes had enjoyed : he fulfilled the functions of prime minister without the title, and maintained his credit by flattering the tastes of the king, and by feeding his dislike for his mother and his jealousy for Gaston his brother. He was guilty of a great crime towards this prince, of which the king was an accomplice, by depriving Gaston of an excellent governor, whom he dismissed and replaced by the count de Lude, a man of pleasure, only fit to corrupt the mind and heart of his young pupil. This action was destined to profit neither the minister nor the king. The minister soon repented of having been the means of introducing Richelieu into the council : he got possession of the mind of the young monarch, by pointing out to him the vices of his government, the immense resources of France, and the secret of her strength. La Vieuville was disgraced, and confined in the castle of Amboise. Richelieu became all-powerful ; he possessed the great art of rendering himself indispensable to the prince, by whom he was not beloved. Louis XIII. hated every kind of spirit of liberty in his subjects ; he would not admit that they should have any rights independent of his will ; he had, in a word, a passion for arbitrary power, whilst nature had only rendered him capable of obeying ; he found in Richelieu the strength he was deficient in, he believed himself with his assistance an absolute monarch, and was all the rest of his life his first slave.

CHAPTER III.

Administration of Richelieu. 1624—1643.

THE great evils of the kingdom arose from the moral weakness of the king, the ambition of the members of the royal family, each of whom claimed a part in the government, and the pride and avidity of the great, accustomed to have both their obedience and their services purchased, and certain to increase their power and their fortunes if they could manage to make themselves indispensable to any prince the head of a party, or formidable to royalty. The strength of France was therefore constantly divided; the government was uncertain, the treasury was given over to pillage, and the kingdom was a prey to anarchy. The Spaniards took advantage of these calamities to dominate in the council, and their powerful political influence held the Protestant party in continual alarm, without, however, crushing it; it accustomed it to consider itself as a separate people in the nation: thence one redoubtable scourge the more for France. Several strong places belonged to the Calvinists, and the happy example of the United Provinces inspired them with the chimerical desire of constituting themselves republics, of which Rochelle would have been the bulwark and the capital.

Everything changed its appearance in France the moment Richelieu seized with a firm hand the guidance of affairs. The secrets of council, with which the Spaniards had been always previously acquainted, were now kept sacred; ambassadors had orders to speak and act with boldness; the one for Rome pointed out to Richelieu the usual complicated manner it would be necessary to adopt in his negotiations with that court: Richelieu replied: "The king is not willing to be amused any longer; you will tell the pope that an army will be sent into the Valteline." The fact followed the menace, and the ambassador was replaced by the count de Bethune, a Calvinist. The cardinal de Richelieu likewise supported the Grisons, a Protestant people, against the Valtelines, the Catholic vassals of this people. The count de Fuentes, that Spanish governor of Milan, for so long a time the inveterate enemy of Henry IV. and France, had constructed forts at the entrance to these valleys, of the military importance of which he was quite aware; and the pope, by

agreement with Spain, kept an army there to defend them against France. The marquis de Cœuvres, in obedience to the orders of Richelieu, arrived unexpectedly in the Valteline with troops, repulsed those of the pontiff, and rapidly obtained possession of the forts and all the places. The pope's nuncio broke forth into loud complaints; he accused the cardinal of supporting the Protestant Grisons: "You must have much difficulty in carrying such resolutions in the council," said he. "Not at all," replied the cardinal; "when I was made minister, the pope gave me a brief which permits me to do and to say, in safety of conscience, everything that may be useful to the state." "But," resumed the nuncio, "suppose a question should arise to aid heretics?" "Well, I think," replied Richelieu, "that the brief would extend even to that."

The Spaniards avenged themselves by promising support to the Calvinists; the latter complained that the conditions of the peace of Montpellier were ill-observed, and that new forts were built round Rochelle, and this time they were the aggressors; Soubise with a fleet took the Isle of Ré, and Rohan raised Languedoc. Richelieu sent against them D'Epemon, Thémînes, and Montmorency. The last-named general dispersed their fleet; Toiras gained possession of the Isle of Ré, which constituted the security of the port of Rochelle, and the minister granted a fresh peace to the conquered. Public clamour reproached him with not having taken the opportunity to annihilate the Calvinistic party when it was so low; he was designated *the cardinal de la Rochelle*, or the *pontiff of the Protestants*. "I must," said Richelieu, on this occasion, "scandalize the world once more first." He made allusion, by these words, to his alliance with the Grisons and the English, as well as to the marriage he had concluded between Madame,* the king's sister, and the Protestant heir of the throne of England, so unfortunately celebrated under the name of Charles I.

The war of the Valteline against the Spaniards and the pope was terminated by the treaty of Monçon, in Arragon; a treaty which was not disadvantageous to France. Richelieu hastened to conclude it, that he might have time to confront the storm which was brewing against him at court and in the interior of the kingdom: the two queens in particular,

* In France, the title of Madame was given to the nearest female relation of the king, and that of Monsieur to the first prince of the blood.

were jealous of his ascendancy over the mind of the king, and condemned his policy, which was inimical to the pope and Spain. Gaston of Orleans, the king's brother, hated Richelieu, who refused him place and authority in the council ; and the courtiers, against whom Richelieu closed both the door of the treasury and the ear of the king, indulged in invectives and insults against him. It was against this powerful league that the cardinal had to contend. It was part of his policy to load with favours and honours nobles of high birth or distinguished merit ; but if they afterwards joined the ranks of his enemies, they met with neither consideration nor mercy from Richelieu. Colonel Ornano, the governor and confidant of Gaston, was the first to experience this : Richelieu, with the intention of securing a support near the person of the heir presumptive to the crown, gave a marshal's bâton to the colonel ; but the colonel awakened the ambition of the prince, and wished him to marry against the will of the king : Richelieu had him confined, and kept him a captive till his death.

The imprudent and culpable Chalais was the second example of the severe justice or vengeance of the cardinal. This rash young man had already once, in concert with Gaston, made an attempt upon the life of the minister, who had pardoned him. He entered into a new and more extensive conspiracy. He loved the young duchess de Chevreuse, widow of the duke de Luynes, and he was the soul of the league composed of Gaston d'Orleans, the count de Soissons, the duke de Vendôme, governor of Brittany, the grand prior de Vendôme, his brother, both natural sons of Henry IV., Queen Anne of Austria herself, and a multitude of subaltern accomplices, among whom may be numbered the abbé Scaglia, ambassador from Savoy, and an agent from England, a creature of the frivolous duke of Buckingham. This duke, the favourite of James I. and Charles, his son, had been sent into France to espouse Henrietta, the sister of the king, in the name of Charles I., who had recently succeeded his father. He displayed in his embassy an unheard of magnificence and an audacious gallantry, of which the queen herself became the object. Richelieu, suspected of an inclination for this princess, avenged the king or himself by humiliating measures towards Buckingham, who, in consequence, nourished a profound resentment, and entered into the cabal raised against him. The aim of this league was to ruin the minister : they who formed it were accused of wishing to

depose the king, crown Gaston of Orleans, and make him marry Anne of Austria.

When informed of this great plot, Richelieu acquainted the king and his mother with it; then he feigned to yield to the storm, to renounce his ministry, and to retire to his country-seat of *Limours*; he alone was capable of unravelling the thread of such a complicated intrigue. The king recalled him, gave him his entire confidence, and invested him with full power. The two Vendômes were soon seduced to Blois, arrested, and taken to the castle of Amboise; Gaston d'Orleans, intimidated by Richelieu, consented to espouse Mademoiselle de Montpensier, and abandoned his friends; Chalais was found guilty, by his letters to the duchess de Chevreuse, of having insulted the king, and given seditious counsels to Gaston; he was condemned to death by commission, and executed; the Marshal Ornano died at Vincennes, and the grand-prior at Amboise; the duke de Vendôme was not allowed to leave prison till he had made all the confessions required of him. The king compelled Anne of Austria to appear in council, and reproached her severely with having desired to have a new husband in Gaston d'Orleans: "*I should not have gained enough by the change,*" she coolly replied. A severe etiquette was imposed upon her, and the *entrée* to her apartments was interdicted to men in the absence of the king. A great number of nobles were disgraced, and among them Baradas, the favourite of the monarch, whose fall was as strange and as rapid as his rise had been. Louis XIII. dismissed D'Aligre, keeper of the seals, and exiled Madame de Chevreuse into Lorraine: a guard of musketeers was given to the cardinal, with the city of Brouage as a place of safety. The issue of this great conspiracy increased the power of the minister, and he was suspected of having designedly raised the storm against himself, as an opportunity for punishing and crushing all his enemies.

Richelieu, escaped from this peril, summoned an assembly of the notables at the Tuileries, which was opened by the speech of the chancellor Marillac, keeper of the seals. It approved all the acts of the cardinal, the suppression of the great charges, the recovery of the royal domains, alienated at a low price, the reduction of pensions, the demolition of fortresses in the interior, and praised the minister for all his wise retrenchments. It only contradicted him upon one point, and even this apparent opposition was a concession.

Richelieu had pretended to wish that capital punishment for political crimes should be abolished : the assembly penetrated his thoughts, and insisted upon the necessity for exemplary chastisements. The king at this period suppressed the offices of constable and great admiral, and created Richelieu superintendent of commerce and navigation.

The year 1627 was remarkable for an extraordinary fact in the history of France. Francis de Montmorency, count de Bouteville, had killed the count de Bussy in a duel ; he was tried and condemned to death with Francis de Rosmadec, count des Chapelles, his second, in virtue of the edict passed by Henry IV. against single combats, which had been so destructive to the nobility. Their death afforded an example, almost solitary in the history of France, of great nobles being punished for having offended, not the prince, but the laws.

Fresh plots soon broke out against Richelieu. The duchess de Chevreuse again conspired, and in concert with the abbé Scaglia and Lord Montague, Buckingham's confidant, she attempted to raise the Calvinists. Her correspondence being seized, she took refuge in England. Buckingham appeared before Rochelle with a formidable fleet ; the Rochellais shut their port against him, and he landed upon the Isle of Ré, which the marquis de Toiras defended gloriously against him : Richelieu sent numerous reinforcements into the island, under the marshal de Schomberg ; Buckingham being unable to effect anything, re-embarked, and set sail for England.

The moment was arrived at which the minister might destroy a perpetual focus of war and the bulwark of the Protestant party : he laid siege to Rochelle, and commanded the operations in person. On both sides this siege was remarkable for heroic courage and perseverance.

Rohan, an illustrious soldier and head of the party, was then absent from the city. His mother and sister encouraged the inhabitants by their speeches and example. Full of enthusiasm for their religion and their liberty, they made choice of a mayor named Guiton, who, before accepting the magistracy and the command, presented a poniard to them, saying : " I only accept the office of your mayor upon the condition of plunging this poniard into the heart of the first person who shall speak of surrendering ; and that it be employed against me if I ever hint at capitulating." The Rochellais expected by sea, on the part of the English, a supply of munition and troops : Richelieu deprived them of this hope by a gigantic construction : he caused a dyke to

be constructed in the sea, of four thousand seven hundred feet in length.* The besieged allowed him to carry on the work, confident that the waves would destroy it : they twice carried it away ; but the cardinal resumed the labour a third time, and completed it. Louis XIII. animated these operations by his presence. An English fleet, commanded by Buckingham, was preparing to sail to the assistance of the city, but at the moment the duke was about to embark, an Englishman, named Felton, assassinated him. The fleet, notwithstanding, set sail ; it cannonaded the dyke in vain, and, being unable to force a passage, it departed, leaving the besieged a prey to the horrors of famine. The mayor Guiton replied to their melancholy complaints : " If there should be only one man left in the city, let him keep the gates shut." At length, after an entire year of admirable resistance, the Rochellais, without hope and without resources, agreed to surrender : their city lost its privileges, but the inhabitants preserved the free exercise of their worship.

It was not only the Protestant party that Richelieu struck by taking Rochelle ; this vigorous blow fell equally upon the factious princes and nobles, who confessed themselves to be conquered in that city more than the Huguenots : Richelieu deprived rebellion, under whatever standard it ventured to show itself, of every strong place that was deemed impregnable, and of every free communication with foreigners : he thus took away from armed parties resources without which they could no more promise themselves any durable advantage.

France, delivered from the fear of civil war, was ardently desirous of peace ; but the end of perilous and difficult enterprises would have been the termination of the administration of Richelieu. Louis XIII. endured his yoke with much impatience ; his flatterers pressed him to dismiss his minister and govern himself ; he promised to resolve to reign alone. It was always the king's object to be freed from the embarrassment of the moment ; it was therefore the interest of Richelieu to constantly create fresh embarrassments, and to extricate him from one war only to hurry him immediately into another. The national pride of Richelieu was, in this, in accordance with his own interest : heir to the projects of Henry IV. against the house of Austria, he wished that his nation should be preponderant in Europe ; and he sincerely believed that it was not only important to the security of

* It was constructed by the engineers Métézeau and Tiriot.

France, but moreover to its honour, that other states should be lowered and humbled before it. A pretext for war soon presented itself, upon the occasion of the second marriage of Gaston d'Orleans. The first wife of this prince had died, leaving him one daughter, who was the celebrated Made-moiselle de Montpensier. The queen-mother, always occupied with the interests of her house, wished to make him marry a Florentine princess, whilst Gaston was in love with Mary de Gonzagua, daughter of the duke de Nevers, heiress of Mantua and Montferrat, a principality upon which the duke of Savoy had pretensions, supported by the emperor and the king of Spain. Richelieu prevailed upon the king to assist the duke de Nevers against the house of Austria, and this drew upon himself the hatred of Mary de Medici, who from that time meditated depriving him of the superintendence of her household.

The king took the field; the marshals Toiras, Crequi, Bassompierre, and Schomberg commanded the army under him, and Richelieu himself watched all its operations. The queen-mother immediately satisfied her resentment against Mary de Gonzagua by shutting her up at Vincennes, where she detained her in close captivity till the return of the monarch. Louis forced the pass of Susa in the heart of the winter; the duke of Savoy submitted, and left the passage free to the French, who drove the Spaniards out of Casal: the latter were soon constrained to sue for peace, which was signed at Susa, and was highly favourable to the duke of Mantua.

The Calvinist party was by no means yet annihilated, and the duke de Rohan sustained himself in the south, with the aid of Spain. The count-duke Olivarez, faithful to the policy of the times, believed it his duty to strengthen the remains of this unfortunate party in France, in order to keep up in that kingdom a nucleus of perpetual troubles, and promised Rohan three hundred thousand ducats: this assistance came too late. Louis XIII., on his return from Piedmont, fell rapidly upon the small number of places still possessed by the Protestants; such as remained were burnt or destroyed; Rohan submitted, and concluded a peace on the 27th of June, at Alais. He received a hundred thousand crowns from the king to dismiss his troops, and afterwards retired to Venice. From that time the Protestants no longer formed a separate *staté* in the state: they had been reduced to that necessity, so fatal to the kingdom, by the atrocious violences of the sons

of Henry II. ; but France could not without danger remain thus divided into two nations, and the ruin of the Calvinists, as a political party, did great honour to the cardinal de Richelieu. They ceased to have a separate government, and no longer treated with that of the king as a power with a power ; they otherwise preserved the exercise of their religion and all their rights, as the edict of Nantes had established them. The king conferred the title of principal minister upon Richelieu, to recompense him for his services, and to make him amends for the loss of the favour of Mary de Medici.

War soon broke out again in Piedmont. Charles Emmanuel having once more opened his states to the Spaniards, Richelieu resolved to act with vigour, and himself assumed the command of the French army, with the title of lieutenant-general, representing the person of the king. He went to oppose the celebrated Spanish general Ambrose Spinola, who took possession of the states of the duke of Mantua, with the exception of Casal, which was occupied by France. Victor Amadeus, husband of the princess Christina, sister of Louis XIII., succeeded his father, Charles Emmanuel, as duke of Savoy, and the war continued without any decisive success.

Richelieu had called the marshal de Marillac into Piedmont ; he was commanding an army of observation on the frontiers of Lorraine, and did not obey the summons, detained, it is said, by the instances of the queen-mother, constantly hostile to the French in Piedmont. Torias, not receiving the expected succour, surrendered the city of Casal to the Spaniards, and held the citadel : Austria and Spain were about to triumph, if a powerful diversion had not been effected in the north by the illustrious king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus.

The king of Denmark, beaten by the most celebrated generals of the empire, Walstein and Tilly, had, by signing the peace of Lubeck, laid down the first part in the Protestant League, which Gustavus Adolphus, excited by Richelieu, and treated as an usurper by the emperor Ferdinand, immediately took up. Gustavus entered Germany, and with his invasion commenced the third epoch of the thirty years' war. The emperor, forced to recall his troops from Italy, signed a peace at Ratisbon, engaging to invest the duke de Nevers with the duchies of Mantua and Montferrat. France promised to restore the states conquered from Victor Amadeus, and to form no alliance with the enemies of the empire. The

marshal de Schomberg, prepared to give battle to the Spaniards, refused at first to abide by this treaty, the most active negotiator of which was Julius Mazarin, afterwards so famous, but then a simple attaché to the legation of Pancirole, nuncio from Pope Urban VIII. Mazarin boldly threw himself between the two armies on the point of engaging, amidst a shower of bullets, and stopped the French, who, eager for the fight, cried out, "*No peace, no Mazarin !*" He, however, succeeded in persuading their leaders, and the treaty of Ratisbon was confirmed by the marquis de St. Croix for Spain, and by the marshal de Schomberg for France.

At the end of this expedition, Louis XIII. fell dangerously ill at Lyons, and Richelieu believed himself lost. The king, however, recovered and returned to Paris, where an equal peril threatened his minister. The queen-mother, rendered furious by the results of the war in Piedmont, undertaken against her son-in-law Victor Amadeus, demanded of the king, with tears and violent anger, the dismissal of the cardinal, in his presence, and loaded the minister with bitter reproaches. The king, to terminate a painful scene, sharply ordered Richelieu to retire ; the latter believed himself disgraced, and the queen mother considered her triumph certain ; such was, likewise, the opinion of the whole court ; and whilst the cardinal was burning his papers and placing his treasures in security, the courtiers flocked in crowds to Mary de Medici to rejoice with her and felicitate her. The king retired to his house at Versailles.* Richelieu, before setting out, encouraged by his friends, resolved to make another effort ; he followed Louis, obtained an interview, justified himself, received an order to remain at the helm of the state, and when all his enemies were rejoicing at his fall, he appeared among them more powerful than ever. This day is known by the name of *the Day of the Dupes*.

The first act of the increased power of Richelieu was the arrest of the two brothers Marillac, the one a marshal of France, the other keeper of the seals, who, although they owed their elevation to the cardinal, had shown themselves his most inveterate adversaries. Before punishing them, however, Richelieu wished to lower and disarm his powerful enemies : he loaded with favours and promises the friends of Gaston d'Orleans, particularly Puy-Laurens and the president Le Coigneux, the confidants of the prince, whose favour he thus sought to gain ; but, excited by the two queens, Gaston

* Versailles was then only a hunting-lodge.

repaired to the palace of the minister, at the head of a crowd of gentlemen, insulted him, and threatened him with the full weight of his anger ; then, after this violent and absurd scene, he left Richelieu, who had believed himself in peril of his life, and retired to his appanage of Orleans, where he levied troops. Richelieu, in a great council, held before the king, exposed the state of the kingdom, the causes of the troubles, and the only remedy capable of putting an end to them ; he no longer hesitated to pronounce the banishment of the queen-mother as the only efficacious means. The king consented to this measure, which had now become so necessary. He went purposely to Compiègne, whither Medici accompanied him ; he quickly departed again, and left her alone with her women in that residence, where his will was made known to her. Gaston, when informed of the disgrace of his mother, wished to take arms in her cause ; but, prevented by the king, who was advancing with troops, he escaped into Lorraine, and all his adherents were declared guilty of high treason.

Incapable of remaining in the kingdom without intriguing and without dominating, Mary de Medici committed the fault of retiring into Spanish Flanders, to which Richelieu opened her the road, and where she, to his great satisfaction, demanded a refuge. Gaston, had he possessed either head or heart, might easily have moved Spain, Savoy, Rome, and the empire in favour of his banished mother ; but he was only capable of compromising his friends and abandoning them in the hour of danger. He signalized himself in Lorraine by his frivolous gallantries, and secretly married the princess Marguerite, sister of the duke Charles IV. The king disturbed his nuptials without being acquainted with them ; he fell suddenly upon Lorraine, obliged the duke to sacrifice part of his dominions to him, to receive a French garrison in his best places, and to banish *Monsieur*, who retired to Brussels, the centre of the malcontents and exiles from the court of France.

At liberty now to listen to his anger and satisfy his vengeance, Richelieu laid aside all consideration, and acted with the utmost vigour. All who hesitated between him and Medici were constrained to relinquish their offices and leave the court ; the trial of the marshal de Marillac was instituted at Verdun by a commission, which proving too slow in punishing, was dissolved and replaced by another hostile to the marshal, and presided over by Châteauneuf, the keeper of the seals,

his personal enemy. Châteauneuf was a sub-deacon, and, as such, unable to sit in the quality of a judge; he, however, obtained a dispensation from Rome. Marillac was transported to Ruel, to the very house of the cardinal, where he was tried and condemned to death as guilty of peculation, of extortion, and tyranny in the exercise of his power. His real crime was having endeavoured to ruin Richelieu, his benefactor, by promoting the failure of the late war in Piedmont: he was decapitated; his brother, the ex-keeper of the seals, died in prison. Numerous proscriptions further signalized the vengeance of the minister: the count de Moret, the marquis de la Vieuville, the dukes d'Elbeuf and de Bellegarde, were condemned to lose their estates and their heads, for having joined the duke of Orleans and Mary de Medici in a foreign country; the property of the queen-mother was likewise seized, and an inventory of it taken, as if she had been dead.

The refugees did not at all abandon the hope of exciting revolts in France. Gaston raised an army of deserters and bandits in the country of Trèves; the duke de Montmorency, a brave and loyal soldier, brother-in-law of Condé, allowed himself to be seduced by the prince, and whether he thought it his duty to deliver France from Richelieu, or whether he wished, by rendering himself redoubtable, to sell his submission at the price of the constable's sword, he attempted to raise Languedoc, of which he was governor, in favour of Gaston: but Richelieu was beforehand with his enemies. The marshals de la Force and de Schomberg entered Languedoc at the head of two royal armies at the moment Gaston was effecting his junction with Montmorency. The two parties met near Castelnaudary. Montmorency, very inferior in numbers, began the action by precipitating himself upon the royal army with a weak troop: he was surrounded, taken and led away captive before Gaston's eyes, who made not the least effort to deliver him, and whose whole army immediately dispersed. Such of the friends and partisans of the prince as were taken in arms were treated without mercy: more consideration was exercised towards those who remained about him, particularly Puy-Laurens. Richelieu always contemplated in Gaston the presumptive heir to the crown; he permitted him to retire to Tours, where this prince arrived, more disgraced by his baseness than by his rebellion. Montmorency was brought before the Parliament of Toulouse, condemned to death, and executed: he died

like a repentant and resigned Christian ; a crowd of others bore their heads to the scaffold, and Gaston, terrified by the rigour of the cardinal, quitted France again.

Richelieu was at this period attacked by a serious malady. His numerous enemies evinced an imprudent joy on the occasion ; the duchess de Chevreuse, frequently a rebel, but for whom Richelieu entertained a ridiculous weakness, partook of the general expectation and satisfaction. The minister recovered, and proved implacable. The duchess fled away ; the keeper of the seals, Châteauneuf, was imprisoned in the castle of Angoulême, and remained there till the death of Richelieu ; the commander of Jars, suspected of having been pleasing to the duchess, was given up to an iniquitous commission, presided over by the ferocious Sieur de la Feymas, surnamed *the cardinal's executioner* : after having undergone twenty-eight interrogatories without confessing anything, the commander was condemned, though innocent, and only obtained pardon on the scaffold.

The king, upon being informed of his brother's second marriage, caused it to be annulled by the Parliament and by an assembly of the clergy of France, as having been contracted without his consent. The court of Rome had decided that the marriage was valid, and continued to recognise it as such. Louis XIII. took no account of this decision ; he invaded Lorraine, and wished to force the duke to place his sister Marguerite in his hands : this princess escaped, and joined her husband at Brussels, where Mary de Medici received her as a daughter. Louis XIII. besieged Nancy ; the duke Charles IV., in no condition to resist, abdicated in favour of the cardinal Nicholas Francis, his brother ; the latter, without consulting Rome, made all haste to lay down his cardinal's hat and get married ; he soon after, however, made his escape in company with his wife, abandoning his states to France.

The queen-mother from the place of her exile still continued active in disseminating plots, and two of her domestics were put to death, being accused by the cardinal of making an attempt upon his life. She entertained a warm desire to return to France, and Richelieu placed her return at the price of the abandonment of her favourites ; but Mary refused to deliver them up to his vengeance. Gaston, her son, was then at variance with her ; he quitted his mother with the same carelessness that he would have deserted all his friends, and came to court, where, in the midst of bril-

liant festivities, Richelieu sought, but in vain, to obtain his consent to the annulling of his marriage. In this circumstance, *Monsieur* for the first time evinced firmness, and retired to Blois, with Puy-Laurens his favourite ; the latter was loaded with wealth and honours by the cardinal ; he obtained in marriage a relation of the minister's with a magnificent dowry, and was made a duke and a peer, in the hope that he would induce the prince to yield to the wishes of the king ; but Puy-Laurens not serving Richelieu in the way he intended he should, was seduced to Paris, seized, and thrown into the Bastille, where he remained till he died.

The thirty years' war continued to desolate Germany ; the great Gustavus, supported by the subsidies of Richelieu, had changed the fortune of it. A conqueror at Leipzig in 1631, and afterwards at the passage of the Leck, in which Tilly lost his life, he was about to encamp before Vienna, when the emperor Ferdinand recalled the illustrious Walstein, whom he had disgraced. The two rivals of glory met at Lutzen in 1632 ; Gustavus was conqueror, but he died on the field of battle, and fortune again abandoned his party. Walstein beat the Swedes, and was not able to follow up his success ; he perished at Egra, assassinated by those who had received orders from the emperor to arrest him : it was the archduke Ferdinand, eldest son of the emperor, who gained, in 1634, the decisive victory of Nordlingen over the Swedish army, commanded by the famous Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weimar. This victory was followed by the peace of Prague, by which the elector of Saxony abandoned the Protestants. Richelieu took them under his protection : this was the fourth and last epoch of the thirty years' war. France thus carried out the projects of Henry IV., by attacking both branches of the house of Austria at the same time ; the war lasted thirteen years against one, and twenty-five against the other.

Richelieu prepared for the success of his military plans by the greatest efforts ; he concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Holland and Sweden, and thus assured himself of the concurrence of the army of the prince of Orange in the Netherlands, and of that which the duke of Saxe-Weimar commanded on the Rhine. Richelieu signed at the same time fresh treaties with the Swiss, and the dukes of Savoy and Parma. His plan for the war embraced at once Flanders, the Rhine, the Valteline, and Italy ; and he formed four armies, destined to act simultaneously upon all these

frontiers : the military forces of the kingdom were thus carried all at once to a very superior figure to what they had previously attained. Richelieu, who fancied himself to be quite as great a captain as he was a statesman, undertook to direct, from the depths of his closet, all the operations of the war : in his eyes, the first quality of the generals he chose ought to be obedience, and he apportioned the commands in each army in such a manner, that the leaders might mutually watch each other, and that no one should think himself sufficiently powerful to act by his single responsibility. He thus beforehand shackled the movements of the armies, and prepared future sanguinary reverses for them : he commenced, however, with successes.

The army of the North, under the marshals de Châtillon and de Brézé, was to join that of the States-General of Holland in the Luxembourg, to drive the Spaniards out of Belgium. The latter were commanded by Prince Thomas of Savoy, who had adopted the party of the house of Austria, whilst Duke Victor Amadeus, his brother, was drawn in, in spite of himself, to serve France. The prince acted boldly, with fifteen thousand men, between the two divisions of the army of the North, in order to destroy them separately : his rashness was punished ; they fell upon him at the same time in the plain of *Avaine*, took from him fifty standards and effected their junction before Maestricht with the Dutch, commanded by the prince of Orange. The united army amounted to fifty thousand combatants, and might have performed great things, but it abandoned itself to the most frightful excesses ; the sack of Tirlemont aroused the Belgians, till that time undecided : they flew to arms, and thus gave time for the imperial army of Piccolomini to come up. This army compelled the French to raise the siege of Louvain, and constrained them to remain inactive till the end of the campaign.

The French army of Germany, divided into several bodies, under the marshal de la Force and the duke of Saxe-Weimar, were opposed on one part by the duke of Lorraine, who was beaten by La Force, at Montbeillard ; and on the other part by the celebrated Gallas, who blockaded a part of the army of Bernard in Mayence, and held that great general himself in check at Sarrebruck. Richelieu confided a new army of fifteen thousand men to the cardinal de la Valette, who succeeded in joining and disengaging Bernard. Mayence was relieved from blockade, Bernard passed the Rhine, and

offered Gallas battle, but could not force him to accept his challenge. Famine and disease attacked his army ; it made a disastrous retreat, and returned to Metz reduced by a half. The duke of Lorraine recovered a part of his duchy, from which, however, he was soon expelled by a third army, commanded by Louis XIII. in person. The king attempted no great operation on the Rhine, he did not pass that river, and the wrecks of the three armies directed upon that frontier, covered Champagne and Lorraine, then threatened by the Imperialists, under Gallas and John de Werth.

Italy was the third theatre of the stratagetic operations of Richelieu. The allied princes of France, with the dukes of Savoy, Parma, and Mantua, were to conquer the Milanese, and the marshal de Crequi, with 15,000 men, had orders to second them. Frequent altercations between the duke of Savoy and the marshal paralyzed all the movements of the army, which, after advancing, failed in an attack upon Frascarolo, and was constrained to raise the siege of Valanza. Crequi fell back upon France, abandoning the princes, his allies, whose states were speedily invaded. The French armies were fortunate nowhere but in the Valteline, where the duke de Rohan commanded ; he fully maintained the reputation he had gained in the civil wars, and succeeded in cutting off all communication between the imperial corps of Lombardy and Austria ; he kept his ground with only five thousand men, in a country in a state of insurrection, against the generals Serbelloni and Fernamont, who attacked him with superior forces : a conqueror at Morbegno, Rohan repulsed Fernamont in the Tyrol, and then drove Serbelloni and the Spaniards from the Valteline, after the glorious battle of the Val de Presle. On this point only the campaign of 1635 was honourable for France ; the command had not there been divided, and the intelligence which conceived was there always united with the will that executed.

Richelieu commenced the following campaign with as many armies as in the preceding, and met with as great reverses. He hoped to conquer Franche-Comté, a Spanish province, against which he had directed his best troops, under the prince de Condé ; but this army was quickly recalled to check the Imperialists, who had invaded France. The Infant cardinal, Piccolomini, and John de Werth, entered Picardy and Champagne with forty thousand men : the count de Soissons, an enemy of Richelieu, alone guarded these provinces with a weak corps : many cities succumbed ; Corbie,

the last strong place on that frontier, was taken, whilst a second imperial army, under Gallas and the king of Hungary, penetrated into Burgundy. Terror reigned in Paris, where loud murmurs broke out against the cardinal. His enemies rejoiced at reverses which prepared his disgrace, whilst he himself, reassured by the famous Capuchin Joseph du Tremblay, his most confidential agent, affected to move about the city without guards, flattered the people, and boasted of his resources. Numbers of the nobility hastened to the side of the king, and increased the army.

The peril of France was the pretext for fresh plots against the cardinal. Gaston of Orleans and the count de Soissons united for the purpose of effecting his ruin. Two of the count's gentlemen, Saint Pol and Montresor, in concert with the two princes, determined to assassinate him ; Gaston was to give the signal ; but his heart failed him at the moment of execution. The plot miscarried, and the count de Soissons sought refuge in the city of Sedan with the duke de Bouillon. He had placed his hopes in the enemy's armies which were to be contended with ; but they did not take due advantage of their successes ; loaded with booty, and weakened by want of discipline and by desertion, they evacuated France : the royal army besieged and retook Corbie. No important advantage was gained during this campaign, either in the Valteline or Piedmont. The duke of Savoy and the marquis de Crequi obtained a bloody victory near Lake Major, at Tornavento, over the marquis de Leganes, the Spanish governor of the Milanese ; but this victory produced no result.

The emperor Ferdinand II. died the following year ; his son succeeded him, under the name of Ferdinand III., and obliged the duke de Rohan to evacuate the Valteline, in spite of the positive orders of Richelieu. Rohan passed over to Guebriant the command of his forces, and served as a volunteer under the duke of Saxe-Weimar. Victor Amadeus, a very insincere ally of France, died the same year, leaving his throne to a son under age, and the regency to his widow Christine, sister of Louis XIII.

Anne of Austria, during the course of this war, had been accused of complicity with her family ; nevertheless, a short reconciliation took place between her and Louis XIII. This was said to be due to Mademoiselle De la Fayette, who was beloved by the monarch. Having sought an asylum from his attentions in the convent of the Visitation, she combated the

prejudices of which Anne was the object, and re-established a good understanding between the king and the queen for some time. The birth of Louis XIV. was the fruit of this intercourse : Anne of Austria was confined with him on the 5th September, 1638, after twenty-two years of sterility.

The war continued, and was only fortunate on the Rhine, where Weimar, after having been beaten at Rheinfeld, surprised the Austrians in the intoxication of triumph, gained a complete victory over them, and made their four generals prisoners. The operations on the frontiers of Spain were directed by Cardinal Sourdis, archbishop of Bordeaux, and by the prince de Condé : they were forced in their lines by the admiral of Castille, and obliged to raise the siege of Fontarabia disgracefully. They reproached, but without reason, the duke de la Valette, who was encamped at a short distance from them, with not having aided them ; and thus, the following year, drew down a capital conviction on his head.

The illustrious general Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weimar, did not long survive his victory of Rheinfeld ; he died of typhus fever in 1639. France purchased his conquests in Germany and his army, the command of which was given to the duke de Longueville, who, in concert with the count de Guebriant, passed the Rhine, and kept the field during two years beyond that river, without any decided successes, but equally without reverses. All Richelieu's efforts were then directed towards Flanders, whither he sent three armies, under the command of La Meilleraye, Châtillon, and De Feuquières. The king wished to be present at the operations in person ; but events did not correspond with his hopes. The army of Feuquières was destroyed by Piccolomini, at Thionville ; Châtillon, deprived of the assistance of his colleague, only obtained unimportant successes ; La Meilleraye confined his to the taking of Hesdin, which he effected in the king's sight, and received the bâton of a marshal on the breach. Thus ended the campaign of 1639 in the north. It was more brilliant in Piedmont. That country was at this period the centre of intrigues. Cardinal Maurice, and Thomas prince of Carignan, brother of the late duke, disputed the regency with his widow Christine, whilst le Père Moned, a Jesuit, and the confessor of that princess, excited her against Richelieu. The cardinal caused this Jesuit to be carried off, and detained him prisoner till his death. The brothers-in-law of Christine succeeded in getting their pretensions supported by the king of Spain, by promising that prince to

give up the strong places of Piedmont to him. The regent implored assistance of the king of France, her brother ; Richelieu confided an army to the cardinal de la Valette, who, under pretext of protecting the son of Victor Amadeus, invaded half his territories, and then expired of a contagious fever. Richelieu gave him an able successor in Henry of Lorraine, count d'Harcourt, who revictualled Casal, then besieged by the Spaniards, and afterwards effected a fine and a difficult retreat from Chiari to Carignan, in presence of the very superior armies of Prince Thomas and Leganez, whom he conquered in the glorious battle of *La Rotta*.

The principal belligerent powers, France, the Empire, and Spain, notwithstanding some partial successes, gathered no fruit from this disastrous war, to which they were urged on by the directing ministers of Philip IV. and Louis XIII., Olivarez and Richelieu. France was exhausted, and Richelieu had had recourse to the most shameful expedients to procure the necessary subsidies : he seized the funds of the Hôtel de Ville, threw the fundholders, who ventured to complain, into the Bastille, and forbade the parliaments to protect them : he weakened the consideration which the magistrature enjoyed, by selling a great number of new judicial appointments : the reverses even of the armies seemed to redouble the obstinacy of the cardinal and increase his devotedness to the war. He lost in 1638 his most confidential agent, le Père Joseph, a Capuchin, who was better acquainted than any other person with the art of persuading kings and the mode of penetrating their secrets. "I have lost my right arm," said Richelieu, on being informed of his death. This famous Capuchin is accused of having encouraged the sanguinary disposition of the cardinal ; but he required no incentives in that respect, as he proved by ordering the prosecution of the duke de la Valette, brother of the cardinal of that name, and widower of a natural sister of the king. La Valette dared to ridicule and criticise his acts. Richelieu accused him of treachery at the siege of Fontarabia. Louis XIII., his brother-in-law, appointed a commission to try him, composed of dukes and peers, counsellors of state and magistrates, and wished to preside at the trial himself. Several of the commissaries chosen, and among them the presidents Le Jai, Novion, and Bellièvre, pointed out the illegality of this tribunal : "You create difficulties and pretend to be instructors of kings," said the angry monarch to them ; "I am master, and I can have the dukes and peers of my kingdom tried by

whom it seems best to me." None of the dukes or peers objected. La Valette, who had taken refuge in England, was tried as contumacious, condemned to death, according to the manifesto of the king, and was executed in effigy.

Two great events, of which the policy of Richelieu could claim no part, distinguished the year 1640, and were of immense advantage to France. The peoples of the Spanish monarchy were oppressed by the despotism of the prime minister Olivarez. Catalonia broke into open insurrection, and gave itself entirely up to France, whilst about the same period another revolution took place at Lisbon, where the yoke of Spain was likewise broken : the Portuguese elected as their king Duke John of Braganza, a descendant of their ancient monarchs. Depressed by these enormous losses, Spain carried on the war with France very languidly.

Guebriant, who had succeeded the duke de Longueville at the head of the army of Germany, maintained himself with honour in that country ; but the two principal points of military operations were then Artois and Piedmont. A numerous army was collected in Picardy under the three marshals, De la Meilleraye, De Châtillon, and De Chaulnes ; it entered Artois and invested Arras, of which Louis XIII. and Richelieu came to urge on the siege. It was here that the illustrious Fabert, a soldier of fortune, made himself known by a noble feat. Richelieu asked him if he knew any one who would dare, for a hundred thousand crowns, to penetrate into the besieged place and reconnoitre it : " I will go for honour," replied he, and kept his word. He afterwards raised himself, by merit alone, to the dignity of a marshal of France. In vain the Infant cardinal attempted to force the French lines and cause the siege to be raised : Arras capitulated. A young hero, the duke d'Enghien, who became the Great Condé, performed his first feats of arms in this campaign under the orders of the marshal de la Meilleraye.

The campaign of Piedmont was still more glorious for the French arms. The count d'Harcourt, with ten thousand men against twenty thousand, forced the marquis de Leganez to raise the siege of Casal : he threw himself afterwards, by an audacious and rapid march, upon Turin, which was defended by Prince Thomas, and invested that place. Leganez wished to disengage it. The French besieging army found itself besieged in its turn in its lines by an army very superior in numbers, and warmly pressed between the latter and the garrison. D'Harcourt, by the rapidity of his

manœuvres, deceived the enemy's two generals; he beat them both, and forced Prince Thomas to capitulate. He was ably seconded by the younger brother of the duke de Bouillon, the viscount de Turenne, who was destined to be one day counted among the greatest captains of Europe.

Thus, for the first time since the breaking out of this sanguinary war, the French had the advantage on all their frontiers. Richelieu profited by the circumstance, to deal the last blow upon his enemies. He caused England and Holland to be shut against the poor and suppliant mother of the king: he falsely accused the duke de Vendôme, a natural brother of the king's, of an attempt against his life, and placed him under the obligation of flying: then he turned all his strength against the count de Soissons, still a fugitive at Sedan with the duke de Bouillon and the duke de Guise, grandson of *La Balafre*. The count was the most redoubtable of all the malcontent leaders: it became necessary to win him or to crush him. Richelieu not having been able to induce him to marry his favourite niece, the duchess d'Aiguillon, resolved to destroy him.

The king, by his advice, marched upon Sedan. His army, ill disposed by Richelieu, was entirely broken up at the battle of La Marfée. The road to Paris was open to the conquering prince; but, after the battle, he was killed, in the midst of his officers, by a pistol-shot in the forehead, without its being ever known what hand fired the murderous weapon. This blow confirmed the power of the cardinal: the dukes of Guise, la Valette, and Vendôme remained in exile: old D'Epèrnon was confined in the castle of Loches, of which he was governor, and where he died at the age of eighty-nine: neither the clergy, nor the nobility, nor the parliaments durst utter a murmur: France and its king were enslaved by Richelieu.

The inflexible cardinal was equally redoubtable to all classes of the nation, to the poor and to the weak, to the rich and to the powerful. War ruined the people; and the taxes, the most burdensome of which fell upon the peasantry, became intolerable. The impost of the *taille* (a land, or poll-tax), above all, was levied upon them with frightful rigour. They were considered in their villages as bound for one another, and frequently, when these wretched people had paid their last coin in discharge of their own quota, they had their crops, their furniture, their cattle, their agricultural implements seized to discharge the taxes of neighbours still

poorer than themselves. Many of these unfortunate persons, thrown into prison for this odious cause, were protected and set at liberty by the Parliament of Rouen, whose decrees the council of the king immediately annulled. The rigours increased, and urged to despair many of the inhabitants of Lower Normandy, who, named in contempt *Va-nu-pieds* (Go-bare-feet), at length took up arms and intrenched themselves upon the hills of Avranches. Foreign troops under Colonel Gassion extinguished this insurrection in the blood of the insurgents; after the soldiers came the judges and the executioners. Richelieu selected the chancellor Seguier to avenge the royal authority: the Parliament of Normandy was suppressed; an enormous contribution was demanded of the city of Rouen; Seguier declared that the whole province should be governed by the absolute will of the king, without limits and without control, and he presided over a tribunal of his own choosing, which issued a multitude of sentences of confiscation, exile, and death.

Richelieu excited the king to deprive the parliaments of all independence and all political power: Louis XIII. commanded them to register his edicts at once, without previous examination, and scarcely permitted them to make a few observations upon matters relating to finance; many magistrates protesting against such despotism, their charges were suppressed, in order that the entire body of the magistracy should understand that it only existed by an effect of the power and royal goodness of the monarch.

It was thus Richelieu believed he served the interests of the crown, not only by suppressing revolt with a hand of iron, but still further, by levelling everything which, in the ancient institutions of the kingdom, might be an obstacle or a counterpoise to the will of the prince. His words upon his own policy make us shudder:—"I do not dare to undertake," said he, "anything without having well considered it; but when I have formed a resolution, I go straight to my object: I overthrow everything, I cut down everything, and then, I cover everything with my scarlet robe."

France maintained in the campaign of 1641 the advantages acquired in the preceding one in Artois and in Piedmont. Guebriant covered himself with glory in Germany; he succeeded, after a long and difficult march, in joining the illustrious Swedish general Bannier at Zwickau, upon the Mulda: the latter, grievously wounded, expired almost immediately after this junction, which saved his army.

Guebriant beat Piccolomini at Wolfenbuttel, and gained the celebrated victory of Kempten, over the imperial general Lamboi, on the 17th of January, 1642.

Louis XIII. then secured possession of Catalonia, which had given itself up to France. Roussillon depended upon this fine province ; Richelieu resolved to drive the Spaniards out of it, and led the king thither at the head of a powerful army, which besieged Perpignan. This place surrendered on the 4th of September, 1642, and the victory of Lamothe-Houdancourt over Leganez at Lerida, completed the conquest of Roussillon.

During this campaign, a last and bloody catastrophe carried the authority of Richelieu and the terror of his name to the utmost. The king held his favourites at his hands : the cardinal chose them so as to be informed by them of the secret wishes of the monarch, and crushed them as soon as they ceased to be useful to him, or manifested a desire to grow great without his support. He had placed near the king young Cinq-Mars, marquis d'Effiat, who was only twenty-one years of age. This young noble, appointed grand-equerrey, made rapid progress in the good graces of the sovereign, and discovering his antipathy for the cardinal, conceived the hope of effecting his overthrow. With this view, he leagued himself with the queen, Gaston of Orleans, and the duke de Bouillon, who hoped to replace Richelieu. The cardinal, whom the king had treated with coolness for some time, prudently withdrew ; he sojourned at Tarascon, and left the imprudent Cinq-Mars and his accomplices to connect themselves with the enemies of the state : he at length made himself master of the copy of a treaty of alliance with Spain, and sent it to Louis. Cinq-Mars was immediately arrested, together with his friend and confidant, but not his accomplice, De Thou, son of the celebrated historian of that name. The duke de Bouillon was made prisoner in the midst of his army, and *Monsieur* was invested in Auvergne. The king then caused himself to be conveyed to Tarascon, to the cardinal, as much oppressed by illness and infirmities as himself : the cardinal broke out into reproaches ; Louis endeavoured to excuse himself ; and finished by enjoining his subjects to obey his minister as they would himself. The cardinal repaired to Lyons by the Rhone, dragging in his wake his two young prisoners, in a boat attached to his own. A commission prepared their trial : the crime of Cinq-Mars was not proved, but the base evidence of the duke of Orleans destroyed him. Cinq-Mars

was condemned to death, and executed with the young De Thou, only guilty of not having denounced his friend. The duke de Bouillon lost his principality, in exchange for which he obtained his pardon; Gaston of Orleans had permission to live at Blois as a private individual. Richelieu, satisfied and avenged, set out for Paris, travelling in triumph. His guards bore him bareheaded upon their shoulders in a kind of furnished chamber, and he ordered the gates of the cities he passed through, which were too narrow to receive him, to be taken down: in this manner he traversed France from Lyons to his palace, where he displayed a pomp vastly superior to that of the monarch.

Shortly after this the queen-mother died in indigence at Cologne, and Richelieu quickly followed her to the tomb. During the last moments of the cardinal the king was seen to smile, and when he heard of his end, coolly said, "There is a great politician dead." He only survived him six months. A few days before his death, he named Anne of Austria regent, and Gaston, his brother, lieutenant-general of the kingdom: he joined with them a council of regency, presided over by Condé. The next day, he ordered the dauphin, who was five years old, to be baptized, and having sent for him from the chapel, to come into his chamber, he asked him what his name was. "My name is Louis XIV.," answered the child. "Not yet, my son, not yet," said the expiring monarch. This sentence alone announced a king. Louis XIII. expressed remorse for the assassination of the marquis d'Ancre, and for his treatment of the queen-mother; he pardoned all those whom he had for a long time persecuted, and died at the new château of St. Germain, aged forty-two years. The people were so tired of his government, says a contemporary, that every one wished for his death, even those who had the greatest obligations to him.

The Thirty Years' War absorbed, during this reign, the attention and the strength of all Europe. England alone took no part in it, and exercised but a weak influence on the continent: she was then occupied with the great revolution which led Charles I. to the scaffold, and with which Louis XIII., or rather his minister, was no stranger.

This king, more brave than his brother, was not, any more than he, endowed with moral strength or firmness; he loved nobody: gloomy, suspicious, jealous, and inconstant, his favour exposed its objects to as many dangers as his hatred. Incapable of reigning by himself, he was aware of his own

impotence, and this was the secret of the long ascendancy of Richelieu ; the minister was thus justly accused of promoting troubles, both at home and abroad, to render himself still more indispensable to the weak monarch who was the accomplice of his tyranny. Among the acts which emanated from the proper will of this prince, whom flatterers surnamed the Just, history marks the vow by which, on recovering from sickness, he placed his kingdom under the protection of the Virgin. In the eyes of posterity, Louis XIII. is entirely effaced before Richelieu ; and it is an instructive spectacle for all times, to contemplate this incapable king, voluntarily bowed, up to the day of his death, beneath the genius of a haughty minister, whom he hates, but without whom he feels himself powerless to reign.

Richelieu increased the strength of the kingdom, by organizing its military forces upon a formidable footing, by creating a royal navy, and by crushing the political party of the French Protestants, without attacking them in their religious creed. France owed to him, among other conquests, that of Roussillon in the south, and in the north that of Sedan, which had been a perpetual focus of intrigues. It was he who, by supporting the Protestants of Germany against Austria, consolidated the famous system of the balance of power in Europe ; but if, in many respects, his foreign policy was skilful and firm, he may with justice be reproached with having neglected every opportunity to lighten for the people the intolerable burden of so many wars by signing one honourable peace. Richelieu did not only wish that the European balance of power should be maintained, he further wished that other nations should be humbled ; and he is the true author of that violent and aggressive policy, too well followed up by his successor Mazarin, by Louis XIV., and, in our days, by an ever-famous conqueror, which makes the glory of a nation consist in the abasement and humiliation of all others : a policy always fatal in the long run, a source of terrible reactions and perpetual wars ; for the love of country and national independence and dignity dwells in the heart of all peoples ; for them, as for individuals, liberty and honour are the most precious of riches, and for an humbled or enslaved nation to accept a truce or sign a peace, is only putting off the day of vengeance. Richelieu has been much praised for having established royal power upon the ruins of feudalism ; but Louis XI., long before Richelieu, had crushed the haughty aristocracy, and, among the successors of that monarch, such as

were capable of reigning at all were absolute kings. Henry IV. himself, from the day he was acknowledged king by France, met with no limits to his authority. If Louis XIII. had had any firmness of character, he might have reigned without obstacle and without partition ; but every one felt that he was only king by name, and that Richelieu reigned for him. It was against the minister that most of the conspirators directed their plots, with the intention of degrading him and succeeding him. It was not the throne they attacked ; they disputed with Richelieu, so to say, the regency, under a king whom they knew to be too weak and too incapable ever to escape from tutelage. Richelieu doubtless inflicted heavy and terrible punishments upon the factious, and deprived them for a time of the means of resisting him with success, but he took from them all chance of pardon, and hurried them into extreme and desperate enterprises ; he had to contend with revolts to the end of his days, and his death was followed by troubles as great as those that had preceded his ministry. Richelieu did not then strengthen royal authority in a durable manner ; it was not he who made princes and nobles bow to the majesty of the throne alone, whatever the monarch might be : this object could only be obtained by the double ascendancy of great glory and long habitude, and to attain it, nothing less was required than the imposing character of Louis XIV., the duration of his reign, and the astonishing illusions which surrounded him. Richelieu, besides, by violating the rights of citizens, cities, and provinces, threw down the salutary dikes which, wisely maintained, would have been able to prevent royal authority from abusing itself ; he trampled the authority of parliaments underfoot, and to secure the peace of the state, had no resource but arms and punishments ; he laboured thus much more for the present than for the future ; the troubles which stained France with so much blood during almost all his ministry, and particularly those which broke out with so much violence after his death, prove that to discipline a nation, terror does not suffice ; that to maintain tranquillity, there is no substitute for wise laws, the protectors of all interests ; and that kings and the guardians of empires can do but little with soldiers and executioners, when they have neglected to make the organs of justice and interpreters of the law respected, by respecting them themselves.

Richelieu was still further deficient in one of the qualities most necessary to a statesman—he was no financier, and to

provide for the enormous demands upon the treasury, had no resources but in farmers-general, confiscations, and the sale of offices. We must, nevertheless, admit in his praise, that he encouraged the first commercial associations to which France owed the maintenance of her establishments in the Antilles and in Canada: it was likewise under his auspices that the East-India Company was formed in 1642.

One of the titles of glory of Richelieu is the foundation of the French Academy, in 1635. He protected the arts, embellished the Sorbonne, and constructed the Palais Cardinal, now the Palais Royal, of which he made a present to the king. To support his enterprises and his pomp, he pitilessly oppressed the people. France, under him, paid eighty millions per annum, and the expenses of his household absorbed four millions of it. His pride could not endure rivals either in power, magnificence, or talents; author of a part of the tragedy of *Mrimme*, it was in hatred of all superiority that he imposed upon the French Academy the obligation of criticising the *Cid*, the masterpiece of the great Corneille.

Reason and the spirit of propriety had not, in the time of Louis XIII., regulated the distinct attributes of each profession,—several cardinals commanded armies, and ambassadors served in wars under the friendly powers to whom they were sent. The Parliament decided in matters of science and military art; in 1621 it pronounced sentence of death against those who should teach anything contrary to the doctrine of Aristotle, and later, it commanded dispositions for the defence of the capital against the enemy.

The nation was still abandoned to the most deplorable superstitions. Richelieu caused Urbain Grandier, curate of Loudun, to be condemned to death and burnt as a magician. Marshal d'Ancre's widow shared the same fate, a little while before. Great importance was still attached to the predictions of astrology, and at the moment that Louis XIV. was born, an astrologer was placed in the chamber of Anne of Austria, to observe the heavens. Nevertheless, in all parts of Europe, modern genius made bold and great flights in arts, sciences, and letters. Shakespeare and Bacon had illustrated England: in Spain they had as contemporaries Michael Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and the historians Mariana and Herrera; in Italy, the poets Marini, Tassoni, and the immortal Tasso, the historian Davila, and the learned physicians Galileo and Torricelli; in Holland, the great politician Grotius; in Germany, the astronomer Kepler

and Tycho-Brahé. The great painters, Rubens, Vandyke, and Teniers were then the glory of the Flemish school, whilst Guido, Albano, Lanfranc, and Dominichino sustained that of the Italian school. The manners of France, still half-barbarous, particularly stood in need of the influence of the arts and letters. Already that country had produced Descartes, who operated a revolution in philosophy and science, by following the experimental mode pointed out by Bacon and Galileo; already too Malherbe and Rotrou had acquired merited glory, the latter as the precursor of the great Corneille in tragedy, the former as the true creator of the French language of poetry: at length Peter Corneille appeared, and with him opened the great literary age of France.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.

War of the Fronde.—The monarchy attains the highest degree of splendour and strength.—Conquest of Flanders, of Franche-Comté, of Alsace.—Cruel oppression of the Protestants.—Reverses of France.—Exhaustion of the kingdom.—Prodigious debt.—Great literary age.

1643—1715.

CHAPTER I.

Minority of the king, administration of Mazarin, war of the Fronde.
1643—1661.

THE reign of Louis XIV. may be divided into three principal epochs: the first comprehends the time which passed between the accession of the king and the death of Cardinal Mazarin; a period in which the monarch took no direct part in the government: the second embraces the most glorious years of his reign, from 1661 to 1685: the third commences at the moment at which great errors injured the prosperity of the kingdom and tarnished the glory of the sovereign; it extends from the death of Colbert to that of Louis XIV.

Anne of Austria, the regent, named the duke de Beaufort, second son of the duke de Vendôme, and grandson of Henry IV., governor of her two children, and chose for her minister Augustus Potier, bishop of Beauvais, a man without ability and totally unacquainted with affairs: she afterwards pressed the Parliament to dissolve the council of the regency. Flattering promises gained both the partisans of Richelieu and their adversaries, and in a bed of justice, held on the 18th of May by the young king, aged five years, the queen was recognised regent of the kingdom, and left at liberty to compose her council according to her pleasure. This was the second time that, during a minority, the Parliament had been called upon to point out the hand which alone ought to exercise supreme power. The States-General, nevertheless, had alone inherited the political rights of the

ancient parliaments, or general assemblies of the free men of the nation, held under the kings of the two first races : the Parliament of Paris, though the peers sat in it, was but a simple court of justice, and had no other attributes superior to those of the parliaments of the provinces. Mary de Medici and Anne of Austria, by submitting beforehand to its decision, contributed to give it a false and exaggerated opinion of its political importance : from this resulted great troubles and serious perils for the state.

Cardinal Mazarin, although a member of the council of regency, had advised that it should be broken up : the queen rewarded his devotion by naming him prime minister, and his favour became the pretext for fresh intrigues. Those whom Richelieu had proscribed returned in crowds to court, where they complained that the queen, formerly as much persecuted as themselves, did not load them with favours. Augustin Potier, jealous of Mazarin, entered into their league, which was named the Cabal of the Importants, and whose chiefs were the Guises, the Vendômes, the D'Epernons, the famous duchess de Chevreuse, and her mother-in-law, the duchess de Montbazou. The last-named lady having offended the duchess de Longueville, sister of the already celebrated duke d'Enghien, was disgraced by Anne of Austria ; the duke de Beaufort, in love with her, partook her desire for vengeance ; the regent proceeded to punishment, without fear or scruple ; she exiled several from court, confined the duke de Beaufort at Vincennes, and sent the bishop of Beauvais to his diocese. By these rigorous measures she destroyed the Cabal of the Importants, and gave all her confidence to Cardinal Mazarin. From this time France enjoyed some peace at home for three years.

The war against the Empire and Spain continued, and was glorious for France upon all the frontiers. Louis de Bourbon, duke d'Enghien, so celebrated under the name of *the Great Condé*, five days after the death of Louis XIII., gained, in Flanders, the famous battle of Rocroi over the Spaniards, commanded by Don Francisco de Mélda. In this battle perished the famous count de Fuentes ; and at the same time was destroyed the redoubtable Spanish infantry which he commanded, and which had been held invincible from the days of Charles V. The conqueror only owed his success to himself, and was only twenty-two years old. The important capture of Thionville was the first fruit of this victory, which was quickly followed by the death of Marshal Gue-

briant and the defeat of the count de Rantzau, his successor, beaten at Dutlingen by the duke of Lorraine, John de Werth, and the famous Mercy. There only remained five or six thousand men of an army which for a length of time had made the Empire tremble: Marshal de Turenne was sent to collect the wrecks of it. Brilliant successes effaced these reverses: D'Enghein, with Turenne serving under him, conquered Mercy at Fribourg: the prince, to animate his soldiers in this great conflict, threw his staff of command into the enemy's trenches and recovered it sword in hand. In the following year he marched to the assistance of Turenne, who had been surprised and beaten at Mariendal, and gained the battle of Nordlingen: the death of Mercy decided the victory. The great talent of Condé consisted in forming in an instant the boldest resolutions, and in executing them afterwards with prudence and rapidity. The duke of Orleans, uncle to the king, and the count d'Harcourt had likewise happily sustained the war, the one in Flanders and the other in Catalonia. The first, aided by the marshal de Gassion, obtained possession of Gravelines and Courtray, and took Mardick in sight of the enemy's army. The French were not less fortunate at sea: twenty of their galleys, in 1646, beat the Spanish fleet off the coast of Italy, and the same year, the duke d'Enghien, seconded by the celebrated Van Tromp, the Dutch admiral, gave Dunkirk to France: he then flew into Spain, where he failed before Lerida, of which place he was forced to raise the siege. About this time Naples rose at the voice of the fisherman Massaniello. The duke of Guise, called upon by the Neapolitans, threw himself into the city, but France did not support him; he was made prisoner by John of Austria, natural son of Philip IV., and Naples again fell under the Spanish yoke.

The years 1647 and 1648 were fatal to the house of Austria: Turenne, aided by the Swedes, gained the battle of Sommerhausen, General Wrangel took Little Prague, and the battle of Lens terminated the war: the duke d'Enghien, now become prince de Condé, fought it, in 1648, against the archduke Leopold, brother of the emperor. He marched against the enemy pronouncing only these words: "Soldiers, remember Rocroi, Fribourg, and Nordlingen." He routed the Imperialists and the Spaniards; and took a hundred colours and thirty-eight pieces of cannon; his victory was complete, and Leopold was left without an army. Overwhelmed by so many reverses, Ferdinand III. consented to

treat, and peace was at length signed at Munster in Westphalia. By it France retained Alsace, the three bishoprics, and the two places of Philipsbourg and Pignerol, the keys of Germany and of Piedmont. The principal articles of the treaty, relative to the allies of France, proclaimed the sovereignty of the various states of Germany, in the extent of their territory, determined their rights in the general diets of the empire, and admitted the Calvinists to the enjoyment of the same advantages as the Lutherans : Sweden obtained part of Pomerania, several strong places, and five million crowns : the Swiss cantons were declared independent of the Germanic empire, and the independence of the United Provinces was equally recognised with respect to that empire and Spain. The peace of Westphalia terminated in Germany the sanguinary war of thirty years. Spain alone refused to accede to it, and war continued between that country and France.

At the period in which this celebrated treaty was signed, great troubles agitated the interior of the kingdom. Mazarin, now all-powerful, created for himself a hatred and an indignation almost universal. To great talent for intrigue this minister joined much indolence and frivolity. Ridiculous in his accent and his manners, and odious as a foreigner, he was the object of several cabals. He desired, as Richelieu had done, that the royal authority should be absolute, and his despotism raised as many enemies as that of his predecessor ; but Richelieu, by his cruelties, filled his with terror and dread, and held many of them in obedience ; Mazarin, on the contrary, by the perpetual employment of falsehood, by his tortuous and perfidious policy, added contempt to hatred in the minds of his adversaries, and emboldened them all to contend with him. The queen-regent was loudly accused of having given her entire confidence to an Italian priest, who was acquainted with neither the genius nor the laws of the nation, and of having composed her council with less reference to the requirements of the state than to the wishes of her minister. A Siennese, Particelli d'Emeri, a contemptible man, to whom Mazarin confided the finances, rendered France indignant by his luxury, his debaucheries, and his odious fiscal resources. He created ridiculous offices, which he put up to sale ; he raised the tariff on the rights of entrance, and exhumed an edict of 1548, which forbade the extension of Paris, and inflicted as a penalty upon the transgressors, the demolition of the buildings constructed beyond

the boundary laid down, and the confiscation of the materials. A great number of individuals who had contravened this long-forgotten edict, paid large sums to save their property: the operation ordered in this case by the government was named *le toise* (measure of a fathom); it excited great murmurs: the Parliament inquired into the matter, and the edict was withdrawn. Mazarin then wished to retain four years' salary of the members of all the sovereign courts, except the Parliament of Paris, and he threatened to suppress the right of *Paulette*, which made their offices hereditary in the families of magistrates. This arbitrary act raised a general clamour. The great council, the Court of Accounts, the Court of Aids, exclaimed against it, and pointed out to the Parliament that the decision which excepted it from this measure was only made in order to introduce disunion into it: the Parliament assembled, and passed the celebrated edict of *Union*, which ordered that two counsellors, chosen from each of its chambers, should confer with the deputies of the other companies upon the interests of all. Mazarin declared that such a sentence was antagonistic to the rights of the crown, and Anne of Austria was desirous of immediately punishing all who had signed it. This queen, said Mazarin, was as brave as a soldier that knows no danger, and it was with difficulty she restrained her anger. The Parliament, whose zeal was stimulated by the young magistrates of the *Enquêtes* (Court of Inquiry), gave all its time to affairs of state, and conciliated public favour by invoking the laws and adopting many popular resolutions. The Chamber of St. Louis voted twenty-seven articles, which were to be proposed for the approbation of the Parliament and the sanction of the queen-regent. In a number of articles the magistrates allowed to appear their jealousy against financiers and their ignorance of all the principles of credit; but most of the leading ones were devoted to useful reforms and wise measures; some secured individuals the payment of their dividends from the Hôtel de Ville, relieved commerce from odious monopolies, and reduced the overwhelming impost of *la taille*, which only affected the lower classes, by a quarter; other articles forbade, under pain of death, the levying of any tax otherwise than by virtue of edicts verified with liberty of suffrage by the sovereign courts, and interdicted the detention of any subject of the king's more than twenty-four hours without examining him and passing him over to his natural judge.

The propositions of the Chamber of St. Louis were the

bases of a national constitution ; the citizen class hailed them with enthusiasm, the people saw their own cause in that of the magistrates who adopted them, and the Parliament deliberated upon them, in spite of the prohibition of the queen-regent, who called all these articles so many *assassinations* attempted against royal authority. The court, the army, the multitude, were divided into two factions, that of the *Mazarins*, and that of the *Frondeurs*, or partisans of the Parliament.* The first president, Matthew Molé, a man of a great character, interposed in vain between the two parties ; his moderation and his love of concord and peace only drew upon him the insults of all. Among the most ardent to excite the magistrates, were the members of the old cabal of the *Importants*, the ex-keeper of the seals, Châteauneuf, Montresor, and Saint Ibal, both of whom had offered to poniard Richelieu ; Chavigny, the author of Mazarin's fortunes, but disgraced by him ; Fontrailles, and above all, the famous Jean François Paul de Gondi, coadjutor of the bishop of Paris, and better known by the name of Cardinal de Retz, an able man, endowed with a profound and just understanding, and particularly greedy of renown and of the power of the head of a party. For a long time before, his charities had gained him the hearts of the people : at the commencement of the troubles he offered his support to the regent, who had the imprudence to despise it, and he immediately passed over to the ranks of the *Parliamentarians*.

Anne of Austria, determined to repel every attack upon the absolute authority of the crown, restrained herself, though trembling with anger, in the expectation of a favourable opportunity, and the Parliament was pursuing with courage its deliberations upon the articles of the Chamber of St. Louis, when news arrived of Condé's celebrated victory at Lens. The queen thought she had found, amidst the enthusiasm excited by the triumph of the royal arms, a propitious moment to act with vigour, and, during the performance of the *Te Deum* for this victory, she gave, with her own mouth, orders to the lieutenant of her guard to seize three of the most factious members of the Parliament, the presidents Charton and Blancmenil, and the counsellor Broussel : the

* The magistrates opposed to the court were, in the origin of the troubles, compared to the scholars who fought with *slings* in the ditches of Paris, and who dispersed at the approach of the watch and authority. The word became popular, and continued, though its application soon ceased to be a just one.

first escaped, the two others were arrested. The report soon spread, and the people rose ; they extended chains across the streets, formed barricades, pursued the carriage of the cardinal, and massacred the soldiers amidst cries of *Broussel and liberty!* The Parliament repaired in a body to the Palais Royal ; they energetically represented to the queen the danger that threatened her, and, seconded by Mazarin, obtained the release of the two magistrates. The treaty of Westphalia was not yet signed, the treasury was empty, and the court found itself without resources to sustain at the same time a foreign war and domestic feuds. Mazarin perceived that moderation was necessary. Guided by his counsels, Anne of Austria dissembled, and sanctioned, on the 24th of October, 1648, in a celebrated declaration, most of the articles of the Chamber of St. Louis. On the same day peace with the empire was signed at Munster ; Spain alone being now at war with France, some regiments were immediately recalled from Flanders to the environs of the capital. In consequence of a quarrel with the duke of Orleans, the prince de Condé attached himself to Mazarin, whom he detested, and promised him his support. Anne of Austria then fancied herself in a condition to overcome her adversaries : accompanied by the cardinal, she suddenly quitted Paris for St. Germain ; she denounced the magistrates of the Parliament as guilty of conspiracy against royal authority, and of intelligence with the enemies of the state, and ordered troops to march towards the capital. The Parliament, on their side, raised money and soldiers, and issued a decree which declared Mazarin a disturber of the public peace, and commanded him to quit the kingdom within a week : this was the commencement of the civil war.

Condé commanded the royal army ; most of the princes and great nobles of the kingdom, Conti, Longueville, Nemours, Beaufort, D'Elbeuf, and Bouillon, embraced the cause of the magistracy and liberty. They were not guided in this either by their love of the laws or their respect for the rights of citizens ; interest, ambition, or the caprices of a senseless love for some women of high rank, brilliant beauty, and easy morals, had decided their choice. Most of them professed the profoundest disdain for the citizens and the people, and entertained not a particle of care for political liberty ; but the remembrance of the independence which the great had enjoyed in the feudal times was ever present to their minds ; they detested a despotism which weighed heavily upon them-

selves ; they devoted their wealth to the support of a multitude of gentlemen, who thus became their clients, and who looked upon it as a duty to serve, against the king himself, those who attached them to them by their favours. Enthusiasm for royalty, devotion to the crown, of which Louis XIV. afterwards made a sort of religion for the nobility, were then almost unknown ; and the strongest proof of this may be drawn from the example of one of the men who has done most honour to France : Turenne declared for the Parliament against the court ; he forgot everything to please the beautiful duchess de Longueville, the sister of Condé, and after having in vain attempted to turn his army against Anne of Austria, he quitted it as a fugitive and joined the Spaniards.

France at this period presented a deplorable spectacle, —anarchy prevailed everywhere, and there existed in men's minds a confusion equal to that which was outwardly exhibited in facts. On one side, the prerogatives of the crown were invoked, and yet nowhere were the rights of regal authority legally and clearly defined ; on the opposite side, appeal was made to the rights of citizens and magistrates, and yet no positive, incontestable law established them in an absolute manner. The conduct which the most illustrious magistrates who raised their voices in support of their privileges and the public liberties then held, bears witness to their uncertainty as to the justice of their cause : the first president Matthew Molé, the advocate-general Omer Talon, eloquent and noble interpreters of the national wish and ardent defenders of their order, believed that there existed laws which the authority of the crown could not infringe upon ; but they, at the same time, carried much further than the nobility the respect for the prince in whose name they administered justice ; they saw the people arm themselves in their cause with regret, and entered with extreme repugnance into a contest with the crown. In addition to this, the Parliament of Paris did not represent the nation, as that of England did ; the self-love of its members and the pride of their body did not prevent them from feeling that the States-General alone would have had a legal character to regulate, in concert with the regent, the great interests of the state, and that they could not substitute themselves for the States in this great task : they wished then for that which was impossible, —they wished that royal authority should receive limits from them, without being themselves firmly resolved to have recourse to the ex-

treme means which alone could insure their triumph. They were obliged to succumb, and their defeat completely deprived the subject of all guarantee, all security for property or liberty ; it contributed greatly to the durable establishment of despotism in France, for power is always inclined to extend itself and pass all bounds, when useless efforts have been made to confine it.

The almost general absence of all deep conviction in men's hearts during the troubles of the Fronde, had great influence over the conduct of both parties : the frivolity of the motives that put arms into the hands of most of the leaders often betrayed itself by a strange levity of language, which the multitude imitated. This war desolated the kingdom and made rivers of blood to flow, and yet the most serious events of it were sung about the streets and turned into ridicule. The duke de Beaufort, whose perfectly familiar manners enchanted the populace, was surnamed *le roi des halles* (the king of the markets) ; the coadjutor of Paris, bishop of Corinth *in partibus*,* raised a regiment, which the people called the regiment of Corinth : the queen's troops easily routed it : this check was called *the first to the Corinthians* : the coadjutor wore a poniard in his girdle : " That," said the people, " is our archbishop's breviary." The Parisians marched out gaily from their walls, ornamented with scarfs by the hands of the duchesses of Bouillon and Longueville ; and yet a few royal soldiers were sufficient to put them to flight.

A first accommodation took place, slightly to the advantage of the Parliament, but without any decisive result. The queen and the cardinal were insulted by frightful libels ; after having returned to Paris, they again left it accompanied by the young king, and resolved to blockade the city and tame it by starving it. Condé directed the military operations against Paris, and Mazarin sent the Parliament a *lettre de cachet*, which exiled it to Montargis : the Parliament replied by a decree, which declared Mazarin an enemy of the king and of the state, a disturber of the public peace, and ordered him to quit the kingdom within eight days. The Parisians soon became tired of the war and famine : the civil troubles proved advantageous to the Spaniards leagued with the Fronde, and the parties made peace at Ruel, on the 11th of March. This peace satisfied nobody ; the Parliament was

* This is used to designate a bishop who bears the title of a bishopric occupied by infidels.

left at liberty to assemble again on its own authority, and the queen retained her minister.

Condé, assuming consequence from his glorious services, rendered himself insupportable to the queen by his haughtiness and extravagant pretensions; he imposed odious obligations upon Mazarin, requiring that the count d'Alais, his relation, governor of Provence, and guilty of atrocious violence, should be supported against the Parliament of Aix, and that the duke d'Epemon, whom he hated, should be condemned by that of Bordeaux. The prince surrounded himself with a multitude of gentlemen and adventurers, attracted to him by his high reputation, and took little care to dissemble his project of making himself independent in France. He thus alienated the queen-regent and her minister; the Frondeurs in vain endeavoured to attach him to their party,—he despised them, and instituted a process against the coadjutor, the duke of Beaufort, and Broussel, whom he accused of having attempted to assassinate him. Mazarin made advances to the coadjutor, and chose the moment in which Condé had rendered himself as odious to the Frondeurs as to himself to attack him: an insult which the prince had offered the queen determined her to employ strong measures. He himself signed, without knowing it, the order for his own arrest; seduced to the Palais Royal, on the 18th of January, under the pretence of a council, he was arrested with his brother, the prince de Conti, and his brother-in-law, the duke de Longueville: a detachment of light horse guarded them to Vincennes, whence they were transferred to Marcoussi, and then to Havre.

The duchess de Longueville fled into Normandy, hoping to raise that province, of which the duke, her husband, was governor; Mazarin anticipated her, she failed in her project, and repaired to Stenay, near Turenne, whom she once again armed against the court. This great man, united with the Spaniards, was beaten at Rethel by Duplessis-Praslin. The young princess de Condé, seconded by the dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucauld, was more fortunate in Guienne; she entered Bordeaux, which place she induced to revolt, and then raised the province. Mazarin prevailed upon Anne of Austria to transport herself thither with the young king; the rebellion was suppressed, but Bordeaux continued devoted to the party of the princes. Necessity alone had connected Mazarin with the coadjutor and his friends, who detested

him ; during his absence more conspiracies were got up against him. The party of the princes, which was named the *little Fronde*, was united to the old Fronde by the exertions of the princess Palatine, Anne of Gonzagua, second daughter of the duke of Nevers and Mantua, a woman endowed with singular capacity for intrigue ; the coadjutor being very much in favour with Gaston d'Orleans, attached that prince strongly to the Parliamentarians, so that when Mazarin returned to Paris he found a formidable league armed against him. The people received him with murmurs ; the Parliament, excited by the coadjutor, required the queen to set the captive princes at liberty, and the duke of Orleans insisted upon the dismissal of Mazarin. Anne of Austria thought of giving battle in his defence, but the cardinal yielded to the storm ; he quitted Paris and repaired to Havre, where he released the princes, who treated him with contempt. Banished for ever by the Parliament, he declined the asylum offered to him by the Spaniards, and retired to the elector of Cologne at Bruhl, from which place he continued to govern both the queen and the state.

The unanimity among the enemies of Mazarin soon ceased ; Condé dominated over the Parliament, and again offended the queen by his haughtiness and his suspicions ; he accused her of allowing herself to be still directed by Mazarin, reproached her with retaining as ministers Le Tellier, Lyonne, and Fouquet, creatures of the cardinal, and required their dismissal. Anne of Austria, very much irritated, sent for the coadjutor, and supplicated him, with the most pressing solicitations, to employ his interest in favour of Mazarin against the prince. Gondi, the mortal enemy of the cardinal, resisted all the seductions of the queen, and refused to aid her in the recall of her favourite ; but he promised to get rid of Condé, raised the people of the capital against him, and succeeded in again separating the great from the little Fronde. The two rivals for power presented themselves before the Parliament on the 21st of August, each accompanied by a numerous troop of armed partisans ; they threatened each other, hundreds of swords and poniards were drawn from their scabbards within the inclosure of the palace, and the coadjutor was on the point of being assassinated. The Parliament pronounced in his favour : Condé saw arrayed against him the queen, the Fronde, and the people ; he quitted Paris and directed his course towards Guienne. Pride and ambition urged him on to criminal excesses, and in concert with Spain, he prepared for

war. Almost all the provinces beyond the Loire,—Guienne, Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, declared for him. Turenne and the duke de Bouillon, his brother, yielded to the instances of the queen and remained faithful to her. Anne of Austria once more quitted Paris, in order to bring the revolted provinces into obedience : she went to Bourges, from whence she sent an edict to the Parliament, which declared Condé a rebel towards the king and France. The Parliament registered this edict ; for, though it was at variance with the queen, it was anxious to repel all reproach of an intelligence with the enemies of the state. When at a distance from the adversaries of the cardinal, Anne of Austria again betrayed her weakness for him ; she surrounded herself with his creatures, and exhorted him to return to France. He re-entered France accompanied by an army of from seven to eight thousand men, the officers of which wore his colours, and which was commanded by the marshal d'Hocquincourt. The coadjutor was immediately aware of the fault he had committed in permitting the court to withdraw to a distance from the capital ; he raised the people against the partisans of Mazarin and the queen. The hotel of Matthew Molé, president and keeper of the seals, was assailed by a furious mob ; Molé ordered his doors to be thrown open, and advanced towards them alone and without arms ; he threatened to have all hung who should act illegally, and quieted them with the mere ascendancy of his character and his language. He joined the court at Poitiers, and the Parliament set a price upon the head of Mazarin. The latter continued his march towards Poitiers ; the king and his brother came out to meet him, and received him with great distinction. Anne of Austria eagerly replaced the burden of affairs in his hands, and he became more powerful than ever. Gaston of Orleans, the weakest of men, and the plaything, by turns, of all parties which his age or his name called upon him to support, became reconciled to Condé, and joined to the troops of that prince, commanded by the duke de Nemours, all the forces he had the disposal of. The Parliament did not revoke its sentence against Condé ; from that time, hostile to all parties, that assembly seemed not to know what it did or what it wished for, and exhibited nothing but irresolution and weakness.

Nemours, at the head of an army composed of twelve thousand French, Germans, and Spaniards, marched towards Guienne, which Condé then defended against D'Harcourt. His intention was to place the court between the two fires ;

whilst Anne of Austria, endeavouring to re-enter Paris, approached Orleans. Mademoiselle de Montpensier, daughter of *Monsieur*, sent by her father to the defence of that place, obtained entrance to it through a watercourse or drain, presented herself unexpectedly before the citizens occupied in deliberation, won all their suffrages, and shut the gates against the king.

The royal army, under the orders of Turenne and D'Hocquincourt, reascended the Loire, and crossed the river at Gien, in the environs of Blesnau, almost in face of the rebels, commanded by the two disunited princes, Nemours and Beaufort. The marquis d'Hocquincourt, against the advice of Turenne, dispersed his troops in several villages round Blesnau ; Turenne established and intrenched himself at Gien, where the king and his court were : he saw with inquietude the faults of his colleague, but consoled himself by reckoning upon the want of union and the inexperience of the leaders of the enemy's army. All at once, in the middle of the night, the royal army was attacked with vigour and unity of aim, the villages were fired, and five of the quarters of the marshal d'Hocquincourt were successively carried ; he saw his troops cut down or dispersed, and with great difficulty rallied the remains of them at Blesnau. Turenne, warned of the disaster, mounted on horseback and galloped to a neighbouring eminence. He observed the movements of the enemy by the light of the flames, and with the certain instinct of his genius, immediately exclaimed : " Monsieur le Prince is arrived, it is he who commands that army." He was not deceived ; the prince de Condé had transported himself with wonderful rapidity from the banks of the Garonne to those of the Loire, and when he was believed to be a hundred and twenty leagues off, he was there in face of Turenne ; he carried Blesnau, and marched upon Gien, but his redoubtable adversary awaited him there. Condé saw his scientific dispositions and halted before this last obstacle : Turenne deprived him of both the prize and the victory, he saved the king and the army. The court reached Sens, and established itself in the neighbourhood of the capital.

Condé followed the royal army and drew near to Paris : he braved the decree of the Parliament, which condemned him and shut the gates against his troops ; he entered personally with his principal officers, Beaufort, Nemours, and Rochefoucauld ; he afterwards removed his general quarters from Etampes to St. Cloud, then he entered once more into

the capital, and, in concert with Gaston of Orleans, had recourse to violence to obtain money and soldiers : both took into pay a band of miserable wretches, whom they ironically named the *cut-throats* of the Parliament, and insulted and ill-treated the magistrates who resisted their violences. Famine desolated Paris, and the royal army was at its gates. The princes and their partisans gave up their time to balls and festivities. The marshal de la Ferté, faithful to the king, approached the city with troops, in the intention of joining Turenne, then encamped at St. Denis. Condé feared to be surrounded, and wished to fall back upon Conflans, along the faubourgs of Paris, unknown to the royal army. Turenne perceived this movement, and came down with his forces upon the troops of the prince, in the faubourg St. Antoine : a sanguinary contest there took place, in which the two great captains exhibited equal bravery and skill. Condé, much the weaker in numbers, was about to succumb, when the people, harangued by *Mademoiselle*, the daughter of Gaston, were moved in favour of the prince. *Mademoiselle* hastened to the council at the *Hôtel de Ville*, she obtained permission for Paris to be a place of refuge for the conquered : from thence she mounted to the Bastille, and ordered the cannon to be fired upon the king's troops : the gates of the city were opened, and the army of the princes was saved.

Paris then became the theatre of frightful disorders ; the troops of Condé for a moment rendered the two princes all-powerful : the latter excited the people against the members of the council who were opposed to them. The populace besieged the *Hôtel de Ville* and prepared to set fire to it : at beholding the light of the flames, several magistrates rushed out in great consternation, and were instantly slaughtered. The accusation of *Mazarinism* was quite sufficient to endanger any man's life : anarchy and terror were at their height.

The princes took advantage of the general trouble and consternation to change the council of the *échevins* ; they named old Broussel *prévôt des marchands*, and the duke de Beaufort governor of Paris. The famous coadjutor, Cardinal de Retz, ever the enemy of Condé, armed the archiepiscopal palace, and furnished the towers of the cathedral with warlike instruments and munitions. The magistrates durst scarcely venture to the Parliament. Those who from interest or fear submitted to the princes, feigned to consider the king, now of age, as prisoner to Mazarin ; they proclaimed Gaston

lieutenant-general of the kingdom till the expulsion of the cardinal, and Condé generalissimo of the armies. The king reversed this decree, and ordered the Parliament to transport itself to Poitiers ; several members obeyed and went thither ; Molé presided over them. Each army was authorized by a parliament, as in the time of the League.

Both parties were tired of this disastrous war, and Mazarin seemed to be the only obstacle to the conclusion of it : Charles of Lorraine drew near with an army, with the purpose of strengthening the faction of the princes, and the queen-regent was already preparing to retire beyond the Loire. The prudent men who surrounded her combated this fatal project, and prevailed upon her to do violence once more to her affections. She sent Mazarin away ; he a second time quitted the court, and retired to Sedan ; leaving his creatures round the queen, and continuing thus to govern her by his counsels. The people of Paris were intoxicated with delight at learning the dismissal, as they thought it, of the minister. Condé, whom they accused of all their sufferings, was constrained to quit the capital ; the Spaniards courted him, he set out with the duke of Lorraine, and threw himself into their arms. The coadjutor went out to meet the king, received the red hat, and returned to Paris, where King Louis XIV. re-entered on the 21st of October, amidst the acclamations of the people. The king confined his vengeance to banishing from the capital and from his court the duke of Orleans, his uncle, and the leaders of the revolt. The cardinal de Retz from that time almost alone opposed the return of Mazarin ; he still endeavoured to appear redoubtable, and never left his archiepiscopal residence without being surrounded by a numerous guard ; dissatisfied with the court, in spite of the brilliant offers that were made him, he meditated a fresh attack upon it. Anne of Austria anticipated him ; she caused him to be arrested, and sent him to Vincennes.

The Spaniards had taken advantage of the civil troubles ; Casal in Piedmont, Gravelines, Mardike, Dunkirk, had fallen again into their hands, and Condé was advancing at the head of a numerous army. Turenne checked his march with inferior forces, and protected France in a campaign memorable for the skill displayed by the two illustrious adversaries. Anne of Austria then recalled Mazarin to Paris, where she welcomed him with transport ; the city gave him brilliant festivals, and the people saluted him with joyous acclama-

tions, adding by their inconstancy to the profound contempt he entertained for them. The cardinal assumed an absolute authority, and subdued the revolted provinces. Bordeaux, in which the prince de Conti and the duchess de Longueville commanded, was, with part of Guienne, still in a state of open rebellion. The count d'Harcourt had left his army before that city, and wishing, after the example of the princes, to make himself independent, had taken possession of Brisach and Philisbourg, in Alsace ; he now gave them up, and Bordeaux, the theatre of sanguinary scenes, was obliged to submit. Mazarin triumphed over all his enemies ; he caused Condé to be condemned to death by the Parliament, and gave one of his nieces in marriage to the prince de Conti ; *Monsieur* resided in retirement at Blois ; Mademoiselle de Montpensier wandered without credit from province to province, and, after having pretended to the hand of the king, ended by marrying a simple gentleman. The cardinal de Retz, transported from Vincennes to the castle of Nantes, succeeded in escaping, and left the kingdom ; the duke de Beaufort yielded with a good grace, and the famous duchess de Longueville, reduced to political inaction, embraced the quarrel of the Jansenists against the Jesuits, and finished by giving herself up to the austere practices of the most fervent devotion. Thus ended the war of the Fronde, remarkable in the annals of history for the incidents which characterized it ; a strange picture, in which were seen, in the foreground and among the combatants, an archbishop, magistrates, and the most brilliant and beautiful women by the side of the two greatest captains of Europe. Condé alone was still in arms. Louis XIV. made his first campaign against him in Picardy, under the direction of Turenne. It was fortunate ; Turenne, throughout it, held himself on the defensive, and obliged the enemy to raise the siege of Arras.

On his return, the king gave evidence of what he was likely at a future day to prove. The people groaned under the weight of the imposts consequent upon the war, and fresh financial edicts appeared in 1655. The Parliament, which had registered them in a bed of justice before the king, wished to revise them and alter their decision. When informed of this proceeding, Louis presented himself in the great chamber, in his hunting dress, with his whip in his hand, and taking his seat,—“ Messieurs,” said he, “ every one is acquainted with the evils which the assemblies of the

Parliament have produced ; I will in future prevent them. I command, then, that an end be put to those commenced upon the edicts which I have ordered to be registered in a bed of justice. Monsieur the first president, I forbid you to allow these assemblies, as I do every one of you to call them." These haughty words silenced the Parliament, and the murmurs they provoked were soon stifled by the prudence of Turenne. This great captain soon opened a fresh campaign in Flanders, in which, in his turn, he assumed the offensive, and was constrained by Condé to raise the siege of Valenciennes.

France and Spain then disputed an alliance with England, recently become a republic, governed by Cromwell in quality of Lord Protector. Charles I. had died upon the scaffold in 1649, for having endeavoured to render his authority absolute in that country, and for attempting to abolish the Presbyterian religion in Scotland. Cromwell had powerfully contributed to this great catastrophe, and exercised all the ascendancy that a profound and subtle genius, full of enthusiasm and audacity, can obtain in political revolutions : a very few years were sufficient for him to render England flourishing, and to give him a commanding influence in Europe. He set a price upon his alliance, and Mazarin prevailed over Philip IV., by promising to deliver up Dunkirk to the English, if that place were retaken by the French, and to abandon the cause of the two sons of Charles I., both grandsons of Henry IV., and who passed from the camp of Turenne to that of Condé. Cromwell, on these conditions, assisted the French with a fleet and six thousand soldiers. Flanders was still the theatre of war, and the battle of the Dunes, in which Turenne triumphed over his illustrious rival, threw Dunkirk into the hands of the conquerors, who immediately made it over to the English. This victory, followed by the taking of a great number of places, made Philip IV. disposed for a peace, equally wanted by both countries. Conferences were opened for this purpose in the Isle of Faisans,* between Mazarin and Don Louis de Haro. They were celebrated by the diplomatic talents there displayed by the two negotiators, and were twenty-four in number ; such and so many were the questions to be

* An island in the river Bidassoa, which separates France from Spain. It is also called the Isle of Conference, from the circumstance here related. Here the hostages of France and Spain used to be delivered, it being neutral ground.—*Trans.*

discussed and settled. This peace, signed on the 7th* of November, 1659, and called the peace of the Pyrenees, was the most useful and memorable act of the administration of Mazarin : by it, Philip IV. adhered to the cession of Pignerol and Alsace to France, which, besides, preserved Roussillon and Cerdagne up to the foot of the Pyrenees, and several cities in Artois, Luxembourg, and Flanders : it was stipulated that Condé should submit to the king with the assurance of obtaining a pardon and the government of Burgundy, and that Louis XIV. should espouse Maria Theresa of Austria, daughter of Philip IV. Condé was restored to favour, and the marriage was concluded the following year. The dowry of the infant was fixed at five hundred thousand crowns, and Philip obliged his daughter to renounce, for herself and her descendants, all claims she or they might have to the Spanish succession.

Cromwell had died, and this event plunged England again into anarchy. Charles Stuart, son of the late king, had then in vain solicited the support of Mazarin, who despaired of his cause ; but, a few months afterwards, he was recalled to England, and proclaimed king by the title of Charles II. Leopold, seventeen years of age, had obtained the imperial dignity in 1657, at the death of his father, Ferdinand III., and Charles Gustavus had reigned in Sweden from 1654. Christina, his relation, and daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, had abdicated the throne in his favour, in order to give herself up without distraction to letters and sciences. Europe was at peace, and the moment approached at which Louis XIV. was to govern France by himself. Mazarin, absolute master of the kingdom, and possessor of a colossal fortune, drew near the term of his life : uneasy on account of his ill-acquired riches, which many authors make amount to fifty millions, and which would be equal to a hundred millions* now, he offered them to the king, declaring that he was only willing to hold them at his hands. His expectations were not deceived ; Louis XIV. returned him all his fortune, and Mazarin died, after having secured the most brilliant establishments to his five nieces, one of whom, Mary de Mancini, had been beloved by the young monarch.

France was partly indebted to Mazarin for the advantages of the peace of Westphalia and that of the Pyrenees, and we cannot deny the possession of great talents to him who

* £4,088,333. 13s. 4d. sterling.

signed these treaties, who twice governed France from his place of exile, and preserved the supreme authority to the end of his life under such a prince as Louis XIV. for sovereign, and with such men as the cardinal de Retz and the great Condé for adversaries. He deserves serious reproaches for always having made the interests of France subservient to his own : a better diplomatist than a minister, and full of contempt for the people, Mazarin enriched himself without scruple at their expense, did nothing for the interior prosperity of the state, and left France without credit and almost ruined. He was deeply skilled in the knowledge of mankind, and this, in a great measure, was the secret of his power : he gave Colbert to Louis XIV., and discovered and foretold the proud and dominating genius of this monarch. The negligence with which he educated him was a crime towards him as well as towards the state : Mazarin kept him in ignorance, in order to render himself the longer necessary at the head of the government. He taught him to represent, and, according to his own expression, to play the king ; but it was not Mazarin that taught him to be one in fact : nature in this respect did everything for Louis XIV. "There is," said the cardinal one day, "stuff enough in him for four kings ;" and the monarch of twenty years of age announced, the day after the death of this minister, into what hands the authority was fallen. Harlai de Chanvallon, president of the assembly of the clergy, having asked him to whom he should in future address himself on affairs of state : "*To me,*" replied Louis XIV. From that moment he was the sole master of France, and continued such to his death.

CHAPTER II.

Continuation of the reign of Louis XIV.—From the death of Mazarin to that of Colbert. 1661—1683.

LOUIS XIV. was born with the instinct of greatness, order, and power. His character partook of the national character in an insatiable thirst for admiration ; and at the moment in which he took the reins of government, there was a happy and remarkable coincidence between the private inclinations of his genius and the wishes of his people. Suffering from the disastrous consequences of civil and foreign wars, France, without internal government, without finances, without credit, stood in need of a centralizing power, which might

complete the suppression of factions, and which would employ the immense resources of his territories, no longer for the satisfaction of a few ambitious men, but for the glory and prosperity of the nation. Louis XIV. founded his power upon admiration and fear ; he re-established order in the state, and as long as the exigencies of his pride were in accordance with the interests of his kingdom, his reign presented an uninterrupted series of wonders and triumphs ; he raised France to an unheard-of degree of power and splendour.

The first acts of his government revealed a prince jealous of his power, and resolved to see everything and do everything by himself. He at once declared, after the advice of Mazarin, that he would have no prime minister. His council, formed by the cardinal, was composed of the chancellor Seguier, keeper of the seals ; of Le Tellier, minister of war ; of Lyonne, minister of foreign affairs ; and of Fouquet, superintendent of the finances. The king, convinced by Colbert of the criminal exactions of the last-named, and perhaps still more wounded by his pomp and magnificence than by his dishonesty, meditated having him seized in the midst of a sumptuous banquet, which the superintendent gave at his country seat of Vaux, on the day of the marriage of Henrietta of England, sister of Charles II., with the duke of Orleans, brother of the king. He however refrained from this mode of proceeding, and Fouquet was shortly after arrested, on his order, at Nantes, and brought before a commission. Condemned to banishment by his judges, he was sentenced to perpetual confinement by the king. His friend Pelisson rendered himself illustrious by his courage in defending him, but was unable to save him. The finances were confided to Colbert, with the title of comptroller-general ; and from that moment order replaced chaos in all the branches of public administration.

Louis XIV. proved himself no less jealous of the honour of his crown, and impatient to restore France to the rank she had a right to occupy in Europe. The Spanish ambassador having, in a public ceremony at London, used violence and trick in order to take precedence of the count d'Estrade, the ambassador from France, Louis was so irritated that he threatened Philip with war ; he forced him to make public reparation, and to renounce every competition with him on the footing of equality. He carried still further his vengeance on this head, with regard to the court of Rome. In conse-

quence of an affront offered to his ambassador by the Corsican guard of the pontiff, he required and obtained that that guard should be broken up, that the pope's nuncio should come into France to ask pardon, and that a pyramid should be erected at Rome to recall at the same time the offence and the reparation. This was the first time the Romish court had ever submitted to such a humiliation. Some expeditions gave, with foreigners, a new authority to the words of the monarch. Brought up by Mazarin in the principles of the Italian school, imbued with that prejudice so fatal to the happiness of the human race, that strength, and not conscience, ought to be the only law in policy, Louis XIV. supported with success Portugal against Spain, in contempt of the treaty of the Pyrenees. He lent a more honourable assistance to the emperor Leopold against the Turks : a body of French, under the counts De Coligny and La Feillade, covered themselves with glory at the battle of St. Gothard, in which Montecuculli completely defeated the grand vizier : this victory procured a truce of twenty years between Turkey and Austria.

The king, by the advice of Colbert, concluded a useful commercial alliance with Holland, and supported that republic against England to the peace of Breda, in 1667. He at the same time confided the command of a fleet to the duke of Beaufort, who purged the Mediterranean of the Barbary pirates, and carried the terror of the French arms nearly to Algiers. These expeditions carried away or thinned the old undisciplined bands of the times of the Fronde. Louis created a new army, and, seconded by his minister Louvois, son and successor of Le Tellier, he gave this army an organization which was a subject of admiration and envy for Europe. The governors of provinces ceased to be able to levy troops and dispose of them arbitrarily; the great military offices were suppressed, and the grades being always separate from the profession, nomination and advancement entered into the special attributes of the monarch; the troops wore a uniform; all branches of the service, particularly the artillery, the ammunition, the food, and the arms of the infantry, were regularly supplied. The army ceased to be an instrument in the hands of the factious; it had no head but the king, and contributed greatly to strengthen his authority, at a time when it was particularly necessary that royal power should be strong that the nation might be great.

France likewise began to taste the fruits of the vigilant cares of Colbert; that great minister, bred in a counting-

house, and the son of a wool-merchant at Reims, succeeded in his difficult reforms and in the execution of all his plans, by a strong will and indefatigable labour. He established a chamber of justice charged with the prosecution of all farmers of the revenue accused of extortion or enormous profits, and to reduce annuities acquired at a very low price, a measure most frequently unjust and always popular; he suppressed a multitude of useless places which lessened the contributors to the *taille*, and, in the course of his ministry, reduced that burdensome impost from fifty-three millions of livres to thirty-two millions; he prepared the first statistical tables that were ever seen in Europe, reduced the legal interest of money to five per cent., and subjected the accountants to a rigid discipline. By these means he effected an immense financial amelioration: at the death of Mazarin, the revenues were eighty-four millions, the charges were fifty-two, so that thirty-two millions only reached the royal treasury; but at the death of Colbert, the revenues amounted to a hundred and sixteen millions, the charges only absorbed twenty-three, and the royal treasury received ninety-three millions. Colbert opened new sources of riches to France, and founded her prosperity upon commerce and industry: he encouraged the manufacturers of the lace of France, the glasses of Cherbourg, the fine cloths of Louviers, Abbeville, and Sedan, the Gobelins tapestry, the carpets of La Savonnerie, and the silks of Tours and Lyons. France owes to his cares perfection in clock-making, the restoration of horse-breeding, and the cultivation of madder; he occupied himself in securing vents for the produce of the manufactories; he founded colonies and created the chambers of commerce, chambers of assurance, entrepôts, conveyances, and a new system of customs favourable to commercial enterprises. He was reproached, nevertheless, and with justice, with having sacrificed the interests of agriculture to those of industry, not only by forbidding the exportation of corn, but by prohibiting its free circulation at home.

A navy was necessary to protect commerce: Colbert carried it beyond the proportions pointed out by the wants of France; he all at once astonished Europe with the sight of a hundred vessels of war and an army of sailors. His administration furnished the king with means of covering the French frontiers from the north and the east with a triple line of fortresses, and to acquire Dunkirk, that city so necessary for the defence of the kingdom, and which was shamefully sold

by Charles II. to Louis XIV., in contempt of the interests of England.

The king lost his mother, Anne of Austria, in 1666. Philip IV., his father-in-law, died the preceding year, and Louis, without taking any account of the formal renunciation of Maria Theresa, immediately set up pretended rights upon Flanders, to the exclusion of those of Charles II., the minor son of Philip IV. The pretence he assigned was, that the queen's dowry not having been paid, her renunciation was null and void, and invoked a custom of Brabant, by which eldest daughters inherited in preference to younger sons; he supported these claims by a numerous army, won over the emperor Leopold by giving him to hope he might share the spoils of Charles II., and took the field at the head of his household. Turenne commanded under him; Vauban and Louvois accompanied him. Father Nithard, a Jesuit, the confessor of the queen, then governed enfeebled Spain, which offered but very little resistance to the arms of Louis XIV. This prince, in three weeks, made himself master of French Flanders. The conquest of Franche-Comté, a province governed by Spain with republican forms, was resolved upon and achieved within a month.

Europe became alarmed at these rapid successes; a triple alliance against Louis was formed by England, Holland, and Sweden; it was concluded in a few days. The grand pensionary of Holland, John de Witte, became the soul of this league, which obliged the king to sign the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which he retained a part of Flanders, and gave up Franche-Comté.

Louis XIV., during the peace, gave his attention to the interior administration and the affairs of the Church of France, which was disturbed by the quarrels of Jansenism.* He then turned his thoughts towards Holland, and determined to punish that country for the part it had taken in the triple alliance. He entertained a profound disdain for every other government but that of a single person, and whilst he ought to have conciliated industrious citizens, who poured annually sixty millions into his markets, he listened to nothing but his

* Five propositions upon *grace*, attributed to Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, and condemned by Innocent X. in 1653, kindled a war in the Church of France. It regarded a mystery which reason cannot penetrate. The Jesuits attacked these propositions and met with redoubtable adversaries in the celebrated Arnault and in the eloquent Pascal, author of the *Provincial Letters*.

hatred and contempt for them. This was one of the great faults of his reign. Everywhere and always he had before him this nation of merchants, heretics, and republicans, whose existence even excited his indignation, and whose wealth raised him enemies in the new world as well as the old. Offended by some medals which represented the United Provinces as the arbitrators of Europe, and irritated by the impertinence of some gazetteers, the king laid hold of these frivolous pretexts as an excuse for declaring war against the Dutch ; he detached from alliance with them Charles IX., king of Sweden, and Charles II. of England, always ready to sell his support, and sacrifice the interests of his people for his pleasures. The navies of Holland covered the seas, and insured the commercial prosperity of that republic, by protecting its magnificent establishments in the East Indies. Louis XIV. strengthened his by fifty English vessels, and entered Holland at the head of a hundred thousand men ; Turenne, Vauban, Luxembourg, and Louvois were with him. The last-named provided with admirable foresight for the comfort and maintenance of the soldier, by magazines, till that time unknown, of clothing and provisions. Condé commanded the army. Never had such formidable preparations been made for the conquering of a petty state ; and nothing in the history of mankind can be found more honourable than the energetic efforts made by the Dutch to repel it.

To a hundred and thirty thousand fighting-men, supported by a formidable artillery, and commanded by the most illustrious generals, the United Provinces had nothing to oppose but a young prince of a weak constitution, who had seen neither sieges nor battles, and about twenty-five thousand ill-disciplined soldiers. Prince William of Orange, only twenty-two years of age, had just been elected by the national voice captain-general of the land forces, and the grand pensionary, John de Witte, who dreaded the influence of the house of Orange, had only yielded to this choice from necessity. William, under an appearance of phlegm, nourished an ambition and a thirst for glory, that were the motives of his whole conduct. His genius was active and penetrating, his courage was intrepid, and his firmness was proof against all reverses. He was at first unable to check the torrent which burst upon his country : all the places upon the Rhine and the Yssel fell into the hands of the French.

The prince of Orange had not troops enough to keep the field ; he had lines formed in haste beyond the Rhine, but

soon became aware of the impossibility of defending them. The passage of this river, more boasted of than glorious, was executed without the least danger under the eye of the king, and in face of the Dutch, far too inferior in numbers to offer any resistance. An imprudent charge cost the life of the duke de Longueville ; Condé received a wound, and yielded the command to Turenne. In a few months three provinces and forty strong places were taken ; Amsterdam was threatened : in addition to the evils of war, interior dissensions desolated Holland. The party of the grand pensionary, John de Witte, was desirous of peace ; William, who aimed at the stadtholdership, and could only become great by arms, pronounced for war. John de Witte prevailed, and advances were made to Louis XIV., by a deputation which counted in its ranks a son of the illustrious Grotius. Advantageous proposals were made to the king, but Louis required still more ; his successes and his wounded self-love blinded his reason : he required the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in Holland, the abandonment of a part of the temples to the Romish worship, twenty millions for the expenses of the war, the cession of all the United Provinces possessed upon the Wahal and the Rhine, and expiatory medals, which should be every year presented to him as an acknowledgment that the United Provinces held their existence and their liberties of his clemency. These cruel pretensions exasperated the Dutch people ; they directed their fury against John de Witte and the admiral Cornelius de Witte, his brother ; they accused them of complicity with Louis XIV. ; the people massacred them, tore them to pieces, and subjected their remains to a thousand insults. Despair gave strength to the vanquished ; they bored their dikes, and laid their country under water, to compel the French to quit it. The Dutch admiral Ruyter contended gloriously against the combined squadrons of France and England, and the issue of the battle of Saultsbay freed the coasts of the republic from all fear of insults. Europe was roused in favour of Holland : the emperor Leopold, the king of Spain, most of the princes of the empire, Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg, the first founder of the high destinies of his house, all, alarmed at the ambition of Louis XIV., leagued against him. Charles II. himself was constrained, by his parliament, to forsake France. Louis XIV., by listening to the advice of his minister Louvois, had committed the fault of disseminating his troops in a multitude of conquered places, of which

Condé and Turenne were desirous, and with reason, to destroy the defences : threatened by so many enemies, he could not effect a union of his forces sufficient to keep the field, and all Holland was soon evacuated ; the king was only able to retain Grave and Maestricht.* Franche-Comté indemnified him for so many losses. Louis marched to the conquest of this Austrian-Spanish province : Noailles commanded under him. Besançon only stood out nine days against the genius of Vauban ; the province was conquered, for the second time, in six weeks, and taken for ever from Spain.

The great Condé, opposed to the prince of Orange, fought his last battle near Senef, in Flanders : he won it, but William rallied his troops and checked the conquerors : three times Condé fell upon him without being able to drive him from his last and impregnable position. The loss was frightful on both sides : twenty-seven thousand dead were left upon the field of battle ; Condé had three horses killed under him ; they fought fourteen hours, and the issue of the battle was undecided.

Turenne had to defend the frontiers on the Rhine, and in this campaign displayed all the resources of art and genius. After a rapid and skilful march, he crossed the Rhine at Philisbourg, fell upon Sintzheim, forced that city, and, at the same time, attacked and put to flight Caprara, the emperor's general, and Charles IV., the old duke of Lorraine. Turenne after having beaten him, pursued him, and destroyed his cavalry at Ludenburg ; from that point he prevented, by a rapid manœuvre, the junction of two bodies of imperial troops ; near the city of Ensheim, he attacked the prince de Bournonville, who commanded one of these bodies, and forced him to retreat ; then he himself retired before superior forces commanded by the elector of Brandenburg, and took up his winter quarters in Lorraine. The enemy believed the campaign terminated ; for Turenne it was only beginning. He resisted Louvois, and even Louis, who, alarmed at his danger, pressed

* The campaign of 1672 had been traced with profound wisdom, and yet the issue of it was not fortunate. Errors of execution caused the fruit to be lost of the astonishing success at first obtained. An irresistible infatuation for sieges caused the opportunity for entering Amsterdam to be lost. Garrisons were left in a number of places that ought to have been razed to the ground as soon as they were taken. The army, like the Rhine and the Meuse, which divide and spread their waters in all directions on entering Holland, covered a part of the enemy's territory, and could not stir a step to conquer the rest. Germany being alarmed, interfered in favour of the United Provinces, and obliged us to abandon our conquests.—Roquancourt, *Cours d'Art et d'Hist. milit.*

his retreat. Brisach and Philisbourg were blockaded ; seventy thousand Germans occupied Alsace ; but Turenne had planned everything ; he saw how he could surprise and conquer them. With twenty thousand men and some cavalry sent to him by Condé, he crossed by Belfort and Thanus, mountains covered with snow, and all at once appeared in Upper Alsace in the midst of enemies who believed him to be still in Lorraine. He successively beat, at Mulhausen and Colmar, the corps which resisted. A formidable body of German infantry yet remained intact. Turenne waited for them in an advantageous position at Turkheim, and routed them. Thus a formidable army was destroyed in a few months with very little effort : Alsace became part of the king's dominions, and the generals of the empire recrossed the Rhine. This memorable campaign drew a cry of admiration from all Europe, but by permitting the burning of the Palatinate, in order to deprive the enemy of all resources, Turenne deeply stained his glory. Two cities and a multitude of villages were given up to the flames, and the barbarities of the soldiery were not checked.

The emperor at length sent against Turenne Montecuculli, the first of his captains and the conqueror of the Turks at St. Gothard. The two great adversaries at first tried each other mutually by a series of skilful manœuvres, which still excite the admiration of tacticians : they at length, however, both appeared on the point of giving battle, near the city of Salzbach, in the country of Baden, and Turenne believed himself to be sure of conquest, when, whilst visiting a battery, he fell dead, struck by a cannon-ball : the same shot carried away the arm of M. De St. Hilaire, the lieutenant-general of infantry, who said to his son, weeping over him : " It is not to me, my son, it is to that great man our tears are due." Turenne at his death was sixty-four years of age ; born a Protestant, he had been converted to Catholicism, and was buried in the tomb of the kings at St. Denis. Montecuculli, when informed of his death, obliged his two successors, the generals De Lorges and Vaubrun, to recross the Rhine ; Vaubrun was killed in the passage of the river, De Lorges effected his retreat. The free city of Strasbourg immediately offered its bridge to Montecuculli, who penetrated into Alsace. Condé was the only person that could be opposed to this great captain with any probability of success, and was sent to meet him. His genius displayed as much skill as that of Turenne had done. Two encampments

sufficed to stop the progress of the imperial army, and to force Montecuculli to raise the sieges of Haguenau and Saverne : Alsace was evacuated, and this skilful campaign was the last of both the illustrious rivals. The great Condé lived from that time in a glorious retirement at Chantilly, where he died in 1688 : as soon as he had ceased to command the armies of France, Montecuculli retired from the emperor's service.*

The duke de Crequi allowed himself to be beaten, this same year, at Consarbruck, near Trèves, by the duke de Lorraine ; but brilliant successes effaced this reverse. Messina had shaken off the yoke of Spain, and placed itself under the protection of France. Seconded by the Dutch navy, the Spaniards attempted to retake it ; Duquesne, at the head of the French fleet, defeated their projects : he gained the naval battle of Stromboli and that of Agosta, which cost Admiral Ruyter his life ; the marshal De Vivonne completed the destruction of the enemy's fleet on its coming out from Palermo. These glorious operations were followed by two brilliant campaigns of the king in Flanders. The heroic taking of Valenciennes, effected in open day, by the musketeers ; that of Cambrai, of St. Omer, and the victory of Cassel, gained by the duke of Orleans, brother to the king, over the prince of Orange, terminated this war, unjustly begun and gloriously finished. Louis found himself the arbitrator of Europe. The States-General of Holland grew tired of a struggle that was only maintained by their subsidies : a conference assembled at Nimeguen, where peace was signed on the 10th of August, 1678. Holland recovered all it had lost during the war ; Spain abandoned Franche-Comté and a great number of places in the Low Countries to France ; the emperor ceded the two imperial cities which the marshal De la Feuillade had taken, and gave Fribourg in exchange for Philisbourg ; the rights of possession of France over Alsace were confirmed. The young duke of Lorraine, nephew of Charles IV., refused to submit to the rule of Louis XIV., and declined the conditions upon which he was to be re-established in his states, and which France continued to occupy ; Sicily was evacuated.

* Montecuculli had a successor in Eugène, Turenne had none. Several of his pupils associated their names with memorable victories, but not one of them attained the reputation of this great master, whose ardour increased with his years and experience.—*Roquancourt*. May not an Englishman here put in a word for Marlborough, who served under Turenne, and was called by him "the handsome Englishman !" —*Trans.*

To the advantages assured by the peace of Nimeguen, Louis joined others no less important, but which he obtained by fraud and violence. It was said in the treaty, that the cessions should be accompanied by *all their dependencies* ; the negotiators had reckoned upon these unions being made in concert ; Louis XIV. arrogated to himself the right of regulating them alone : he, in consequence, established a sovereign chamber at Besançon, and two councils, equally sovereign, the one at Brisach and the other at Metz, charged with the duty of pronouncing without appeal upon these unions to his crown. By this arbitrary measure, the king of Sweden, the dukes of Wurtemberg and Deux-Ponts, the elector Palatine, the elector of Trèves, and a number of other princes were despoiled of a part of their dominions, and summoned to render homage for other states. Louis XIV. took possession of Strasbourg in a manner no less violent. Louvois and the marquis de Montclar presented themselves unexpectedly before that place, at the head of twenty thousand men. Reduced to capitulation by menaces and seduction, it was united to France, and Vauban, who fortified it, made it the rampart of the kingdom against Germany.

Justly irritated by these usurpations, the powers of Europe signed a fresh league, on the very day of the capture of Strasbourg ; but three hundred thousand Turks had just poured down upon the empire, and Vienna, reduced by them to extremity, must have succumbed but for the assistance of John Sobieski, king of Poland, and Charles of Lorraine, both belonging to the army of the Circles. Leopold and most of the powers, too much weakened to renew the war, protested against France, without acting. Spain alone ventured to take the field, and lost Courtrai, Dixmude, and Luxembourg. A truce of twenty years, to which the emperor and Holland acceded, was concluded at Ratisbon ; it authorized the king to retain, for the term of its duration, Luxembourg, Strasbourg, and all the unions decreed by the sovereign chambers. It was in this manner that Louis XIV., extending his conquests by indirect and illegitimate ways, accumulated upon his head long and deep resentments, which he was destined to suffer from in the day of adversity.

Everything seemed to give way before his arms. Spanish vessels lowered their flag before his ; Duquesne purged the Mediterranean of the pirates that infested it, and twice bombarded the city of Algiers with newly-invented bomb-vessels. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli submitted. Genoa was

accused, wrongfully perhaps, of having furnished the corsairs with assistance : fourteen thousand bombs battered its marble palaces, and its doge was compelled to come to Versailles to implore the mercy of Louis XIV. This monarch had now attained the height of his power and glory ; his name excited throughout Europe hatred, admiration, and terror. The court of Rome, already humbled by him, was conquered a second time by him in 1682, on the subject of the right of *royalties*.* This right, up to the time of Louis XIV., did not affect the churches of the provinces for a long time separated from the kingdom, such as Guienne, Provence, and Dauphiny ; an edict of the king's, issued in 1673, subjected all the churches of France to it. Pope Innocent XI. opposed the execution of it ; the struggle was long, and at length, in 1682, an assembly of the French clergy drew up, under the influence of Bossuet, the four famous articles in which was explained the doctrine of the Gallican church. They declared in substance : First, that the ecclesiastical power has no dominion over the temporal power of princes ; secondly, that the general council is superior to the pope, as was decided by the Council of Constance ; thirdly, that the exercise of the apostolic power ought to be tempered by the canons and usages of particular churches ; fourthly, that the judgment of the sovereign pontiff in matters of faith is not infallible but with the consent of the Church. The king ordered these four articles to be immediately registered in all the parliaments, and the professors of the schools of theology were obliged to subscribe to them. The pope condemned them, and refused bulls to all those who had been members of the assembly of 1682. The bishops named by the king continued, however, to govern their dioceses, but only in virtue of the powers that were conferred by the chapters. This expedient, suggested by Bossuet, perhaps prevented a complete schism between the Church of France and the Church of Rome.

Whilst dreaded by Europe, Louis XIV. was an absolute king in his own dominions. He had destroyed the small number of national franchises, which to his time had been preserved more by custom than by law. All orders and all

* This name was given to the right possessed by the kings of France, to the exclusion of all other sovereigns, to enjoy, during the vacancy of episcopal sees, and up to the registering of the oaths of the new bishops, the revenues which were attached to them, and further to confer divers benefices dependent upon these sees on subjects who were not obliged to solicit the canonical institution of the great vicar.

bodies of the state rivalled each other in expressions of devotedness and obedience to the sovereign : the clergy, to whom Louis interdicted the service in his armies, and against whom he shut the doors of his council, had lost all political consequence ; this body esteemed itself fortunate in preserving a shadow of independence by paying, with the title of a gratuitous gift, subsidies which it believed it had the right to refuse as imposts : the great nobles, considerably diminished in numbers by so many wars, were attracted to court, degraded by habits of brilliant slavery about the person of the monarch, and by the charms of pleasures and festivities : the numerous body of provincial nobles, almost all disseminated in the armies, became aware that they preserved no authority in the state beyond their ranks, and that they had none from their hereditary privileges :* the Parliament found its functions limited to the administration of justice ; every political power was taken from it ; the king only allowed it to retain the absurd faculty of addressing remonstrances to him upon his edicts, a week after their registration : the third estate lost its municipal liberties by the definitive establishment of intendants and the sale of perpetual mayoralties : the three orders were in fact reduced to political nullity by the prejudices of the king against states-general, and by his invincible resolution never to convoke them. The bonds of a central government and the occult power of the police, newly created, completed the reduction of the kingdom to passive obedience. The king kept it in this state by the dazzling illusion of his victories and by the wonderful creations of his reign. Himself aspiring to all sorts of renown, he had, in the midst of his career, obtained that of conqueror, and the much purer glory of protector of letters, sciences, and commerce. Seconded by Colbert, he promulgated his celebrated ordinances upon the waters and forests, upon the navy and manufactures, as well as upon the codes of civil procedure and criminal indictments. These regulations are disfigured by the errors and barbarous prejudices of the times ; but they separate into special divisions matters till that period confounded together, and it was particularly on this account that they were admired and in part adopted by all Europe.

The king seconded the efforts of Colbert, by giving a pro-

* They had only preserved a weak portion of their ancient seignorial jurisdictions.

digious activity to manufactures, and by assigning the first place of honour in his court to the productions of French skill and industry. At his voice manufactories sprang up, and his vessels covered the ocean ; colonies were established, and four companies were founded in Asia, the West Indies, and the coasts of Africa. The vigilant care of the king embraced the roads, the canals, the ports of his dominions : his genius associated itself with all great and useful creations. Guided by Vauban, he defended his frontiers of the east and of the north by a triple line of fortresses ; he ordered important constructions at Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort ; he adopted the plans of Riquet, presented by Colbert, and caused the canal of Languedoc to be dug, by which he united the two seas ; he completed the paving of his capital, and provided for its police and lighting during the night ; he commanded the interior *boulevards* to be traced, built the Hôtel des Invalides and the Observatoire, the gates of St. Denis and St. Martin, and the admirable façade of the Louvre, constructed after the plans of Claude Perrault. He surrounded himself with the most distinguished of the great men of his age, borrowed from them a portion of his glory, and did honour to himself by rewarding them : his benevolence extended even to foreign artists and learned men, he induced several to come to France, established a school for painters at Rome, and at Paris academies of sculpture, painting, and architecture ; upon the proposition of Colbert, he founded the Academy of Sciences and that of Inscriptions, placed the Royal Library in a vast and proper locality, and extended the number of its volumes from 16,000 to 40,000 ; he commanded the voyages of Tournefort, and caused the meridian of Paris to be measured. His renown was spread to the extremities of Asia, and the king of Siam sent a solemn embassy to felicitate the king of France and treat with him.

The importance of the labours and scientific discoveries ; the creations of Colbert, Louvois, and Vauban ; the conquests of Turenne and the Condés ; the splendour of literary glory ; the eloquence of Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Fléchier, and Fénelon ; the masterpieces of Corneille, Molière, Racine, Boileau, La Fontaine, and so many other celebrated men ; the profound writings of the great thinkers and moralists, such as Pascal, Descartes, La Bruyère, and Rochefoucauld ; the prodigies of the arts cultivated by the Girardons, the Pugets, the Le Bruns,

the Le Sueurs, the Poussins, the Mansards, the Le Nôtres, gave an incomparable lustre to the part of this reign of which we have rapidly traced the picture, and contributed to procure from posterity the name of *Great* for the monarch, and for the period in which he reigned *the age of Louis XIV.*

Beneath such imposing greatness, however, many vices and numerous perils were concealed. Louis XIV. believed himself to be possessed of an absolute right over the life and property of his subjects, and styled himself the lieutenant of God upon earth.* Dazzled by the prodigies of his reign, intoxicated by adulation, a conqueror over all resistances, he almost came to believe himself of a nature superior to humanity, and to persuade himself that his glory rendered lawful on his part that which was, before God, culpable on the part of other men. He was to be seen, amidst the splendour of his festivities, taking about in the same carriage, in the face of the people and the army, his wife, Maria Theresa, and two of his mistresses; and the illusory charm which he threw over his adulterous amours with Mesdemoiselles de la Vallière and de Fontange, and Madame de Montespan, was almost as fatal to national manners and morals as the shameful disorders of his successor.

He made it his pride to triumph over difficulties and to undertake impossible things. Colbert, who encouraged his taste for building, beheld with terror the public wealth swallowed up by the gigantic and useless constructions of Versailles. It was easy to foresee all the misfortunes with which France would be threatened, if the will of the prince, without any counterpoise, should cease to be inspired by the counsels of genius, and listen only to those of ignorance and fanaticism; if his indomitable pride were to be brought, one day, to accord with the sinister suggestions of a narrow and ill-understood devotion; and if his prejudices, and the interests of his power, with those of his family, should be ever found in opposition with the interests and wants of France. These sombre forebodings of superior minds were but too soon justified. Colbert died in 1683, the same year as the queen Maria Theresa, and that was the end of the proud course of the prosperities of the reign. Already the prodigalities of the king and the expenses of the last war, undertaken in opposition to his counsels, had obliged Colbert to have recourse to loans, the sale of many offices, and vexatious

* *Mémoires et Instructions de Louis XIV. pour le Dauphin*, pp. 93, 301, 336.

taxes, which made the people murmur : after him, the finances fell again into frightful confusion, and it might be said that this great minister carried away with him to the tomb the noblest part of the glory and fortunes of his master.*

CHAPTER III.

Continuation and end of the reign of Louis XIV. 1683—1715.

THE health of Louis XIV. after 1682, underwent an alteration which exercised the most lamentable influence over his character, by disposing him to give himself up without reserve to the fatal suggestions of Louvois and Madame de Maintenon : the former, selfish, proud, and insensible, had been the personal enemy of Colbert : the latter, intriguing and bigoted, almost obliterated by the dryness of her heart, her ambition, and her cruel prejudices, the eminent qualities which distinguished her mind. The Catholic daughter of the Protestant leader Agrippa d'Aubigny, widow of the poet Scarron, and governess of the children of Louis XIV. and Madame de Montespan, she soon raised herself from this obscure post to a rank the most elevated : it is beyond all doubt that the king, listening more to personal scruples than to the voice of public morality, thought to reconcile his passion with his duty by secretly marrying her : the year 1685 is that which is assigned to the celebration of this clandestine marriage. From this period Louis XIV. appeared to have outlived himself : great talents still shone around him, and gave birth to masterpieces ; brilliant victories interrupted the course of his adversities ; but his resolutions were mostly dictated by pride or superstition ; most of them hurried on the ruin of the monarchy, and none of them were conceived in the true interest of its greatness or its prosperity.

One of the first and the most fatal acts of the third epoch of this reign was the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The Protestants, from the taking of Rochelle, had lived peaceably

* In this able summary, and amidst these sensible reflections, we think M. de Bonnechose has not insisted enough upon this point. Colbert was not only a great minister, he was the greatest in the annals of mankind. In all that is here described, Colbert's is the good, his master's the weak and the vainglorious. Louis' principal merit is allowing himself to be guided by a mind so vastly superior to his own. As the glory of Thebes rose and fell with Epaminondas, so does all the real glory of the reign of Louis XIV. begin and end with Colbert.
—*Trans.*

and obedient to the government ; they were distinguished by the purity of their morals and by their active industry. Louis XIV., however, had always viewed them with an eye of hatred and anger. Very little informed in the essential differences of the two modes of worship, he was offended that any one should dare, in his kingdom, to profess publicly opinions that did not accord with his own, and he arrogated to himself the same authority over the consciences of his subjects that he exercised over their blood and their property : his cruel persecutions of the Reformers were suggested by his pride much more than by his devotion. He had meditated the ruin of their churches for a long time ; numerous conversions were obtained by menaces and violence, or purchased at gold weight ; the unfortunate Protestants saw themselves successively despoiled of all their rights and all their privileges : their ministers were forbidden to wear the ecclesiastical dress, to enter the houses of the sick, to visit prisons ; their professors were forbidden to teach languages, philosophy, or theology ; their schools were destroyed, and gifts made to the consistories were transferred to Catholic hospitals ; cunning and force were employed to deprive them of the bringing up of their own children. Repulsed from public functions, they gave themselves up to manufactures, which owed their rapid progress to them. Colbert protected them, but at his death, Louvois, his envious rival, in concert with Michael Le Tellier, his father, chancellor of France, and Madame de Maintenon, exhorted Louis XIV. to sacrifice them. The numerous blows which the king had already inflicted upon them, had placed them out of a condition to attempt anything in their own defence, when, on the 22nd of October, 1685, appeared the ordinance which suppressed the edict of Nantes : it interdicted throughout the kingdom the exercise of the Reformed religion, ordered all its ministers to leave France within a fortnight, and enjoined parents and guardians to bring up their children and their wards in the Catholic religion. Emigration was forbidden under penalty of the galleys and confiscation of property : Catholic preachers pervaded the cities inhabited by Protestants, and in places where the missions were unable to convince by persuasion, *dragonnades* were had recourse to, to convert by force. Already, many times before this ordinance, the government had sent dragoons amongst the obstinate religionists, with license to indulge themselves in all sorts of excesses towards them until their conversion should

be obtained. Atrocious and numberless violences were committed ; such as resisted these barbarous prescriptions were condemned to the gibbet and the galleys, the ministers were broken alive. A hundred thousand industrious families escaped from France ; the foreigners, who received them with open arms, grew rich by their industry at the expense of their native country. This odious ordinance redoubled the hatred of Protestant nations for the king, and increased their resources and their forces, whilst weakening those of the kingdom ; several regiments of refugee Frenchmen were formed among them, who, more than once, proved terrible to the persecuting monarch.

The conduct of this prince with respect to foreigners was neither more just nor more prudent ; he had formerly found in insulting medals a sufficient excuse for a war with Holland, and he himself allowed the marshal de Feuillade to erect a monument to him on the Place des Victoires, at Paris, upon which a light burned before his statue, at the feet of which the nations of Europe were represented as conquered and chained. He maintained at Rome, in spite of the popes, the franchises, or right of asylum for all the vagabonds and malefactors who took refuge at the French embassy. Other powers, in possession of this odious privilege, had renounced the scandalous right ; when pressed by the nuncio to imitate them in this respect, Louis replied with haughtiness, " that he never regulated his conduct by the example of anybody, and that God, on the contrary, had established him as an example for others." His ambassador was excommunicated by Innocent XI., who at the same time refused to appoint to the electorate of Cologne the candidate protected by the French monarch : Avignon was immediately seized. Louis XIV. fancied he should redeem his offences offered to the pope, by his rigours towards the Calvinists ; but his recent usurpations, maintained with so much arrogance, disgusted all Europe. The prince of Orange, against whose consent the peace of Nimeguen had been concluded, had become the soul of a new league, which took the name of the *League of Augsburg*, a city in which the union of the powers was resolved upon. The emperor, the Empire, Spain, Holland, Savoy, almost all Europe coalesced against France, and Louis sent a large army into Germany, under the command of the dauphin. " My son," said the king to him on his departure, " in sending you to command my armies, I give you an

opportunity of making your merit known ; go, and show it to all Europe, so that when I die it may not be perceived that the king is dead."

This campaign was opened at the period of the second revolution of England. James II., brother and successor to the immoral Charles II., had publicly acknowledged himself to be a Catholic, and had raised his subjects against him, by endeavouring to re-establish the Romish religion in his kingdom. William, prince of Orange, the husband of his daughter Mary, called upon by the wishes of the people of England, crossed the sea at the head of a fleet and a Dutch army: he dethroned his father-in-law, whom Louis XIV. received in France with royal magnificence, and whose cause he at once embraced, notwithstanding all the enemies who menaced his frontiers on the east and the south.

Seconded by Henry de Durtfort, marshal de Duras, and by Catinat and Vauban, the dauphin had already got possession of Philisbourg: this place fell into the hands of the French within a month, and before the end of the campaign, they were likewise masters of Mayence, Trèves, Spire, Worms, and a multitude of other places, which were given up to them by the cardinal de Furstemberg in the electorate of Cologne: thus, at the very opening of the war, three ecclesiastical electorates and a part of the Palatinate had succumbed to his arms. This unfortunate province, by an order from Louis, signed by Louvois, was a second time inhumanly ravaged, with the view of driving the enemy from it: forty cities and a multitude of burgs and villages became the prey of the flames; the cemeteries themselves were profaned, and the ashes of the dead scattered to the winds. All Germany joined in one general cry of horror, and three great armies were set on foot, commanded by Charles V., duke of Lorraine, a sovereign without states, but endowed with great military talents; the Prince Waldeck, and the elector of Brandenburg. Charles V. recaptured Bonn and Mayence, drove Marshal Duras back into France, and died in the midst of his successes. Waldeck beat Marshal Humières in Flanders: Luxembourg was then appointed to the command of the great army of the north. The king entertained but little love for this great captain, who, in his ardent genius and his just and rapid conceptions, resembled the great Condé, whose pupil he was. Luxembourg justified the choice of the king in a brilliant manner.

Two French armies covered the northern frontiers;

Luxembourg, with one, partly occupied the basin of the Sambre ; the other, under Marshal Humières, defended that of the Moselle. Prince Waldeck, with superior forces, held Luxembourg in check on the Sambre, near Fleurus, and waited for the elector of Brandenburg, to attack and destroy the two armies successively. Luxembourg perceived his intention and defeated it. Strengthened by a reinforcement secretly drawn from the army of the Moselle, he all at once offered battle to the prince. Then, marching openly, with a line of front equal to that of the Germans, he, by a sudden inspiration, directed all his cavalry on one wing to pour down upon the flank of the enemy, from whom a slight eminence concealed this manœuvre. Waldeck, attacked in front and in flank, was astonished at finding himself apparently outnumbered by an army he had deemed inferior to his own, and the disorder which followed this unexpected attack became a rout : six thousand dead, eleven thousand prisoners were the results of this victory, which might have been thought to be decisive, but which produced no consequences. The remains of the conquered army joined the troops of the elector at Brussels, whilst Louvois, jealous of the conqueror, deprived him of a part of his forces. The enemy thus regained their former superiority, and Luxembourg was reduced to the defensive.

Catinat won the battle of Staffarde, in Piedmont, over Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, whose states were lost for France as soon as conquered. The duke of Bavaria and Prince Eugène,* a general in the service of the emperor, obliged Catinat to repossess the Alps.

James II. had gone, the preceding year, into Ireland, the Catholic population of which remained faithful to him, hoping, with the assistance of Louis XIV., to recover his crown. Château-Renaud brought him twelve vessels of the line and eight thousand French soldiers, whom the duke de Schomberg, a Protestant refugee, held in check till the arrival of the prince of Orange, already recognised and proclaimed king of England, under the name of William III. In vain the admiral Tourville, with eighty ships of the line, conquered the English and Dutch fleets off Beachy ; on the very next day the decisive battle of the Boyne destroyed the

* Prince Eugène was the son of the count de Soissons, of the house of Savoy, and of a niece of Mazarin's. Upon Louis' refusal, first of an abbey and then of a regiment, he passed into the service of the emperor.

hopes of James II., and the following year the success of the battle of Kilconnel placed the crown securely on the head of William.

Louis XIV. made the campaign in Flanders in 1691, with Luxembourg and La Feuillade, the only important results of which were the taking of Mons by the king, and the glorious battle of Leuze, in which Luxembourg, with twenty-eight squadrons, completely routed fifty-five of the enemy's squadrons, commanded by the Prince Waldeck: these successes procured no durable advantage to France.

The distress of the kingdom was extreme: Claude le Pelletier, and then Phelipeaux de Pontchartrain, successors of Colbert in the comptroller-generalship, in vain endeavoured to fill up the frightful void in the treasury, occasioned by the prodigality of the king and the keeping up of four hundred thousand men under arms: loans were opened for funds of six millions, a multitude of offices were created, obliging the financiers to purchase them; considerable gifts were demanded of the cities; the king sent the silver plate of Versailles to the mint: he redoubled his efforts and made immense preparations for war. He marched into Flanders at the head of eighty thousand men: Luxembourg and the marquis de Boufflers commanded under his orders, whilst Catinat continued the war in Piedmont. Louis XIV. again met his illustrious adversary, King William, who, after securing the crown of England, returned to take the command of his army in Flanders.

The king in person took the important place of Namur, whilst Luxembourg, on the banks of the Méhaigne, covered the siege, and held all the forces of King William in check. After this exploit, Louis XIV. quitted the army, placing the command in the hands of Luxembourg, who covered himself with glory on the field of Steinkirk. A Prussian spy had been discovered in the English camp; he was compelled to write a false account to the marshal de Luxembourg, and the latter immediately took measures in consequence, which placed him in great peril. His army, buried in sleep, was unexpectedly attacked at daybreak, and a brigade was, at first, put to flight. Luxembourg was sick, but the danger appeared to restore his strength. He changed ground rapidly, rallied his troops three times, and charged at their head. Several princes of the blood signalized themselves on this memorable day. Philip, duke of Orleans, then duke de Chartres, and afterwards regent of the kingdom, distinguished

himself among others. Although scarcely fifteen years of age, he charged with the king's household ; he was wounded, but insisted on returning to the fight, notwithstanding. At length William's English guards gave ground, and Boufflers, coming up with his cavalry, completed the victory. But William retired in good order, and continued to keep the field : his genius, rich in resources, drew more advantages from a defeat than the French often obtained from a victory. The following year, 1693, Luxembourg gained another signal victory over this prince at Nerwinde, without deriving any more fruit from it. William again made an admirable retreat, and Louis XIV., who had formerly made so many conquests almost without fighting, was scarcely able to complete that of Flanders after so many bloody victories. Catinat, not less fortunate than Luxembourg, at the same time triumphed at Marsaille, in Piedmont ; but all these glorious successes were counterbalanced by the disastrous invasion of Provence by Victor Amadeus, and by the fatal battle of La Hogue, in which Tourville, in obedience to the positive orders of the king, attacked Admiral Russell with a force inferior by a half to that of the English. After heroic efforts, his fleet was dispersed, many of his vessels were run aground, and Russell burnt thirteen of them in the defenceless ports of La Hogue and Cherbourg.

This ruinous war was prolonged three years more, during which Europe repaid Louis XIV. with interest the evils it had received from him. The Dutch seized Pondicherry, a colony founded at great expense by Colbert, and ruined French commerce in the Indies ; the English destroyed the plantations in St. Domingo ; they bombarded Havre, Saint-Malo, Calais, and Dunkirk : Dieppe was reduced to ashes.

Duguay-Trouin and Jean Bart avenged these disasters at the expense of the maritime commerce of the enemies of France, and the rear-admiral Pointis sailed to surprise, at a short distance from the line, the city of Carthage, the entrepôt of the treasures which Spain draws from Mexico. These advantages but ill repaired the many losses of France. Louis ordered a general recoinage, of which he changed the title, making the value of the silver mark 29 livres 4 sous, instead of 26 livres 15 sous, an operation which, in four years, only brought forty millions to the treasury ; he laid a poll-tax upon all the heads of families, divided into twenty-two classes, according to their fortune, and set himself down among the contributors : at length, after the useless campaign

of Boufflers upon the Rhine and Vendôme in Catalonia, Louis opened pacific negotiations. He at first succeeded, in 1696, in detaching from the league Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who gave his daughter in marriage to the duke of Burgundy, grandson of Louis XIV. Secure on the side of Italy, the king sent considerable forces into Flanders, under the marshals Catinat, Boufflers, and Villeroi, and urged on the war with spirit in Catalonia, where Vendôme, after several successes, made the important conquest of Barcelona. These last events, but more particularly the defection of the duke of Savoy, hastened the negotiations for peace, and it was signed at Ryswick, on the 20th of September, 1697. By this treaty the king of Spain regained possession of a great many places in the Netherlands, the prince of Orange was recognised king of England, and Louis promised not to trouble him again in the possession of his kingdom; France was confirmed in that of Strasbourg; she abandoned Kehl, Philipsbourg, Fribourg, and Brisach, undertook to destroy the fortifications of Huninguen and New Brisach, and gave up all the reunions except Alsace; the elector Palatine returned to his dominions, and the duke of Lorraine to his duchy, diminished, however, by Longwy and Sarre-Louis, which remained with France; the Dutch gave back Pondicherry, were exempted from the *droits d'Aubaine*,* and signed an advantageous commercial treaty with France.

The power of Louis XIV. was so shaken by this long and sanguinary war, that he was unable to support his relation, the prince de Conti, in Poland, when chosen king of that country, against Augustus, elector of Saxony, his competitor to the throne. Europe at length enjoyed some repose. The battle of Zenta, gained by Prince Eugène, at the head of the Imperialists, over the Turks, commanded by the grand signor in person, was followed by the peace of Carlowitz, very humiliating for Turkey. All was peace in Europe for two years. Charles XII. of Sweden, and Peter I., czar of Russia, were the first to break it in the north; the south likewise showed signs of approaching disorders.

Charles II., king of Spain, was pining away in the daily expectation of death, and already the kings of France and England, with the emperor Leopold, openly meditated the partition of his vast states among them. Charles, by his first will, of 1698, appointed the electoral prince of Bavaria,

* The succession to the property of a foreigner, who dies in a country in which he is not naturalized.

then six years of age, as his heir ; this young prince died the following year. The expiring monarch, after having for a long time consulted the pope, the universities of Spain, and his own council, named as his successor Philip, duke of Anjou, grandson of Maria Theresa, his eldest sister, and son of the dauphin of France : if Philip did not renounce all claim to the throne of France, the duke de Berry, his brother, was to be substituted for him, and afterwards the Archduke Charles, second son of the emperor. The testator in no case permitted the dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy : he died in 1700.

Louis XIV. knew that accepting this will was to expose France to a fresh war, and brave Europe, always ready to reproach him with aspiring to universal monarchy. He could not, however, resist the desire of placing so brilliant a crown on the head of his grandson ; after some apparent hesitation he accepted it, acknowledged the duke of Anjou as king, under the name of Philip V., and sent him into Spain, pronouncing this celebrated expression : "*There are no longer any Pyrenees.*" The emperor immediately protested, and a year had scarcely passed away before Holland, England, and the empire made common cause with him against Louis XIV. This monarch had committed two enormous errors, the one in sending Philip V. letters patent, by which his rights to the crown of France were preserved to him, against the express will of the testator ; and the other, in recognising as king of England, at the death of James II., the prince of Wales, his son, in opposition to a formal clause of the treaty of Ryswick. The tears of the widow of James and the instances of Madame de Maintenon prevailed with the king over the unanimous advice of his council. The coalesced powers immediately prepared for the terrible war known in history under the name of *the War of the Succession*, and to which the north of Europe alone, divided between Peter the Great and Charles XII., remained a stranger. Louis XIV. and Philip had for allies against this formidable league only the king of Portugal, the duke of Savoy, the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, and the dukes of Parma, Modena, and Mantua.

Within, numerous signs of decline were visible. The king, now a sexagenarian, became more retired, viewed things with too great indifference, and with eyes fascinated by a long prosperity. Madame de Maintenon had neither the strength nor greatness of mind to sustain the glory of the

state. The great ministers and many of the illustrious captains were dead ; Luxembourg, the pupil of Condé, and whom his soldiers deemed invincible, had followed his master to the tomb. Barbezieux, the son and successor of Louvois, had sunk under the weight of his employment in the last war ; he died in his turn, and Madame de Maintenon, in 1701, united the offices of minister of the finances and of war in the hands of Chamillart, her creature, a man of slender abilities, who owed the origin of his fortune to the most frivolous talent. The king, too confident in his own knowledge and strength, pretended to form his ministers, and conduct everything himself ; together in the closet of Madame de Maintenon, he and Chamillart directed the military operations, and more than once happy opportunities were lost by his generals.

Chamillart, unacquainted with the armies he had never seen, weakened the military discipline so rigidly maintained by Louvois, by prodigally lavishing dignities and rewards. A great number of young men purchased regiments, when still boys, and the cross of St. Louis, an honour created by the king in 1693, was sold at a vile price in the war offices. The number of officers and soldiers in the regiments ceased to be complete, the victualling supplies of the army, badly superintended, were distributed negligently ; and these faults, committed before the eyes of the best generals Europe had yet opposed to the fortunes of Louis XIV., gave reason to apprehend the greatest misfortunes. The king, however, made prodigious efforts ; he promptly recruited his armies, his navy repaired its losses, and illustrious leaders, the Catinats, the Berwicks, the Villars, the Vendômes, showed themselves worthy of succeeding the Turennes, the Condés, and the Luxembourgs. This disastrous war, commenced in Italy, soon extended over the two continents, into the isles, and wherever the French or Spaniards had establishments. It lasted eleven years, with continual alternations of successes and reverses.

Hostilities commenced in Lombardy, where Prince Eugène commanded the imperial army, thirty thousand strong ; the duke of Savoy, the generalissimo of the French troops, was opposed to him ; he had under him the illustrious Catinat and Villeroy, a courtier rather than a general, and a favourite of Louis XIV. The defeat of the French at Chiari, near the Oglio, was the first event of the war. It had for cause the imprudence of Villeroy, who gave rash orders for carrying

some inaccessible intrenchments, without the probability of success even producing any decisive advantage. Catinat allowed the order for the attack to be repeated three times, and then, turning to the officers he commanded, he said : "Come, gentlemen, we must obey." They mounted to the intrenchments. The duke of Savoy, although justly irritated by the pride of Villeroi, fought bravely at the head of his troops. Catinat was wounded ; but seeing the soldiers disheartened and Villeroi bewildered, he directed the retreat, and led back the French to this side of the Adda. Winter separated the two armies.

The following year, Eugène surprised Cremona, where Villeroi, the general-in-chief, was made prisoner. The French quickly retook the city, and the king named the duke de Vendôme, adored by the soldiers, commander of the army. Vendôme reanimated the soldiers, and signalized his arrival by the great battle of Luzara.

A redoubtable enemy to France now appeared in England ; this was Churchill, duke of Marlborough, a favourite of Queen Anne. William III. died the beginning of the year ; Anne, his sister-in-law, second daughter of James II. and wife of the prince of Denmark, had been acknowledged queen of England : Marlborough governed her, but less by the superiority of his talents than by the ascendancy the duchess, his wife, had over that queen : France had no enemy more terrible. In the campaign of 1702 he beat the duke of Burgundy and Marshal Boufflers in Flanders, and freed the course of the Meuse from the Spanish domination. This same year, the French and Spanish fleets were defeated in the port of Vigo, in Galicia, by Admiral Rooke and the duke of Ormond, who obtained possession of the rich galleons of the Havannah. Villars, in Germany, partly counterbalanced this reverse. He commanded, with the rank of lieutenant-general, a body of troops in Alsace. The prince of Baden, at the head of the imperial army, had just taken Landau, and was making further progress ; he had the advantage in numbers, and had already penetrated into the mountains of Brisgaw, which touch upon the Black Forest. This immense forest separated the Imperialists from the French. Catinat commanded in Strasbourg ; he did not dare to seek the prince of Baden ; for, amidst so many disadvantageous circumstances, one instance of bad success might decide the campaign, and lay Alsace open to the enemy. Villars risked that which Catinat did not dare to do, he marched against

the Imperialists with inferior forces, and fought the battle of Friedling. Skilful and rapid manœuvres forced the prince of Baden to abandon the defence of the Rhine, and he fell back upon the mountains in his rear. The French quickly crossed the river, their infantry scaled the heights and drove the Germans into the plain. The battle was won, when a voice cried : " We are cut off ! " On hearing this the French took to flight. Villars galloped up to his regiments : " The victory is ours," cried he. " Vive le Roi ! " and he at length succeeded in rallying the conquerors. A well-directed charge of cavalry completed the victory, and Villars was saluted by his soldiers marshal of France upon the field of battle. The king bestowed this high reward upon him, which Villars justified afresh by the victory of Donawert, gained over the Imperialists in the plains of Hochstett, in concert with the elector of Bavaria. Tallard was, almost at the same time, a conqueror at Spirbach, and the road to Vienna seemed open to the French : but there their successes ended.

The duke of Savoy abandoned France, and supported the party of the emperor against Philip V. and the duke of Burgundy, his sons-in-law. Villars appeared, from his genius, to be the man most wanted at the head of the French armies ; but a misunderstanding with the elector of Bavaria, whose forces were united with his, occasioned his recall : Count Marsin succeeded him, and Villars was sent to quell the Protestant refugees in the Cevennes, who were urged to revolt by despair. At this period Portugal broke her alliance with Louis XIV. to attach herself to England, and thence is dated the famous treaty of commerce between these two nations, by which the wines of the one and the woollens of the other were declared objects of perpetual exchange. So many disgraces for France were followed up by a still more terrible check. Marshal Tallard had led an army into Germany, and had joined the elector of Bavaria and the Count Marsin. All three found themselves at Hochstett in face of the enemy's army, commanded by Eugène and Marlborough, and, like theirs, consisting of about eighty thousand men. The battle took place on almost the anniversary of that which Villars had gained on the same spot the preceding year ; but this time destiny was unpropitious to France. Tallard fell among the enemy's squadrons and was taken prisoner ; the elector and Count Marsin immediately retreated, forgetting in the village of Blenheim a considerable body of

infantry and four regiments of cavalry, who laid down their arms : the retreat soon became a frightful rout. This fatal battle cost France fifty thousand men and a hundred leagues of country : the enemy penetrated into Alsace, and took Trarbach and Landau. The frontiers were broken in upon, and the war of the Cevennes became every day more formidable to the interior : the Calvinist Montagnards organized themselves there into regular regiments under the name of *Camisards*. Louis XIV. humbled his pride so far as to treat, as power with power, with their leaders, men escaped from the hangman, and one of whom, named Cavalier, celebrated for his invincible courage, but who had been a simple journeyman baker, obtained from the revoker of the edict of Nantes a pension and the brevet of colonel. Villars brought about this urgent pacification.

At this period Spain lost the important place of Gibraltar, of which the English obtained possession, and which has ever since remained in their hands. Immediately after the taking of this place, the English fleet, now mistress of the seas, attacked the count de Toulouse, a natural son of Louis XIV., and admiral of the kingdom, within sight of Malaga : the count commanded fifty vessels of the line and eighty-four galleys ; the battle was undecisive, but the following year the French fleet, sent, under the marshal de Tessé, to retake the place, was destroyed by tempest and the English. This was the last of the marine of Louis XIV., and it sunk almost into the state from which he had raised it.

The following year, led by Peterborough, one of the most remarkable and singular men Great Britain has ever produced, the English landed in Catalonia, and, in concert with the prince of Darmstadt, attacked Barcelona. The capitulation of this place was rendered remarkable by an unheard-of circumstance. Whilst the governor was treating with Peterborough, at the gates, this cry was heard in the city : "You are betraying us, and whilst we are capitulating, your English are slaughtering people in the place." "No," replied Peterborough, "it can only be the Germans of the prince of Darmstadt ; permit me to enter with my English, and I will return and settle the capitulation." Peterborough's tone of frank truthfulness prevailed upon the governor ; he opened the gates, the English drove out the Germans, and, when master of the city, Peterborough came out and resumed the interrupted business of the capitulation. The Archduke

Charles was proclaimed king of Spain in Barcelona. Vendôme, in Piedmont, conqueror of Eugène at the bridge of Cassano, on the Adda, furnished the only interruption to the disgraces of Louis XIV. and Philip V.

The following year, 1706, became still more fatal to these two monarchs, although the campaign had opened in the north and south under happier auspices. Vendôme gained, in the absence of Eugène, the victory of Calcinato over the Imperialists, and marched upon Turin, the only important place still retained by the duke of Savoy. Villars drove the prince of Baden before him back upon the frontiers of Germany; and Villeroi, in Flanders, at the head of eighty thousand men, flattered himself with the hopes of obliterating the memory of his former reverses. But he had Marlborough to contend with, and his disgraces had not abated his self-confidence. Villeroi encamped his army near Mehaigne, at Ramillies, in a disadvantageous position, and would fight, in defiance of the advice of his generals. His dispositions were fatal; he placed raw, undisciplined troops in the centre, and posted his left wing behind impassable marshes: Marlborough perceived this error, he immediately drew a large body from his left, which he had no fear of having attacked, to fall upon the centre of the French army at Ramillies, with superior forces. Cassion, his lieutenant-general, supplicated Villeroi to change his order of battle; but he persisted in it, and Marlborough was already forcing his lines: the loss of the French was frightful, twenty thousand men were either killed or taken prisoners. All Spanish Flanders was lost; Marlborough entered Brussels as a conqueror, and Menin surrendered. "Monsieur le Maréchal," said Louis XIV. to the conquered general, "we are no longer fortunate at our age." He drew Vendôme from Italy, and sent him into Flanders, as the only man capable of contending with Marlborough. This measure, by depriving the army of the south of a good general, produced a fresh and terrible disaster. Eugène had already crossed the Po, in spite of the French army, which shut him out from the road of Turin, and he was marching to the succour of that place, which La Feuillade was besieging with numerous forces and a considerable *matériel*. Eugène effected his junction with the duke of Savoy near Asti. The marshal de Marsin succeeded Vendôme in the command of the army, in which the duke of Orleans served, and finding himself unable to stop the progress of Eugène, he joined La Feuillade before

Turin. The opinion of the generals was in favour of marching upon the enemy ; but the marshal having shown a contrary order from the king, drawn up by Chamillart, they were obliged to await the attack of the Imperialists in lines of very difficult defence. Eugène took up the offensive, he fell upon the French intrenchments, and carried them. The rout became general ; the duke of Orleans was wounded, Marshal de Marsin was killed, sixty thousand Frenchmen were slain or dispersed, and the military chest, with a hundred and forty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the enemy : the Milanese, Mantua, and consequently Naples, were lost for Philip V. Eugène marched without obstacle upon France, whilst Lord Galloway took possession of Madrid, where he proclaimed the archduke.

The emperor Leopold had died the preceding year, but his son and successor, Joseph I., carried on the war with unabated vigour : haughty, ambitious, and violent, he placed, by his own authority, the ban of the empire upon the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, and despoiled them of their electorates. France had not an ally left, she was open to her enemies, when Villars, replaced at the head of the army, carried the lines of Stollhoffen, and penetrated into Germany ; but, for want of succour, was obliged to retrograde, and re-enter France. Marshal Berwick, a natural son of James II., and one of the first tacticians of the age, then gained the battle of Almanza in Spain, which reopened the road to his capital for Philip V., and Marshal de Tessé forced the duke of Savoy and Prince Eugène to raise the siege of Toulon.

In 1708 a new effort was made by Louis XIV. in favour of the son of James II. He embarked six thousand men, eight ships of war, and seventy transports. The Chevalier de Forbin-Janson commanded the fleet, and Matignon the troops. The English prevented the descent ; the Chevalier de Forbin appeared off the coast of Scotland, and not seeing the signals agreed upon, he very skilfully brought back the fleet to Dunkirk : all the expenses of the enterprise were lost.

The army of Flanders, under the orders of the duke de Vendôme, consisting of a hundred thousand men, was the last hope of France : Louis XIV. sent thither his grandson, the duke of Burgundy, to command in conjunction with Vendôme. A fatal misunderstanding divided the two leaders ; and its result was the defeat at Oudenarde and the taking of Lille, in spite of the fine defence of Boufflers. The discouraged

army allowed Ghent and Bruges to be taken, and after them all the military posts : the road to Paris was open, and a Dutch party, advancing as far as Versailles, carried off from the bridge of Sèvres the king's principal equerry, whom they supposed to be the dauphin.

The war had exhausted all the resources of France, credit was annihilated, the public debt amounted to two thousand millions ;* there were bills for five hundred millions due, the annual expenses required two hundred, and the revenue amounted to only a hundred and twenty millions. Desmarets, the successor to Chamillart in the comptroller-generalship, in vain had recourse to anticipations, loans, tontines, and a tax of the tenth, to fill up a part of the immense deficiency : some merchants brought thirty millions from Peru, which they lent to the king at the rate of ten per cent. : this was a very useful help, but the cruel winter of 1709 completed the general misery. Louis XIV. and the nobles sent their plate to the mint ; many illustrious families at Versailles fed on oaten bread, the example being set by Madame de Maintenon. The people in several provinces perished with hunger ; insurrections broke out, the payment of taxes was refused, and smuggling was carried on with arms by the troops themselves. Some bands of peasants took the city of Cahors by assault, and a great number of the inhabitants of Perigord and Quercy, breaking all tie with the government, which taxed even the acts of the civil state, fell back into a state of nature, baptizing their children themselves, and marrying without the usual formalities. Louis XIV. demanded peace of the Dutch, whom he had formerly so cruelly humbled ; but his negotiator, the president Rouillé, met in Holland with nothing but haughtiness and contempt ; they for a long time refused to hear him, but at last signified to him that the king himself must constrain his grandson to descend from the Spanish throne. This humiliating declaration was transmitted to Versailles, to the king's council, composed of the dauphin, the duke of Burgundy, his son, the chancellor Pontchartrain, the duke de Beauvilliers, the marquis de Torcy, Chamillart, and the comptroller-general Desmarets. The chancellor was of opinion that peace should be obtained at any price ; the ministers of war and of the finances confessed that they were completely without resources, and Beauvilliers drew tears

* More than eighty-three millions sterling—considering the value of money at that period, an immense amount.—*Trans.*

from the duke of Burgundy by the picture he drew of the public misery.

Torcy, a skilful negotiator, offered to share the cruel task of the president Rouillé : he set out for Holland, where Heinsius was then grand pensionary. Formerly the minister of William in France, Heinsius had been subjected to more than one affront, and had even been threatened with the Bastille by Louvois ; he had not forgotten these insults. Prince Eugène and Marlborough, whom war alone made powerful, formed with Heinsius a triumvirate anxious for its continuation ; they rejected the proposals of Louis XIV., who offered to abandon the Spanish monarchy, and to grant the Dutch a barrier that would separate them from France ; they required that Louis XIV. should give up Alsace and a part of Flanders, and insisted that he should unite with them against his grandson. The president Rouillé had orders to bear these words to Louis, and to quit Holland in four-and-twenty hours. "Since I must make war," said the old monarch, "I would rather make it with my enemies than with my children." By his order, the extravagant proposals of his enemies were published throughout the kingdom ; indignation roused patriotism, and France redoubled its efforts ; but Villars lost in Flanders, against Eugène and Marlborough, the bloody battle of Malplaquet, although he killed twenty thousand of the enemies' troops, and only lost eight thousand himself : many places fell into the hands of the allies, whilst in Spain, the defeat of Saragossa obliged Philip to leave his capital a second time, and wander about his kingdom as a fugitive. Louis humbled himself afresh. He named as his negotiators in Holland, the abbé de Polignac, one of the most enlightened men of his age, and the marshal d'Uxelles : he proposed, by their mouths, to the congress of Gertruydenberg, to give no kind of assistance to his grandson, to restore Strasbourg and Brisach, to renounce the sovereignty of Alsace, to raze to the ground all his places from Bâle to Philisbourg, to fill up the port of Dunkirk, and to leave to Holland, Lille, Tournai, Ypres, and several other places in Flanders : he even stooped so far as to offer a million per month to assist the allies in dethroning his grandson : all was in vain ; they insisted that he should engage alone to drive him out of Spain.

Unexpected events saved France : Vendôme reappeared in Spain, where his name alone performed prodigies ; his

victory of Villaviciosa destroyed the army of the Archduke Charles, and saved the crown of Philip V. It was after this battle that Philip, exhausted with fatigue, evinced a great desire to sleep : "Sire," said Vendôme to him, "I will prepare you the most noble bed that ever king reposed in ;" and he spread beneath a tree the colours taken from the enemy.

A revolution which took place in the English court did still more for France. The duchess of Marlborough offended Queen Anne, and her disgrace drew on that of the favourite, the head of the Whigs, then all-powerful.* The Tories succeeded to power ; and to achieve the ruin of Marlborough's credit, they disposed the queen to make peace. The death of the emperor Joseph seconded their designs : the Archduke Charles, his brother, the competitor of Philip V., obtained the imperial crown, and incurred, in his turn, the reproach of aspiring to universal monarchy ; England from that time was not interested in supporting his pretensions to the crown of Spain, and signed a suspension of arms with France. Marlborough was recalled, and the duke of Ormond, his successor, had orders to remain neuter. It was at the same time that Duguay-Trouin, without rank in the navy, and at the head of a small fleet equipped by himself, took possession of Rio-Janeiro, the capital of Brazil. Eugène, however, made fresh progress in Flanders. Deprived of the help of the English, but still commanding an army superior to that of the French by twenty thousand men, he was master of Bouchain and Quesnoy : between this last-mentioned and Paris there was no longer one strong place. Louis saw his capital threatened, and domestic misfortunes united with those of his kingdom to overwhelm him. He lost, in the course of one year, his son the dauphin, the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and their eldest son. The death of the duke of Burgundy, the pupil of Fénelon, was a calamity for France. Vendôme died in Spain. The court and the kingdom were struck with terror : it was then that Louis XIV., to whom it was proposed to retire behind the Loire, spoke of placing himself at the head of his nobility, to lead them to meet the enemy, notwithstanding his seventy-four years, and to perish at their head. Villars saved France. He kept the field in Flanders, with a hundred and forty battalions, against Eugène, who commanded a

* Two parties divided England ; that of the Whigs and that of the Tories ; the Whigs were less attached than the Tories to the prerogatives of the throne and the privileges of the Anglican church : they had taken the greatest part in the revolution of 1688.

hundred and sixty, and who, after taking Quesnoy, laid siege to Landrecies. The Scheld, the Sambre, and the Seille covered the army of Eugène, who had likewise an intrenched camp at Denain on the Scheld. The duke of Albemarle, general of the Dutch, guarded the lines which joined this camp to the river. Villars resolved to attack these, for the purpose of afterwards forcing the camp at Denain; he masked this project by demonstrations of an attack upon the Sambre, whilst the rest of his army crossed the Scheld between Bouchain and Denain, and carried Albemarle's lines with great rapidity. Villars immediately advanced against the formidable intrenchments of Denain: he was marching towards them with all speed, when he perceived the head of Eugène's columns debouching upon the other side of the Scheld: time pressed, and some one calling out for fascines to fill up the intrenchments of Denain: "Our fascines," replied Villars, "shall be the bodies of those who first fall in the ditches: march!" The French infantry received a terrible fire without flinching, they rushed forward upon the redoubts and carried them. Villars entered Denain a conqueror, and immediately directed the count de Broglie to march upon Marchiennes, whence the enemy drew their provisions and materials for the siege, whilst he himself pursued the beaten army towards the Scheld: the bridges were broken beneath the multitude of the fugitives; all were either killed or taken, and Eugène was unable to cross the river: Marchiennes, Douai, and Quesnoy surrendered successively, and the frontiers were in safety.

These great successes hastened the concluding of the peace, which was signed at Utrecht in 1713. Its principal articles were the renunciation of the crown of France by Philip V., the abandonment of Sicily to the duke of Savoy with the title of king; of Spanish Flanders and the Milanese to the emperor; the cession of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Hudson's Bay to England, which likewise retained Gibraltar and the island of Minorca. Louis XIV. guaranteed the succession to the English throne in the Protestant line, and promised to demolish the port of Dunkirk, which had cost him such immense sums; he abandoned part of his old conquests in the Netherlands, and recovered Lille, Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant: the elector of Brandenburg was recognised king of Prussia, and obtained Upper Gupelderland, the principality of Neufchâtel, and several other smaller states.

The emperor Charles VI. at first refused to take part in this peace: Villars constrained him to do so by crossing the

Rhine, whilst Eugène intrenched himself in the lines of Eltingen, where he awaited the attack. A forced march of sixteen leagues in twenty hours on the other side of the river, placed Spire, Worms, and all the passages of the Rhine above Mayence in the hands of the French. Landau and Fribourg wereinvested, and succumbed likewise. Eugène, however, now received orders to negotiate: a first treaty was signed between him and Villars at Radstadt, and on the 7th of the following September a definitive peace was concluded at Baden, between France, the empire, and the emperor. The emperor obtained the Netherlands, the Milanese, and the kingdom of Naples, dismembered from the Spanish monarchy; he recovered Fribourg and all the forts on the right of the Rhine: France retained Landau and the left bank of the river: the elector of Bavaria was re-established in his rights and dignities: all the sovereign princes of the empire regained their positions. Holland obtained, by a third and last treaty, which was signed in 1715, the right of garrison in many places of the Low Countries. Such was the end of this disastrous war of twelve years. France preserved her frontiers by the peace of Utrecht; but her immense sacrifices opened an abyss, which, in the end, swallowed up the monarchy.

Neither the reverses of the war, nor the cries of his distressed people, made Louis renounce his religious persecutions, which attacked even zealous Catholics. Many of those who were called Jansenists refused to admit that the five propositions attributed to Jansenius and condemned by the pope, were to be found in the book of that bishop: of this number were the pious solitaries of Port Royal and the nuns of that celebrated house. The king growing angry at seeing his opinion on this point combated, and yielding to the hateful insinuations of his confessor, le Père la Chaise, and Madame de Maintenon, drove the peaceful inhabitants of Port Royal from their retreat, razed their house to the ground, in 1709, and ordered the plough to be passed over its foundations. Fénelon, the illustrious author of *Télémaque*, had found no favour before the king. Bossuet reproached him with sharing the errors of Madame Guyon, whose mystic ideas had given birth to the sect of the Quietists, and procured the condemnation of his book entitled *Maxims of the Saints*, at Rome. Fénelon submitted to the decision of the pope, and from that time lived disgraced by the king in his diocese of Cambrai. The reign of Louis was extinguished amidst

theological quarrels : le Père Quesnel had published a book of *Moral Reflections upon the New Testament* ; his work excited the anger and hatred of le Père Tellier, a furious theologian, who, since the death of Père la Chaise, had governed the conscience of Louis XIV. Directed by him, the king demanded of Pope Clement XI. the condemnation of Quesnel, one hundred and one of whose propositions were censured, in 1713, by the famous bull *Unigenitus*. A hundred and ten bishops obeyed the king by accepting this bull, others resisted, and among them the cardinal de Noailles. Louis in vain combated their opposition by *lettres de cachet* and other despotic means : these miserable disputes, provoked by himself, were prolonged beyond his reign, and troubled that of his successor.

Whilst the king was thus signalizing his intolerant zeal for his religion, he placed, for the interests of his race, his personal will above the laws of the kingdom and all moral considerations. He had already caused several of his natural children to be married to princes and princesses of his house, and, among others, Mademoiselle de Blois, to his nephew, the duke of Orleans, then duke de Chartres : already his legitimated sons, the duke du Maine and the count de Toulouse, both children of Madame de Montespan, and born of a double adultery, had, by his order, taken precedence over all the first nobles of the kingdom ; Louis XIV. went still further : by an edict of 1714, he called them and their descendants to the crown of France in default of legitimate princes.

The king, however, declined rapidly : his great-grandson, who was to succeed to his throne, was only five years old ; and the regency appeared to belong to his nephew, Philip of Orleans. Anxious for the future of the two princes she had educated, Madame de Maintenon induced the king to make a will, which limited the power of the regent by the establishment of a council, of which the duke du Maine and the count de Toulouse were to form a part. Louis XIV. himself felt little confidence in the execution of this act, which he sent to the Parliament, with a prohibition against opening it before his death.

Blinded by pride, by a superstitious, pitiless devotion, and by the practice of absolute power, he advanced towards the tomb with his head still full of disastrous projects. Approaching death found him meditating the assembling of a national council to make one part of his clergy proscribe the

other ; swallowing up immense sums of money in the useless constructions of Marly ; fomenting a revolution in England, by attempting, in contempt of his word, a last effort in favour of the son of James II. Before dying, however, wiser and better thoughts arose in his mind : " My son," said he to his great-grandson, the duke of Anjou, " you will soon be the king of a great kingdom ; what I most strongly recommend to you is never to forget the obligations you owe to God. Remember that you owe to him all that you are. Endeavour to preserve peace with your neighbours ; do not imitate me in that, or in the great expenses I have indulged in. Seek counsel on all occasions, and try to know the best, for the purpose of always following it. Relieve your people from their burdens as soon as it is in your power, and do that which I have had the misfortune not to be able to do myself." After this speech the king languished several days, but saw death approach with calmness. He said to Madame de Maintenon : " I should have thought that it was more difficult to die ;" and to his officers : " Why do you weep ? did you believe me to be immortal ?" He died at Versailles, on the 1st of September, 1715, aged seventy-seven years, after a reign which had lasted seventy-two, the longest mentioned in history. Madame de Maintenon, now eighty-two years old, retired to the house of Saint Cyr,* which she had founded for the education of three hundred girls of noble birth but destitute of fortune, and remained there till she died.

Much more anxious to inspire fear and captivate admiration than sensible of the love of his subjects or affected by their happiness, his own greatness was the aim of Louis XIV. in most of his undertakings : a very weak part alone of the edifice he had constructed survived him. He himself saw, during the second period of his reign, France descend from the lofty eminence on which he had placed her during the first, and his actions prepared results for the future directly contrary to those which his persevering efforts tended to produce. Thus, whilst wishing to establish the Catholic religion alone in the state, he injured it by the violences he committed in its name, and by the favours he so often prodigally bestowed upon fanaticism and hypocrisy ; he wished, by introducing gentlemen into newly-disciplined regiments and special companies, to make the noblesse the firmest rampart of the monarchy, but he lessened their consequence by

* This celebrated house was not transformed into a military school until after the Revolution.

the brilliant servitude which he imposed upon the great nobles, and by the sale of ridiculous offices, all of which had the privilege of ennobling their purchasers. A declared enemy of the authority of the parliaments, he kept them silent during the whole of his reign, and yet he himself, by remitting his will to the Parliament of Paris, opened a way by which they re-entered into the political arena ; he believed that by introducing Spanish etiquette into his court, he should strengthen the royal authority, and make it greater in the eyes of the multitude ; on the contrary, he weakened it by completing its isolation : full of contempt for the third estate, he powerfully contributed to the political emancipation of this order, and to its great destinies, by the encouragement he afforded to manufactures and letters. It was by this means he in part displaced the source of riches and the strength of the state, by assisting to create personal property, and in preparing the progress of public opinion, a double power, which elevated so rapidly the third estate to a level with the privileged orders, and which, at the present day, has such a mighty influence over the destiny of nations.

In spite of the selfishness which inspired Louis XIV. with so many fatal resolutions, and the numerous errors of his reign, it still shines with a splendour which no other has surpassed. This monarch, says a celebrated writer, had at the head of his armies, Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, Catinat, Créqui, Boufflers, Montesquiou, Vendôme, and Villars ; Château-Renaud, Duquesne, Tourville, Duguay-Trouin, commanded his squadrons ; Colbert, Louvois, Torcy, were his advisers ; Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Massillon, taught him his duties ; his first parliament had Molé and Lamoignon for leaders, Talon and D'Aguesseau for organs ; Vauban fortified his citadels ; Riquet dug his canals ; Perrault and Mansard constructed his palaces ; Puget, Girardon, Le Poussin, Le Sueur, and Le Brun embellished them ; Le Nôtre designed his gardens ; Corneille, Racine, Molière, Quinault, La Fontaine, La Bruyère, Boileau, enlightened his reason and amused his leisure ; Montausier, Bossuet, Beauvilliers, Fénelon, Huet, Fléchier, and the abbé de Fleury educated his children. It is with this august train of immortal geniuses that Louis XIV. presents himself before the eyes of posterity.* So many advantages, doubtless, arose from a wonderful concurrence of circumstances and from an unexampled good fortune, which rendered this prince the contemporary of so many eminent

* Abbé Maury, *Discours de Réception à l'Académie Française.*

men; but the king, who knew how to distinguish them, who threw open his palace and his treasury to genius under whatever form it might present itself, and whose strong will inspired, during sixty years, so many great things, has an incontestable right, if not to the love of France, at least to its respect and admiration.

Among the works of Louis XIV., those whose fruits corresponded best with his hopes, and which survived him the longest and were most useful to France, almost all date from the second and best period of his reign,—from that in which Colbert lived: these were his early conquests, his vigorous central administration, his legislation, though stained with barbarism in many respects; the new organization of his army, his academical foundations, his canals, his maritime constructions. This monarch established by himself a government which he alone was capable of maintaining. Surrounded by great men whom he knew how to interest in his glory, the protector of letters and the sciences, of the fine arts and manufactures, for a long time a successful warrior, and magnificent in his festivities, the imposing Louis XIV. seemed born to make himself obeyed. But he left his successors a burden too difficult to be borne; he had long found out the weight of it, and the end of his reign was deplorable. His genius was weakened, fortune abandoned his arms, his finances were exhausted, the widow of Scarron ruled him, a meddling, cruel hypocrisy dominated in his councils and made him a persecutor; a flood of misery inundated France, and bore multitudes of poor to the very gates of Versailles. This long reign resembles a day which during some hours is splendid with glorious sunshine, but whose close is clouded with darkness and storms.*

It is wrong to ascribe to Louis XIV. a merit for the direction impressed upon national manners and morals by his court: the court, it is true, effected great progress in civilization, by polishing the language and manners; but it distinguished itself more by the elegance of external forms than by the delicacy of its sentiments; the writings of La Bruyère, La Rochefoucauld, St. Simon, and the comic poets of that period attest it. Contempt for marriage; avidity for gold, at a time when most distinctions had become venal; indifference regarding the source of fortune, however disgraceful it might be; a fury for play, often carried, and without shame, to infidelity; † indulgence towards the

* Joseph Droz, *Histoire du Règne de Louis XIV.*

† St. Simon, *Mémoires*.

vices and even the crimes of certain men, courted on account of their birth or their wit; with designing religious hypocrisy, characterized the courtiers of the latter part of this reign. These deplorable examples, rendered much more dangerous by the brilliant colouring with which they were set off, exercised the most deleterious influence upon the nation, and make us easily comprehend the indignation of the virtuous Fénelon, when he exclaimed with grief: "The present manners lead every one into the violent temptation of attaching himself to the strongest by all sorts of basenesses, meannesses, and treacheries."

This time, nevertheless, was not without its gleams of high and ennobling virtue, particularly where the influence of the court was least felt. The provincial noblesse, the magistracy, and a portion of the clergy, afforded examples of purity of morals, contempt of money, and of integrity; but it was in vain that a great number of respectable men resisted the general torrent,—the following reign enlarged the wounds opened under that of the great king, and the corruption of the court contributed, as much as the anarchy of the finances, to shake the monarchy to its foundations.

The reign of Louis XIV. was one of the great epochs of the system of the balance of power in Europe. Two states, Prussia and Savoy, doubled their importance; the first, elevated into a kingdom, balanced, in the north of Germany, the influence which Austria exercised in the south of that country; the second, augmented by Sicily, was destined to close Italy against Austria and France: the latter country, under Louis XIV., took upon herself the part which Spain had played in the preceding period: she was for a length of time the dominant power, from her extent, the strength of her government, the ascendancy of her civilization, and the marvellous concurrence of the intellectual superiorities which illustrated her.

It is from the accession of William III., in 1688, that the era of English liberty must really be dated; from that time England has never ceased to grow in population and power. Queen Anne, who owed all her glory to the celebrated men of her reign, preceded Louis XIV. by only a few months to the tomb, and the elector of Hanover succeeded that queen, under the name of George I. Russia, of which the genius of Peter the Great made a new empire, strengthened itself in the north by lessening the power of Sweden, fallen from the high rank in which it had been placed by Gustavus Adolphus,

by the war-madness of Charles XII. Austria languished under Charles VI., and Germany peacefully obeyed its numerous sovereigns. The Spanish monarchy, which the peace of Utrecht deprived of a great many states, continued its tendency to decline, whilst Holland, rendered illustrious by its wars with Louis XIV., and sharing with England the empire of the ocean, attained the highest point of its power and riches. Such was the state of Europe in 1715, at the death of Louis XIV.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS XV. TO THE THRONE, TO THE CONVO-
CATION OF THE STATES-GENERAL UNDER LOUIS XVI.

Weakness of all the powers.—Stock-jobbing.—Corruption of morals.—
Ruinous wars.—Destruction and re-establishment of the Parliaments.—Dissolution of the monarchy.—Influence of the philosophers,

1715—1789.

CHAPTER I.

Regency of the duke of Orleans and ministry of the duke of Bourbon.
1715—1726.

EVEN in the latter end of the life of Louis XIV. all eyes were turned towards the duke of Orleans, his nephew, whose birth and the customs of the kingdom would call him to the exercise of the regency during the minority of the duke of Anjou. Philip of Orleans, endowed with military talents, which the jealousy of Louis afforded him but few opportunities for displaying, distinguished by his wit, by his agreeable and easy address, by his varied knowledge of languages and sciences, affected a cynicism of irreligion and immorality which had already more than once exposed him to odious suspicions. Heir to the throne after the descendants of Louis XIV., the public voice rendered him responsible for the mortality which struck the royal family in the course of the latter years of the preceding reign, and found a motive for accusation in the chemical studies, as yet but little common, to which he was addicted : his after-conduct, with regard to the young king, offered the most convincing refutation of these black calumnies : Louis XIV. repelled them, but, pre-occupied with the interests of his legitimated children, he only assigned to his nephew, by his will, a title without real power. He separated the regency from the guardianship of the monarch, which was conferred on the duke du Maine, as well as the command of the troops of the king's household : a council of regency, formed of courtiers and old ministers, in which the duke of Orleans was

only to have a deliberative voice, was to exercise the plenitude of sovereign authority.

Whatever might be the egotism of the motives which inspired the king with his last resolutions, men of grave or austere manners must have seen with uneasiness the supreme power pass without control into the hands of a man so low in public opinion as the duke of Orleans. But this prince nourished much higher pretensions, and to support them, reckoned, with reason, upon the courtiers, heartily tired of the mask of devotion which the old king had imposed upon them, and full of hopes in the regency of a man of pleasure ; upon the parliaments, impatient to shake off the political interdiction which had weighed upon them for fifty years ; and upon that crowd of worshippers of Fortune, without principles and without opinions, always ready to change with her, and skilful in divining the party of the most powerful.

On the morrow of the death of Louis XIV., after a night spent in negotiating and lavishing promises, the duke of Orleans repaired to the Parliament, accompanied by the princes, the peers of the kingdom, and a numerous train of courtiers and officers won over to his party. In a speech full of subtlety, the duke expressed himself jealous of holding from the Parliament a title to which his birth gave him a right ; then, after having given this company to understand that he should be enlightened by their advice, he proceeded to the reading of the will. Most of the magistrates, and, among others, the advocates-general, William de Lamoignon, Peter Gilbert de Voisins, Henry Francis Aguesseau, afterwards chancellor, and Joly de Fleury, the procureur-general, were all devoted to the duke, and in spite of the efforts of the first president *De Mesmes*, who defended the interests of the legitimated princes, the will was set aside with one voice. The Parliament recognised the duke as regent of the kingdom, with full power and perfect liberty to compose at his pleasure the council of the regency. D'Orleans called to it those whom Louis XIV. had chosen, and composed it of the princes, the chancellor Voisins, the marshals de Villeroi, d'Harcourt, Tallard, and Bezons, the duke de St. Simon, and Cheverny, the ancient bishop of Troyes. The three last only were the new choice of the regent ; the duke du Maine retained the superintendence of the education of Louis XV., who was to be brought up at

Vincennes ; but he was deprived of the command of the household troops.

The ministries were suppressed, and, to replace them, the regent created six special councils : those of conscience, of war, of finance, of the marine, of foreign affairs, and of the interior of the kingdom : they were presided over by the cardinal de Noailles, Marshal d'Estrées, Marshal d'Uxelles, and the duke d'Antin. It was afterwards perceived that commercial interests had been forgotten in the establishment of these six councils, and a seventh was created, entitled the council of commerce. Men widely differing from each other in birth, morals, and intelligence, were met in these councils : in the first place, great nobles, skilful in intrigues, but novices in business ; then the personal friends of the regent, dissipated, ignorant, witty, depraved men ; and beneath them were councillors of state and members of the Parliament, well-informed and laborious men, destined to repair the faults of their colleagues. The regent reserved to himself the care of the Academy of Sciences. His first measures were generally approved of ; he restored to the Parliament the right of remonstrance, of which he afterwards deprived them ; he caused the troops to be punctually paid, ordered judicial proceedings to be instituted against the financiers, fixed the previously fluctuating value of gold and silver coins, visited the royal prisons, exiled le Père Tellier, and some other Jesuits, and revoked the arbitrary sentences pronounced by the late king against their numerous victims. Many bishops and a crowd of priests and laymen, proscribed on account of miserable theological quarrels, were recalled : as a crowning instance of good taste and liberal feeling, the regent ordered *Télémaque* to be printed. It was under such happy auspices that his government began. The influential men were divided into two parties : one, and at its head was Marshal de Villeroi, governor of the young monarch, faithful to the policy of Louis XIV., wished to maintain a strict union with Spain, at that time governed by the famous Cardinal Alberoni, who, from a simple country curate, had raised himself to the rank of first minister to Philip V. ; the other party inclined to an alliance with England. Dubois, in the pay of that power, a cynical man and a skilful intriguer, formerly preceptor to the regent, afterwards minister to his debaucheries, and who still ruled him with the triple ascendancy of an energetic will, vice, and habit, was the soul of

this party, which he represented, in case of the vacancy of the throne, as the strongest barrier against the pretensions of Philip V. to the crown of France, although that prince had formally renounced it by accepting that of Spain. Lord Stair, the ambassador from England, and the companion of the pleasures of the regent, drew him into this alliance, and made him purchase it by the expulsion of the pretender, the son of James II., and by the demolition of the port of Mardike, which Louis XIV. destined to replace that of Dunkirk. A triple alliance was concluded between France, England, and Holland. The following year, these three powers signed, conjointly with the emperor, a new treaty, known under the name of the treaty of *the quadruple alliance*, and Spain was called upon to accede to it within three months.

The regent, always rendered uneasy by the pretensions of Philip V. and the intrigues of Alberoni, had, within the kingdom, a very great number of enemies, of whom some were created by the force of circumstances, and others by the faults of his government and his personal conduct. His debaucheries and the scandal of his orgies, at which his daughter, the duchess de Berry, presided; the shameful elevation of Dubois, and his immense credit with the prince, wounded all worthy or reflecting minds, and raised public indignation against the regent. His partiality for England, and the rigorous measures against the legitimated princes, whom he had deprived of the title of princes of the blood, at the request of the dukes and peers, had alienated their numerous partisans, as well as those of the political system of Louis XIV.; but nothing excited more resentment against the regent than his financial operations. The public debt left by Louis XIV. amounted to nearly five milliards (five thousand millions) of our present money;* the revenues of three years were consumed beforehand, and all credit was annihilated. The regent had, therefore, from the beginning, to struggle with immense difficulties. The only known ways habitually followed by governments, to escape from such embarrassments, were bankruptcy, the alteration of the value of the coinage, or prosecutions of the farmers-general. The regent began with the last means, by appointing a chamber of justice, charged with the task of seeking out the guilty: this chamber, considered favourably at first, soon rendered itself odious by the atrocity of the measures taken to carry

* More than two hundred and eight millions sterling.—*Trans.*

on its prosecutions: impeachment was encouraged by the bait of a part in the confiscation, and the penalty of death was inflicted with an indiscriminating hand for all the offences of the accused; servants were permitted to depose against their masters, under borrowed names, and falsehood on the part of the informers was punished with death; the researches were carried back twenty-seven years; it was quite sufficient for a person to be rich to draw upon himself a prosecution, and four thousand four hundred and seventy heads of families were inscribed upon twenty lists, which appeared successively like so many tables of proscription. A multitude of remonstrances and petitions poured in from all quarters; solicitors of every class and rank assailed the regent, and, as a witty and judicious writer has said,* "Indulgence had its tariffs, as vengeance had its lists;" and the court of France was no longer anything but the scandalous market of a kingdom given over to pillage. Every one concealed his fortune, labour ceased at the same time with luxury, and, in the end, the small part of society in which any love of honesty remained, beheld with indignation robberies change hands, and instead of being a protection, the chamber of justice fall under general reprobation. Other equally arbitrary and violent means were had recourse to: business contracts concluded with the ancient government, were in part destroyed; the *rentes*, as well as pensions above six hundred livres, were reduced by half; a multitude of offices and privileges, created and sold by the preceding government, were pitilessly suppressed without any reimbursement to the holders of them. This reform restored the election of their administrators to the communes. The reminting of the coinage seemed to offer immense advantages to the government, and it was ordered. In the infancy of civilization, princes altered the names and weights of coins; but when the knowledge and commerce of nations had made some progress, no human force being able to affect the common and intrinsic value of metals, the current value alone could be affected by being nominally lowered or raised. This act, which only imposes upon the multitude for a moment, always produces injurious effects. Public confidence is lost, the circulation is impeded, foreigners make immense profits by the reminting of the deteriorated coinage, and government soon loses, by the increase of its expenses and the

* Lemontey, *Histoire de la Régence*.

diminution of its revenues, the momentary profit it had taken by force.* Such was the fate of the coinage undertaken by the duke de Noailles: he reckoned upon a coinage of a milliard (a thousand millions),—three hundred and seventy-eight millions alone were brought into the *hôtels des monnaies*; and instead of two hundred millions of profit which he expected, he only obtained seventy-two. The gold of the kingdom flowed rapidly into foreign countries, in which the true coinage was effected, and the government, deceived in its iniquitous hopes, carried its absurdity so far as to interdict the entrance into France of the metals marked with its own stamp.

A third financial operation had for its object the general review of the public responsibilities, of which the number was unknown; it was determined to remodel them into one single species of *bills of state*, and the four brothers Pâris, men endowed with remarkable sagacity, were charged with this task. Six hundred millions were presented to *visa*; a law reduced them to two hundred and fifty millions of bills of state, bearing four per cent. interest, and of which a hundred and ninety-five alone were delivered to the owners of the property *visée*. After violent means, the duke de Noailles employed corruption; he had recourse to lotteries; but the crisis was no less imminent: the equitable tax of a tenth upon all real property raised a clamour among great proprietors, and was soon suppressed; the chests of the receivers were empty, and the troops could not be paid. In the midst of these great disorders, the Scotchman Law began to raise his fortune. This adventurer, afterwards so famous, and who united high financial conceptions with errors founded upon practical inexperience, seduced the regent by the novelty of his expedient, set forth with great clearness. Nevertheless, he was unable at first, in 1716, to apply his genius to anything but the operations of a bank, the capital of which, divided into twelve hundred shares, only amounted to six millions: Law obtained the privilege for this for twenty years. It managed the funds of individuals, discounted bills of exchange, received deposits, and gave bills payable at sight and in invariable bank currency: it had a prodigious success, and, in spite of public incredulity, the fixity of this new currency re-established the exchanges and revived commerce. The regent, eager to make the government profit

* These details, into which I have thought it necessary to enter, are in a great measure extracted from *l'Histoire de la Régence*.

by the advantages of this bank, ordered its notes to be received in payment of the taxes, and wished to become one of the directors. Then was to be seen a fictitious currency issued by individuals, confided, as well as the revenues of the state, to the good faith of an independent company; and Law from that time merited the title of the founder of the science of public credit in France.

The numerous enemies of Law were supported by the Parliament; his most illustrious adversary, the chancellor d'Aguesseau, as well as the duke de Noailles, had been dismissed; the ancient lieutenant of police, D'Argenson, and Dubois, were at the head of affairs when the regent determined upon striking a decisive blow. A bed of justice was appointed for the 26th of August, 1718: the magistrates repaired to the Tuileries to the number of a hundred and seventy: the duke du Maine and his brother the count de Toulouse trembled with the expectation of the measures they dreaded: the regent requested them to leave the chamber; then he proceeded to the reading of letters patent which annulled the last decrees of the Parliament, and took from it the right of remonstrance in political matters; an edict was then read, by which the legitimated princes, with the exception of the count de Toulouse, were reduced to the simple rank of their peerage; and lastly, a decree deprived the duke du Maine of the superintendence of the education of the king and gave it to his nephew and enemy the duke de Bourbon, a prince of depraved manners, singular cupidity, and very limited intellect. The first president having requested that the Parliament might be permitted to examine the edict which concerned it, the keeper of the seals replied, "The king will be obeyed, and instantly." Three days later, rigours signalized the victory of the regent: three magistrates were imprisoned; several parliaments, and among them that of Bretagne, experienced similar violences.

The councils established by the duke of Orleans at the commencement of the regency were suppressed, and replaced by departments, at the head of which he placed secretaries of state more dependent upon himself. The duke du Maine yielded to the storm without contention; but his wife, the duchess, indulged in loud complaints and menaces; her magnificent residence of Soeaux became the rendezvous of malcontents and the focus of intrigues. An intimate connection had subsisted for a long time between this little factious court and the prince de Cellamarre, then ambassador

from Spain. This prince, faithful to the instructions of Alberoni, conspired against the regent, and endeavoured to bring about a revolution in the government of the kingdom : himself imposed upon, he, in his reports, exaggerated the political importance and the number of the malcontents, and the audacious cardinal wished that Philip V. should induce the young king, Louis XV., his nephew, to renounce the quadruple alliance, deprive the duke of Orleans of the regency, and convoke the States-General ; he meditated at the same time to re-establish the Stuarts in England, and to place the warlike Charles XII. of Sweden at the head of the expedition. He thus administered to the ambitious desires of Elizabeth Farnese, the second wife of Philip V., and maintained himself in her favour by flattering her with the hopes of conquering thrones for her children : he had cast his eyes upon several states, separated from the Spanish monarchy by the treaty of Utrecht, and an army had already invaded and subdued Sicily : but in 1718 an English fleet of twenty sail, commanded by Admiral Byng, attacked, in the Mediterranean, the Spanish fleet of twenty-seven vessels, of which it took or destroyed twenty-three. Alberoni, troubled by this check, and feeling his power totter, wrote to Cellamarre to "set fire to the mines." Dubois, however, informed of the whole by a copier, held the threads of the intrigue in his hands ; he allowed the conspirators to commit themselves a little further, and on the 5th of December caused the abbé Porto Carrero, charged with the despatches of the imprudent Cellamarre and papers relative to this absurd intrigue, addressed to Alberoni, to be arrested on his route ; the ambassador was immediately transferred to the castle of Blois, there to await the orders of his court. The conspirators were exposed. The duke and the duchess du Maine were instantly arrested ; the duke was sent to the castle of Dourlens, and the duchess to Dijon ; a great number of their accomplices were imprisoned at the same time. After having caused the letters of the king of Spain to be printed, the regent showed himself indulgent towards his enemies : he required of them an admission of their fault, made the duchess du Maine sign a detailed confession, and released the prisoners without inflicting any other vengeance upon them : a magnanimous forgetfulness of injuries was the most noble quality of his mind.

An intrigue similar to that of Cellamarre's was got up at the same epoch in Spain by the duke de Saint Aignan, the ambassador of the regent ; its aim was to overthrow Alberoni,

and prepare the succession of the valetudinarian Philip V. for the house of Orleans. Its projects evaporated without noise ; Saint Aignan quitted Spain before the disgrace of Cellamarre was known there, and whilst the regent was gathering all the fruits he could wish from the rash imprudence of that ambassador. The old court party was in a state of consternation ; there was but one cry throughout France and Europe against the disloyalty of the Spanish ambassador, and war against Philip V. was determined on.

Troubles broke out in Brittany, still in great part uncultivated, and in which vegetated an ignorant and poor population, dominated over by five or six thousand gentlemen. These, offended by the haughtiness of the marshal de Montesquiou, governor of the province, made great difficulties of granting the gratuitous gift ; and the following year they opposed an edict of the council relative to the right of *entrée*. The Parliament registered their decision. A few *lettres de cachet* punished these attempts at independence. Alberoni thought he could perceive in these sparks of revolt the chance of a powerful diversion in favour of Philip V. ; he encouraged the leaders in their factious projects ; the noblesse signed an act of armed confederation, and called in Spanish troops ; but the inferior classes, indifferent to this quarrel, which was quite foreign to their private interests, refused to support it, and the government soon stifled the revolt. A chamber of justice was established at Nantes ; four gentlemen, condemned to death, were there executed by torchlight, with great preparation ; and when the Spanish fleet, commanded by the duke of Ormond, presented itself off the coasts of Brittany, it found them bristling with troops, and defended by a faithful population. An army, however, under the orders of Marshal de Berwick, entered Spain, where Alberoni was prepared with nothing but for intrigue : a great number of places fell into the hands of the French, and the marine of Spain was destroyed in her ports. About the same time, sixteen thousand Imperialists, led into Sicily by General Mercy, compelled the Spaniards to evacuate the island. Overwhelmed by these numerous reverses, Alberoni found all was lost for him. The queen turned against him, and now saw nothing in this minister but the obscurity of his birth : in vain he once more made the French government tremble by proposing to bring Spain into an alliance with England and Austria, his disgrace was resolved upon and required by the regent : Philip V. signed, in December, 1719, an order which commanded him to quit

Madrid within a week. The people celebrated his flight as a deliverance from a scourge, and the fall of the cardinal was the pledge of peace ; Philip V. signified his adhesion to the treaty of the quadruple alliance, which his minister signed in February, 1720, at the Hague. By this treaty, the emperor Charles V. abandoned all his states which the peace of Rastadt had separated from the Spanish monarchy ; the emperor engaged to give the investiture of Tuscany to Don Carlos, son of Philip V. and Elizabeth Farnese, after the death, considered as approaching, of the last of the Medici : by the same treaty, Sicily was adjudged to the house of Austria ; the duke of Savoy was to receive, in exchange for this island, that of Sardinia, styled a kingdom.

The regent afterwards employed his mediation in the north ; he succoured Sweden, exhausted by the ruinous rashness of Charles XII., and in which kingdom Ulrica, the sister of that monarch, now reigned. He hastened the conclusion of the peace between her and the czar Peter, who offered his daughter to the duke of Chartres, son of the regent, with the expectation of the throne of Poland, then occupied by King Augustus. The duke of Orleans did not accept this alliance, and was, for a moment, the arbitrator of Europe. This powerful influence was partly due to the ephemeral and prodigious success of Law's system, which, adopted by the regent, then enjoyed the highest degree of public favour, and placed immense pecuniary resources in the hands of the government.

Law's bank had been declared the bank of the king at the end of 1718 ; it obtained the privileged rights of the old company of the Indies, which united to vast possessions in Louisiana the exclusive trade of Africa and Asia : the government joined to this the monopoly of tobacco, the gabelles of Alsace and Franche-Comté, the profits of the coining of money, and the receipts and farmerships-general. This bank thus held in its possession the deposit of all fortunes. Its first care was to decry the coinage by tormenting it by fifty consecutive variations, whilst its paper alone appeared invariable and superior to the numeral value which it represented. Seduced by Law's first successes, a credulous multitude purchased shares of the company, and exchanged their gold for the paper of the bank. This gold served to reimburse the creditors of the state, who, embarrassed by their capitals, and full of mad confidence, exchanged them for shares, the value of which increased in proportion with the

crowd of buyers. The blindness was soon carried to its height, and shares, whose original value was only five hundred livres each, attained the enormous price of eighteen thousand livres. The street Quincampoix acquired a shameful celebrity; it was the ignoble theatre where the shares of the bank were negotiated for. There scandalous fortunes were raised, and there were annihilated those that appeared the best established; there, from the cellars to the garrets, were heaped together *pêle-mêle* people of both sexes, of every age, of every condition, solely occupied in trafficking their notes and their shares: they flocked thither in crowds from the most distant provinces and from foreign countries, and the whole nation seemed transformed into one vast camp of stock-jobbers.

This fermentation, so abject and so scandalous, had, however, some happy effects. The re-establishing of so many doubtful papers gave an immense impulse to trade and manufactures; the numbers of manufacturers increased three-fifths; agriculture and the treasury were enriched by the affluence of foreigners and the increase of consumption. Everything was easy to a government gorged with the gold of the kingdom; the diplomacy of France became dominant, and its navy, lately reduced to a few vessels, and abandoned to the count de Maurepas, eighty-eight years of age, was restored to a condition to protect the French maritime trade. The regent strengthened the relations between the colonies and the mother country, and added the Isle of France to them, an island much coveted by the English. The foundation of New Orleans on the banks of the Mississippi dates from this period. Useful works were undertaken in France; such as several royal roads of a magnificence till that time unknown, and the canal of Montargis; the University of Paris likewise gave instruction gratuitously. Law, at the period of his highest favour, received the homage of all Europe: the son of James II., known under the name of the *Chevalier de Saint George*, sought his friendship, and Law gave him out of his own pocket the pension which France never repaid him.

At the commencement of 1720, Law was at the summit of his success, and, after having abjured the Protestant religion, was made comptroller-general; but he even then approached his fall. His principal error had been in considering the paper of the bank as a perfect equivalent for the metallic currency. The ignorance and the cupidity of the government augmented the fatal consequences of this error; Law

was not at liberty to moderate the movements of his system. A frightful mass of notes, out of all proportion with the currency of France, was fabricated and forced into circulation in spite of him ; it amounted to several milliards, and people soon observed with terror that the exchange against real values became impossible. The favourable excitement produced by the declarations of the existence of gold-mines in the fields of Louisiana, and on the banks of the Mississippi, was dissipated at the same time. To support his system, Law then had recourse to violent measures, which only completed its ill reputation ; individuals were forbidden to have by them more than five hundred livres in money, or to convert their gold into pearls or diamonds ; and at length, on the 21st of May, appeared an edict, which reduced the shares of the company to half their value. From that moment all illusion was destroyed : in vain the duke d'Antin, brother-in-law of the regent, revoked that edict ; confidence could not be restored, and Law was arrested, and commanded to render up his accounts, which he did with such admirable clearness as to confound his enemies. The direction of the bank and the company was restored to him : Law refused to resume the comptrollership, and proposed to the regent as a means of reviving public confidence, the recall of his ancient adversary, the chancellor D'Aguesseau. He himself went to Fresne, the retreat of that venerable magistrate, and solicited his return. D'Aguesseau sacrificed his repose to his love of the public good : this day was the most glorious of his noble life. But this illustrious man had neither the sagacity nor the strength necessary to divert the storm, and misfortunes succeeded each other rapidly.

The plague which broke out in France closed the ports of all the world against its vessels, and brought enormous losses upon the company : the discredit into which the company fell was still more fatal, and the Parliament rejected, almost without deliberation, the edicts which might have given hopes of the liquidation of the bank. Dubois, upon this, though he was the enemy of Law, avenged the government for this bold attack, by banishing the Parliament in a body to Pontoise ; such an affront as that assembly had never undergone since its establishment.

Stock-jobbing was forbidden ; but it was carried on with fury, even under sabres and bayonets. Scenes of violence and murder took place, and a threatening mob directed its course to the Palais Royal, the doors of which the regent.

ordered to be thrown open to it. The theatre of this odious traffic was transferred from the Rue Quincampoix to the Place Vendôme, and thence to the gardens of the Hôtel de Soissons. It was there that paper lost the quality of money, and that, in September, nine shares were bought for a single gold mark, which, a year before, might have been sold for 160,000 livres in specie. Greedy and skilful calculators again negotiated upon the ruins of old and new fortunes, and their frightful jobbing acquired the name of *Mississippi ruined*. Law offered the regent to leave France, and to give up all his property to him, with the reservation of the five thousand crowns he had brought with him. The prince did not attempt to detain him; and this celebrated foreigner, after being adored as a god, disappeared from the kingdom as a fugitive, and went to end his life obscurely at the gaming-tables of Venice, leaving, as his whole succession, a diamond worth 40,000 livres, which had often been placed in pawn, and a few pictures.

The government endeavoured, by a multitude of violent edicts, to restore to the notes of the bank a value which credit alone could sustain: all was useless, and in 1721 the government had again recourse to the operation of the *visa*, to verify the true debt of the state and the titles of its creditors. This was again confided to the brothers Pâris, and two milliards two hundred millions of paper were deposited at their offices: one-third was annulled, and the rest reduced to a disadvantageous rate of interest. The capitalists who persisted in keeping their notes in their portfolios, without submitting to the *visa*, lost the whole of their claims: the stock-jobbers by profession, who had made enormous profits, were violently despoiled of the greater part of their gains. The claims to be liquidated amounted to seventeen hundred millions, and the state was much more in debt than at the death of Louis XIV.

Such was the end of the famous system, of which the ignorance and the despotism of the government, far more than the errors of the founder, accelerated the ruin. It had a great effect upon public morals and the distribution of riches, rendered the people greedy after gain, enterprising and bold in their speculations, and gave, by initiating the use of banks, a new life to commerce, whilst it strengthened the prejudices of the government against every new idea, and against every project of amelioration.

The plague exercised frightful ravages in Provence. The

number of its victims is not known ; but the four cities of Marseilles, Arles, Aix, and Toulon, alone lost 79,500 of their inhabitants. Belzunce, bishop of Marseilles, the Chevalier Rose, and the échevins Estelle and Moustier, immortalized themselves by the most heroic devotion to the afflicted in the midst of this frightful calamity.

The public misfortunes did not at all suspend the violence of theological disputes. The cardinal de Noailles still showed himself at the head of the opponents to the bull of *Unigenitus* of Pope Clement XI., considering it as an attack upon the liberties of the Gallican church, and the Parliament refused to register it : Dubois broke through this double obstacle. This intriguing cynic had already succeeded in getting himself named archbishop of Cambrai ; he was, further, ambitious of the Romish purple, and wished to gain the hat, by causing the bull to be accepted in France. He surrounded the cardinal de Noailles with skilful theologians, and these, by the employment of captious reasonings, succeeded in obtaining his submission, which decided that of numerous opposing bishops. It only remained to subdue the Parliament, then banished to Pontoise : Dubois terrified that body by the threat of a new exile to Blois, whilst Law, then minister, spoke of reimbursing the cost of the charges of the magistracy with his doubtful paper, and of constituting a body of magistrates who should have no other functions than that of administering justice. The Parliament held out no longer, but registered the bull, without pretending to strike *at the maxims of the kingdom upon the appeals to the future council*. The Parliament returned to Paris the following year.

After long and scandalous intrigues, Pope Innocent XIII. made Dubois a cardinal : the regent, who despised this man without being able to do without him, completed his good fortune by naming him first minister three months before the coronation of Louis XV., whose majority was pronounced in the Parliament on the 22nd of January, 1723. The young infanta of Spain, four years of age, arrived at court : the regent destined her for wife to the king, whilst his own daughter was sent to Spain as the future spouse of the prince of the Asturias. By appointing Dubois first minister at the period of the majority of Louis XV., the duke of Orleans retained the entire direction of affairs ; but death disappointed his hopes : Dubois, after having made some wise regulations, expired in the course of the year, leaving an im-

mense fortune. The duke of Orleans succeeded him in his post, but he himself died almost immediately afterwards on an attack of apoplexy. The king, though naturally cold and insensible, regretted his guardian, and was moved at the remembrance of the evidences of tender and respectful interest which he had never ceased to receive from him. Fleury, bishop of Fréjus, and preceptor of the young monarch, exercised an absolute ascendancy over him. Acting in harmony with the duke of Bourbon, he persuaded his pupil to name that prince prime minister: Louis XV. consented by a nod of his head, and the government passed thus from the house of Orleans to that of Condé.

Three persons only composed the council of the king: the duke of Bourbon, the bishop of Fréjus, and the marshal de Villars. A woman of scandalous morals, the marquise de Prie, the mistress of the prime minister, ruled over his narrow mind, brutified by debauchery and an insatiable cupidity. Duverney, the youngest of the brothers Pâris, was chosen by her to administer affairs, and the duke de Bourbon received this minister directly from her hands; he proved to be the author of some wise measures, but he was likewise the accomplice and instrument of odious violences. The first laws passed under the ministry thus composed were senseless and atrocious; the legal value of the currency was diminished by a half, and interest reduced to three and a half per cent.; Duverney wished the habits of the nation to change as quickly as the decrees of council; the troops fell upon the workmen of Paris, who assembled for the purpose of defending their wages; the prisons were filled; the shops of those who did not lower their prices to the level of the monetary laws were bricked up; in the end, the disastrous effects of this measure became evident, and after the kingdom had been thrown into confusion for six months, the coinage was restored to its primitive value. France was again struck at this period, but for the last time, with the onerous impost of the *joyous accession*, which the duke of Orleans had wisely rejected, and which was estimated at twenty-three millions; she paid, in addition to its numberless burdens, a half per cent., imposed upon all the productions of the soil. It was from the bosom of debauchery and amidst the ruinous festivities of Chantilly, the brilliant abode of the Condés, that these spoliating edicts issued; thence also issued, at the solicitation of M. de Tressan, bishop of Nantes, atrocious ordinances against the Protestants. They asserted, as the barbarous edicts of Louis XIV. had done, the

false supposition that there were no longer any Protestants in France, and consequently treated as persons relapsed all who were convicted of heresy: they also in the same way annulled marriages among Calvinists, authorized the carrying off of children and the invasion of successions, and punished with death or the galleys flight, hospitality, and the most generous actions. These ordinances even surpassed those of the late king in cruelty, for they rendered the intervention of an officer of justice useless, and abandoned the victims to the discretion of their inveterate enemies.

The two motives of the actions of the duke de Bourbon were cupidity and ambition. It was in the interest of his own fortune that he supported the company of the Indies, which had been strongly shaken by the fall of the system, of which it held a great many shares; and it was from a jealous hatred of the house of Orleans, and in the fear that it would inherit the crown if the king died without a direct heir, that he broke off the projected marriage between the king and a princess of a tender age. He sent the infanta back to Spain, calling to the throne in her place Mary Leczinska, daughter of Stanislaus, formerly crowned king of Poland by Charles XII., and who, fallen from royal greatness, lived in an obscure retreat at Weissemburg.

The affront of this disgrace was keenly felt in Spain. The weak Philip V., the victim of narrow scruples of conscience and the plaything of his confessors, had abdicated the throne the preceding year, in compliance with the counsels of his confessor, the Jesuit Bermudez. His son, sixteen years of age, succeeded him, under the name of Louis I.: at the end of a reign of seven months he died of the small-pox, and if Philip did not reascend the throne, his crown would fall to his second son Ferdinand, ten years of age, whilst a regency, composed of the nobles of Spain, would govern the kingdom. The court of France dreaded such a state of things, and its ambassador, the marshal de Tessé, employed all his influence to induce the king to revoke his abdication. Theologians, called upon by the queen to combat Bermudez, decided that the king ought to resume the sceptre under the pain of mortal sin. Laura Pescatori, his nurse, energetically assisted them by her bold and affectionate language, and, at length, on the 5th of September, 1724, Philip consented to resume his sceptre. A few months afterwards he heard of the rupture of the marriage projected between his daughter and Louis XV. His anger was extreme: he immediately sent back the

two daughters of the regent, one of whom was the widow of the young Louis I., and the other, Mademoiselle de Beaujolais, who was to have married the infant Don Carlos ; but this by no means satisfied his vengeance ; one of his emissaries, the adventurer *Riperda*, concluded in his name a treaty with the emperor Charles VI., who was irritated at the obstacles opposed by the powers to the establishment of the company of Ostend, and to his pragmatic regulation, by which he called to his succession, in default of male issue, his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa. Alarmed at this treaty, France, England, and Prussia signed, in 1725, that of Hanover, founded on the basis of a guarantee, and of mutual alliance.

The moment approached at which Philip was to be avenged for the insult offered to his family. The duke of Bourbon endeavoured to emancipate himself from the importunate censure of the bishop of Fréjus, and had drawn in the young queen to second his designs : the misery of the people, however, was at its height : from all sides arose maledictions against the government, and Fleury was implored to put an end to the public calamities : he at length yielded, and the revolution was effected. On the 11th of June, the king, when setting out for the chase, said to the duke, with a gracious smile, "Cousin, do not wait supper for me ;" and a few minutes afterwards the duke de Charos remitted to him, on the part of the king, a short, dry letter, which ordered him to retire to Chantilly, under pain of disobedience. The prince instantly complied. In the capital the news of his fall was received with inexpressible transports ; the brothers Pâris were dismissed, Duverney was sent to the Bastille, and the marquise de Prie was exiled. The king declared that from that time he would have no prime minister, but would govern himself. Thus terminated the ten years during which we have seen the tutelage of Louis XV. prolonged, successively, under the heads of the two collateral branches.

Amidst the scandals, violences, and calamities which signalized this period, some wise measures were adopted and many useful works undertaken. Duverney was the true founder of the national militia, established by him upon an excellent footing, amounting to sixty thousand men, drawn by lot ; the support of the soldier was no longer a burden upon the inhabitant, and nearly five hundred barracks were constructed in this short period : under Louis XIV. no great road had been marked out ; the regency conceived a vast and beautiful system of routes, the execution of which was confided to

particular administration ; it likewise seconded the philanthropic views of the illustrious Francis de Sales, the founder of the Christian Schools : the introduction of Freemasonry into France is due to the same period.

Public morality received a fatal tendency from the conduct of the regent : the fury for gaming, in particular, of which the princes gave a pernicious example, possessed all hearts, and carried ruin and despair into a multitude of families.

The regent, himself endowed with numerous acquirements, merited honour by being the protector of letters and the sciences ; the latter made but few brilliant discoveries, the former boasted some great names and a few masterpieces. Fontenelle and La Motte were then the arbiters of taste in literature : Rollin wrote his excellent *Treatise upon Studies* ; Vertot his *Roman Revolutions* ; Gerard his *Synonymes*. Destouches, Marivaux, and Boissy distinguished themselves on the comic stage ; Crébillon and Jean Baptiste Rousseau still wrote, and Massillon immortalized himself by the preaching of his *Petit Carême*. But Voltaire and Montesquieu already appeared above the horizon ; two celebrated works, the *Henriade* and the *Lettres Persannes*, had however announced but a small part of the immense talent of these two authors, or foreshadowed the prodigious influence which they exercised over their age.

CHAPTER II.

Continuation of the reign of Louis XV., from the commencement of the administration of Fleury to the Seven Years' War. 1726—1757.

LOUIS XV. was born with a strong antipathy for exhibition or display, and showed, from his earliest infancy, an exclusive taste for the details of private life. His preceptor, Fleury, took care to gain his affection by extreme indulgence, whilst he sought to secure himself a long ascendancy over him by keeping him ignorant of everything that might elevate his understanding or his spirit. The studies of the king, as well as his amusements,* completed the drying-up of his heart, and contributed, as much as his indifferent and cold nature, to make him an insensible master. The regent,

* The favourite diversions of Louis XV. were games at cards, and the spectacle of cruel sports in vast apartments, where birds of prey were let loose amidst thousands of sparrows, and made a hideous carnage of them.—Lemontey, *Histoire de la Régence*.

anxious to retain an absolute influence over his ward after the period of his majority, had removed his governor, the marshal de Villeroi, a violent and obstinate man ; the bishop of Fréjus, more supple and more adroit, inspiring less umbrage, was allowed to remain near the young monarch, whom he instructed in a profound dissimulation, and every day insinuated himself more and more into his good graces. He brought him to the point of seeing nothing but by his eyes, of doing nothing but by his means ; so that when Louis XV. declared, after the dismissal of the duke de Bourbon, that he would have no other prime minister, and Fleury was made a cardinal, it might easily be presumed, that, notwithstanding his seventy-three years, it would be he who would govern the state and exercise the plenitude of royal power. One of his first acts was to suppress the half per cent., and fix the value of the silver mark, which he carried to fifty-one livres, and which has since undergone but little change. Fleury also hastened to enforce some wise retrenchments ; but being perfectly ignorant of the science of finance, he inflicted a new and dangerous wound upon public credit by arbitrarily diminishing the interest of the public funds. All these efforts of the cardinal minister were made for the purpose of maintaining peace. A general congress was opened with much solemnity at Soissons, in 1728, and was dissolved the following year, without having done anything. Fleury negotiated whilst the deputies of the powers disputed ; he connected France more closely with Spain, and, in 1731, fresh treaties, negotiated at Vienna between France, the emperor, Spain, and Holland, guaranteed to Charles the execution of the pragmatic sanction ; to Don Carlos the possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, and the succession of Tuscany : the emperor promised to revoke the privileges of the Ostend Company.

Europe was at peace, and the pitiful quarrel between the Jansenists and their adversaries the Molinists* continued to scandalize Paris and France. Fleury caused a council to be assembled at Embrun, at which was cited and condemned John Soanen, bishop of Senez, one of the four last bishops who opposed the bull *Unigenitus*. Fresh troubles were excited by the intolerant zeal of M. de Vintimille, the successor of Cardinal de Noailles in the archbishopric of Paris.

* They were so called from the Jesuit Louis Molina, a celebrated theologian, whose opinions they adopted. Molina wrote in the sixteenth century.

A contest arose between him and the body of advocates, which at that period took the name of an order, and which was supported by the Parliament. The king refused to hear the magistrates ; a great number were exiled and afterwards recalled, without any decisive results for either party. The Jansenists, in this little war, so fatal to the Church, exhibited, in support of their cause, some strange scenes, of which the cemetery of Saint Medard was the theatre. A Jansenist deacon named Pâris had been buried there in 1727 ; he was cried up as a saint, and a report prevailed that miracles were performed at his grave. A considerable affluence of people to the spot ensued, and a great number of sick there experienced some extraordinary convulsions ; it was asserted that the contagion of sympathy and the excitement of the imagination produced real effects. "It is the work of God," cried some. "It is the work of the devil," cried others ; and the incredulous obtained from the whole fresh arms against religion. At length the archbishop prohibited any public homage to be addressed to the deacon Pâris, under the pretext that he was not canonized ; advocates appealed from this sentence as an abuse, and the Parliament admitted their appeal. The delirium was carried to its height ; the cemetery became the general meeting-place of the visionaries, the curious, and pickpockets, who crowded thither at all hours, until the government was compelled to forbid all entrance to it.

In spite of the efforts of Cardinal Fleury, the peace was broken in consequence of the death of Augustus I., elector of Saxony and king of Poland, which happened in 1733. This prince, famous for his prodigious debaucheries, had been raised to the throne of Poland, when Charles XII. had ceased to support Stanislaus Leczinski upon it. The latter, who was the father-in-law of Louis XV., conceived the hope of recovering the sceptre he had lost : he repaired in disguise to Warsaw, where he was immediately proclaimed king ; but very shortly Count Munich was sent into Poland by the czarina, Anna Ivanovna, niece of Peter the Great, and heir to his throne : Munich procured the election of Frederick Augustus, son of Augustus I. This prince guaranteed the pragmatic sanction of Charles VI., who sent him some troops ; France could only furnish Stanislaus with fifteen hundred French, to assist him against the Russians, who besieged him in Dantzic ; they proved a useless succour, notwithstanding the heroism of the count de Plélog, who

was killed at the head of them : Dantzic was taken, and Stanislaus, upon whose head a price was set, escaped through a thousand difficulties. Louis XV. took his revenge of the emperor by seizing Lorraine ; he allied himself with Spain and Savoy, the throne of which latter country Victor Amadeus had abdicated, and upon which was seated his son, Charles Emanuel III. Berwick led an army into Germany, and Villars one into Italy. Berwick took the fort of Kehl ; Milan fell into the hands of Villars ; and in the following year these two illustrious generals finished their glorious career at nearly the same time.

The duke de Noailles and the marquis d'Asfeld replaced Berwick, whilst the marshal de Coigny and the count de Broglie succeeded Villars in the command of the army of Italy. The two Belle-Isles, grandsons of the famous Fouquet, and the count Maurice de Saxe, natural son of Augustus I., served in the army of the duke de Noailles, who had for adversaries Prince Eugène, and under him the prince royal of Prussia, then twenty-one years of age, and who afterwards became the great Frederick. Don Carlos, son of Philip V. and Elizabeth Farnese, took possession of Naples and Sicily, and the French, commanded by the marquis d'Asfeld, took Philisbourg, under the eyes of Eugène. These successes were followed by the battle of Parma, in which Coigny was conqueror, and by that of Guastalla, glorious for the marshal de Broglie. The peace proposed in 1735, the period of the death of Eugène, was concluded on the following conditions :—Stanislaus renounced the throne of Poland, and received as compensation the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, revertible to France in full sovereignty : Francis Stephen, duke of Lorraine, exchanged his duchies for that of Tuscany ; Don Carlos, renouncing Parma and Placentia, obtained from the emperor the cession of Naples and Sicily, of which he was crowned king ; Charles VI. regained possession of Milan and Mantua ; and France, by a formal article, accepted his pragmatic sanction, solemnly engaging to maintain it towards and against all. This treaty was not signed till 1738, and Spain did not accede to it till 1739. During the negotiations on this subject, great troubles broke out in the island of Corsica, possessed by the Genoese, which prepared for its union with France. The cruel tyranny of the Genoese roused this island, in which an adventurer from Westphalia, the baron de Neuhoff, got himself proclaimed sovereign, and reigned for some months under

the name of *King Theodore* : driven by a tempest into the Gulf of Naples, he was there made prisoner : the Corsicans then called upon the French for aid, who subdued the island, but soon after evacuated it, without deriving any advantage from their conquest.

The emperor Charles VI. died in 1740, in the firm belief that his pragmatic sanction, guaranteed by all the powers, would be executed, and that his daughter Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary, would inherit his states ; but scarcely had he closed his eyes, when a crowd of princes put forth pretensions to his vast heritage, and verified the saying of *Eugène*, "that the best guarantee in such cases was an army of a hundred thousand men." Among these princes, in the first rank, were Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, and Augustus III., elector of Saxony, who claimed the entire inheritance ; the former as descendant of the daughter of Ferdinand I., the latter as the husband of the eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph. Philip V., king of Spain, revived some superannuated claims upon the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, in the hopes of obtaining, by means of convention, some establishment in Italy for the children he had had by his second wife, Elizabeth Farnese. Charles Emmanuel, king of Sardinia, claimed the duchy of Milan, and the illustrious Frederick II., king of Prussia, coveted Silesia, "which belonged," he said, "by right of reversion, to the electors of Brandenburg. Possessor of much wealth, head of a numerous army, and strong in his own genius, Frederick at once poured his battalions on that province, and then enjoined Maria Theresa to yield to him, promising her his support in exchange for her consent. Maria Theresa refused : Frederick followed up his advantages, took Breslau, gained, in 1741, the battle of Melwitz, and subdued the major part of Silesia.

France did not yet declare itself : it had solemnly engaged to execute the pragmatic sanction of Charles VI. ; but Louis XV., entirely occupied with his pleasures, and Cardinal Fleury, burdened by age, and otherwise very little scrupulous with regard to faith in treaties, allowed the ambitious count de Belle-Isle to assume great influence in the council. This nobleman alleged as a pretext, the eternal fear that the Austrian power would become too formidable, and the council of the king believed, by a shameful evasion, to reconcile its engagements with its hostile projects : it did not directly declare war against Charles VI., but it concluded a treaty with the

elector of Bavaria, the principal pretender to the succession of Charles and the imperial crown. Spain, which claimed the Austrian possessions in Italy, entered into this alliance, which was joined, successively, by the kings of Prussia, Sardinia, and Poland. The shares were thus regulated : to Charles, elector of Bavaria, the imperial crown, the kingdom of Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Tyrol ; to the elector of Saxony, Moravia and Upper Silesia ; the remainder of this last province to the king of Prussia ; and the Austrian possessions in Italy to the king of Spain, to form an establishment for the infant Don Philip. They left to Maria Theresa, who had married Francis of Lorraine, grand-duke of Tuscany, Hungary, the Low Countries, and Lower Austria. This princess had no ally but George II., elector of Hanover and king of England. Two French armies, each forty thousand strong, entered Germany. The count de Belle-Isle, who had become a marshal, commanded one of them ; the other was confided to the marshal de Maillebois, who stopped thirty thousand English, sent to Maria Theresa by King George, and forced England, in this campaign, to become neutral, by rendering it uneasy with regard to Hanover. Great successes for the allied powers marked the opening of this war : the elector of Bavaria and the French threatened Vienna ; Maurice de Saxe, then lieutenant-general in the service of France, and the celebrated Chevert, obtained possession of Prague, in which place the elector of Bavaria was proclaimed king of Bohemia ; a month after, he was elected emperor at Frankfort, under the name of Charles VII.

Maria Theresa, however, though abandoned by all, did not abandon herself : she convoked the States of Hungary, presented herself before them holding in her arms her son, only a few months old, and demanded their aid : " I place in your hands," she said, " the daughter and the son of your kings, who look to you for their safety." Her speech, which she pronounced in Latin, the idiom of the states, electrified all hearts ; the Hungarian nobles drew their sabres and cried : " We will die for our king Maria Theresa." Prompt efforts followed these words ; an army was raised for her ; Austria was retaken, Bavaria invaded, the marquis de Ségur forced to capitulate at Lintz, and the elector deprived of all his states. The king of Sardinia had already detached himself from the league, and declared himself a defender of Maria ; the king of Prussia treated with her in his turn, obtaining the cession of Silesia, and the French found themselves

reduced to thirty thousand men in Bohemia, and these hemmed in between two armies. Prague was blockaded by the Austrians. Marshal de Maillebois, sent to the succour of this city, was not able to penetrate to it : he was deprived of his command, and replaced by the duke de Broglie, who escaped alone from Prague to go and take the command of the army. The defence of this capital was confided to the marshal de Belle-Isle, who, at the head of twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse, finding himself not in a condition to maintain it, evacuated it, and effected a brilliant retreat upon Egra, in the heart of a severe winter. Chevart, who remained in Prague with six hundred sick, concealed his weakness, and obtained an honourable capitulation.

Marshal de Noailles received orders to watch the English and Hanoverian army on the Maine : it was commanded by Lord Stair ; and the king of England, George II., with his son the duke of Cumberland, had recently joined it. The English had penetrated as far as Aschaffenburg, above Hanau, between the mountains of Spessart and the Maine, the course of which river, both above and below, was in the power of the French. Their army, already annoyed by shortness of provisions, and on the point of being surrounded on all sides, retraced its steps ; the marshal de Noailles observed it from the other side of the Maine, and followed all its movements. He caused numerous bodies of troops to cross the river in front of the village of Dettingen and of a narrow defile which the enemy must pass through : the duke de Grammont, nephew of the marshal, concealed with all the king's household troops in a deep ravine, through which the English army must descend, was to wait for it there, and close up its passage, whilst the batteries were disposed upon the other shore so as to play upon the enemy's main body. The English army was on the point of being destroyed ; the rashness of De Grammont saved it : before it was completely surrounded, or the marshal had given the signal for the attack, Grammont quitted his post, fell upon the English, who made great havoc among his troops with their artillery, advantageously posted upon a hill ; he rushed forward to gain possession of it, but in vain ; by his movement he masked the enemy from the French batteries, which he obliged to cease their fire, that they might not destroy his men. So many errors were irreparable : the marshal was obliged to employ the resources he had reserved to destroy the enemy with, in extricating his nephew, and led his army

to the other side of the Maine, to a narrow ground, incapable of containing it. At length, after three hours of a sanguinary *mêlée* without result, he ordered a retreat, and the field of battle remained with the English.

In the meanwhile the marshal de Broglie had not been able to maintain himself on the Danube before the prince of Lorraine, brother of the grand-duke Francis ; Bavaria was evacuated, and it was impossible for Marshal de Noailles, after the retreat of Broglie, to keep his ground in Franconia, where he had, during two months, held the army of the allies in check. Such was the unfortunate end of the campaign of 1743, which brought back the war to the frontiers of France. The emperor Charles VII. had no longer any states, and that unfortunate prince signed a treaty by which he resigned all his pretensions upon Austria, engaging himself, as well as the empire, to remain neuter during the continuation of the war, and leaving, till a general peace, his hereditary states of Bavaria in the hands of Maria Theresa, whom he had threatened to despoil, and who, by the treaty of Worms, made her alliance with England and the king of Sardinia still closer.

France had lost all her allies in a struggle from which she had no advantage to expect. Fleury died more than ninety years old ; he had been opposed to this onerous war, and had had the weakness to remain in appearance at the head of the government, after having lost the power of maintaining peace.

The year 1744 saw all Europe taking part in the war : Spain, which was already contending with England in the interests of commerce, united its marine with that of France, and the two combined fleets, amounting to thirty vessels, under the orders of Admiral Court and Joseph de Navarre, attacked Admiral Matthews, who, with thirty-four vessels, blockaded the port of Toulon : victory was uncertain. About the same time, twenty-four French vessels sailed from Brest, with the purpose of transporting into England Prince Edward, the heir of the Stuarts, and a body of twenty-four thousand men : a tempest dispersed this fleet, and the expedition had no success.

Genoa, despoiled by the treaty of Worms, declared against Austria, and Frederick II., anxious for the possession of Silesia, promised to take up arms again. According to the plan of the campaign adopted by France, the prince de Conti was to command in the Alps and there second Don

Philip and the Spaniards ; the marshal de Coigny was to remain on the defensive in Alsace, and the principal efforts of the war were to be directed against the Netherlands, where the marshal de Noailles had orders to besiege the strong places, whilst his operations would be covered by Count Maurice de Saxe, recently named a marshal of France. The king joined the army : a hundred thousand French poured down upon the Low Countries, and a great part of Flanders was already conquered, when the king learnt that Prince Charles, at the head of eighty thousand men, had passed the Rhine at Spire, that he had gained possession of the lines of Wissemburg, and had driven back Marshal de Coigny, who was too weak to resist him. It became necessary to change the plan of the campaign, to direct the principal strength upon Alsace, and remain in Flanders on the defensive. Maurice de Saxe only retained forty-five thousand men there, whilst the marshal de Noailles, with the rest of the army, directed his course towards the Rhine : the king wished to follow him thither, but a dangerous illness detained him at Metz.

Louis XV. had already, during twelve years, yielding to his dissolute passions and the perfidious counsels of those who speculated upon his vices, abandoned himself to voluptuousness without restraint : four sisters of the name of Nesle were successively his mistresses : the last of this family received the title of duchess de Châteauroux, and accompanied him to Metz. Whilst the king was in danger, and the people, who still had an affection for him and named him the *Well-beloved*, put up to heaven, in the temples, fervent vows for his restoration to health, Bishop Fitz-James, exercising his ministry worthily, required and obtained the dismissal of the duchess. The king recovered, the bishop was disgraced, the favourite restored, and Louis, more surprised than affected by the joy of France, asked, and with reason, what he had done to be so much beloved. Nevertheless, whilst the king was still in danger, some noble words escaped him ; he made inquiries concerning the situation of Marshal de Noailles, then opposed to Prince Charles : "Write to him," said he, "that whilst Louis XIII. was being borne to the tomb, the prince de Condé won a battle."

Frederick entered again into Bohemia and Moravia, and in twelve days forced Prague, with a garrison of eighteen thousand men, to capitulate. Prince Charles quitted the Rhine in haste, and was seconded by a diversion which the

king of Poland made upon the rear of the Prussian army ; but their united efforts could not prevent the evacuation of Bavaria by the Austrians, or the invasion of Piedmont by the prince de Conti and Don Philip, after heroic exploits in impracticable defiles.

The emperor Charles VII. returned for the third time to his capital, Munich, a prey to chagrin and disease. He died there in the course of the following year, at the age of forty-seven, leaving, as Voltaire says, this lesson to the world : "The highest degree of human greatness may also be the height of calamity." His son, Maximilian Joseph, instructed by the misfortunes of his father, deceived the hopes of those who flattered themselves with the idea of opposing him to Maria Theresa ; he treated with her, and promised his voice for the grand-duke Francis, her husband, of whom she hoped to procure the elevation to the imperial throne. Louis XV., irritated by this pretension, continued the war.

It was in Flanders and Italy that he resolved to make the greatest efforts ; his army was to remain on the defensive in Germany. Marshal Saxe invested Tournay, which was defended by a Dutch garrison : the English army, under the orders of the duke of Cumberland, moved forward to succour that place. The count de Saxe immediately drew up his army in line of battle beyond the Scheld : the village of Fontenoy was in front of his centre, that of Antoing on his right, and the wood of Bari on his left. All these posts were defended by formidable batteries. On the 11th of May, the army of the enemy advanced to attack the French in this strong position : the English occupied the centre, the Austrians were on the right, under Count Kœnisberg, and the Dutch formed the left, under Prince Waldeck. The two armies consisted of about forty-five thousand men each ; but Marshal de Saxe was ill, incapable of mounting on horseback, and was carried in a litter to the lines : Louis XV. and the dauphin were with the army, and his head-quarters were established in the village of Antoing. After a long cannonade without result, the English advanced in quick time to endeavour to carry the village of Fontenoy under the terrible fire that protected them. Ill seconded by their auxiliaries, they changed their direction, and advanced alone against the French lines, which extended between Fontenoy and the wood of Bari ; they took closer order, so as to present less aim to the artillery, and formed a redoubtable column, which easily overpowered the feeble bodies that were opposed to it.

Two lines of French infantry were already broken, a few minutes more and the column, beyond the reach of the batteries, might turn upon the left and carry Antioing, occupied by the king, who was earnestly advised to retreat ; but he refused, and the marshal, coming up, guaranteed the victory. The column of the allies, thinned by the French bullets, had experienced enormous losses ; four pieces of reserve were pointed against it, and made frightful chasms in its ranks : the French cavalry came up at the gallop, surrounded the column on all sides and swept away the wrecks of it before them ; nine thousand English, killed or wounded, were left upon the field of battle. A few days afterwards Tournay was taken, almost all Flanders was occupied, and its principal places became the reward of this important victory.

The French arms were not less successful in Italy, under Marshal de Noailles and the infant Don Philip ; all the Austrian possessions in Italy were conquered, with the exception of some fortresses, and the king of Sardinia was compelled to capitulate. But in Germany the Austrians maintained their ground against the French, and covered Frankfort, where, on the 15th of September, the grand-duke Francis was proclaimed emperor. The king of Prussia had, three months before, gained a great victory at Friedberg : the cession of the county of Glatz, which was joined to Silesia, rendered this monarch neutral again.

Charles Edward, landed in Scotland, proclaimed regent by his father, and conqueror at Prestonpans and Falkirk, made George II. tremble for his new kingdom. His defeat at Culloden, by the duke of Cumberland, ruined his hopes and those of the supporters of his cause : after unheard-of mischances and difficulties, he returned to France, abandoning England for ever, where his redoubtable appearance was the cause and pretext for horrible cruelties towards his unfortunate partisans.

Germany, Flanders, Italy, and France were still the theatre of an obstinate war. The Austrians drove the French from Piedmont, took possession of Genoa, and invaded Provence : Genoa, subjected by them to a yoke of iron, shook it off heroically : besieged afresh, Boufflers, and afterwards Richelieu, flew to its assistance and secured its safety : the marshal de Belle-Isle forced the Austrians to evacuate Provence, and Maurice de Saxe, the conqueror of Prince Charles at Rocoux, completed the subjection of Brabant.

The East was shaken by the repercussion of this san-

guinary war. La Bourdonnaye, governor of the isles of France and Bourbon, undertook to attempt an enterprise which should be fatal to the mercantile interests of the English in India: he armed, without the assistance of government, nine merchant ships, besieged and took Madras, the chief place of the British establishments on the coast of Coromandel, and having received orders not to retain any conquest, he restored the city for the sum of ten millions. Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, jealous of the glory of Bourdonnaye, refused to ratify this treaty, took possession of the conquered city, and ordered Bourdonnaye to lead back his shattered squadron to France, where he denounced him as a traitor. Scarcely had the illustrious conqueror of Madras touched his native soil, when a *lettre de cachet* cast him into the Bastille, where he languished three years, without obtaining a hearing in his justification.

The deplorable fight of the Col d'Exilles, in Dauphiny, where the chevalier de Belle-Isle, father of the marshal, was killed with four thousand men, whilst endeavouring to force an impregnable position, was balanced by the new and brilliant victory gained at Lawfelt, by Maurice de Saxe, over the duke of Cumberland, which threw open the road to Holland to this great general. The conquest of several cities, and among them that of Bergen-op-Zoom, was the fruit of this glorious battle: General Lowendahl carried the last-mentioned place, which had resisted the duke of Parma and Spinola. The English at this time inflicted a terrible blow upon our marine: the French fleet, in an heroic struggle of forty vessels against a hundred and twenty, was destroyed in sight of Cape Finisterre, at the battle of Belle-Isle. France sighed for peace, and Maurice de Saxe saw no conclusion of the war possible but in the city of Maestricht: he promptly invested it, and almost immediately the preliminaries of this so much desired peace were signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. The king of Prussia remained in possession of his conquests. Don Philip, the brother of Don Carlos, obtained the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastilla; the English were re-established in India upon the same footing as before the war; they restored Louisburg and Cape Breton, and had all Nova Scotia accorded to them. France restored Savoy to the king of Sardinia, the Low Countries to the empress Maria Theresa, and to the Dutch all the places conquered from them. A secret article interdicted its territory to Charles Edward, who was expelled from it by an order of the government, and the

only result to France of this sanguinary and unjust war, which had lasted so many years, was the enormous charge of twelve hundred millions which it had added to its debt.

Some salutary edicts appeared in the years which followed the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Of this number was the edict of *main-morte*, which prevented the clergy from accumulating fresh wealth : this was the last edict sealed by the illustrious D'Aguesseau. D'Argenson, minister of war, son of the ancient keeper of the seals of that name, instituted in 1751 the military school for five hundred gentlemen without fortune, and Machault, the comptroller-general, caused his famous ordinance to be issued for the free interior trade in grain, until that time subject to a thousand impediments injurious to agriculture. Machault, a skilful and honest minister, was, without doubt, the greatest of the fourteen comptrollers-general who succeeded each other during the reign of Louis XV. It was he who established the impost of five per cent., destined to found a sinking fund. Strongly impressed with all the evils which result from the unequal assessment of the imposts and the abused privileges of the two first orders, he proposed to render the impost of the twentieth, or five per cent., perpetual, and to substitute it, by giving it a great extension, for the *taille* and other unequal taxes. Machault had already overcome energetic resistances to such wise views offered by the parliaments, the country states, and the clergy, when the mistress of the king, the marquise de Pompadour, whose self-love Machault had not conciliated in an important circumstance, procured his dismissal. The clergy reserved the privilege they enjoyed of disputing charges made upon them, and preserved the liberty of only paying their share of the imposts in the form of a gratuitous gift. Louis XV., almost solely occupied with his scandalous pleasures, took but a very weak part in the wise dispositions of his council. Madame de Pompadour exercised a sovereign influence over him. It was she who, to flatter his shameful caprices, composed in part the infamous seraglio, branded with the name of *Le Parc aux Cerfs* (Deer Park), the expenses of which absorbed immense sums. Louis XV., however, was scrupulous in the performance of the external practices of devotion, and took an active part in the religious quarrels which agitated France. These were renewed with great scandal by the intolerance of M. De Beaumont, archbishop of Paris : this prelate carried the hatred of Jansenism so far as to order that extreme unction should be refused to

the dying not only convicted, but simply suspected, of adhering to the opinions condemned by the bull *Unigenitus*. Notes of confession were required of the sick, and their orthodoxy was estimated according to the names of their directors. The Parliament, supported by public opinion, protested against these odious measures ; it declared there was reason to appeal, as against abuses, and ordered an accusation against the curé of St. Etienne for refusing the sacrament. The king's council reversed these decrees, and ordered respect to be paid to the bull, as a law of the Church and State. Violent discussions ensued between the Parliament and the archbishop ; and upon the refusal of the sacrament to a nun, the temporals of the bishop were seized, he himself was cited to appear, and the court of Peers convoked. The king forbade the peers to attend to this appeal, and ordered the Parliament to discontinue all prosecution ; he would not even listen to its remonstrances ; the magistrates were exiled. To replace the proscribed Parliament, a royal chamber was established, composed of counsellors of state and masters of requests ; but Le Châtelet did not recognise its jurisdiction ; advocates, procureurs, registrars, refused their services, and the course of justice was thus interrupted during four months.

The king felt that he must give way, and on the 23rd of August, 1754, amidst the rejoicings occasioned by the birth of the duke de Berry, the unfortunate Louis XVI., the Parliament being recalled to Paris, re-entered it amidst the acclamations of Jansenists, philosophers, and the people. The archbishop and several curés displayed their inquisitorial zeal with more violence than ever. Admonished by the council, they made it their glory to call down martyrdom upon themselves, and the archbishop, in his turn, was exiled, with two other prelates and the furious curé of St. Etienne du Mont. The procureur-general appealed, as from an abuse, against the bull *Unigenitus* itself, and the king's council again censured the Parliament : this body ventured to suppress a conciliatory brief of Pope Benedict XIV. ; and its boldness increasing with its irritation, it refused to register the edicts for fresh imposts, at the beginning of a war with England ; then it leagued itself with the other parliaments of the kingdom against the attacks of the great council, endeavouring to form of all the superior courts of the French magistracy one single body, divided into different classes, imposing by its strength, and in a state to resist the arbitrary measures of the court. The chancellor de Lamoignon pointed out, in the council of

the king, the danger of these bold resolutions, and, on the 13th of December, 1756, in a bed of justice, the king ordered three edicts to be registered, the principal dispositions of which renewed the injunction with respect to the bull, deprived every magistrate of a deliberative voice before the end of ten years' service, commanded the registering of the edicts after allowing remonstrances, forbade the interruption of the course of justice under penalty of disobedience, and suppressed the major part of the chambers of inquiry and requests, as the ordinary centre of the most violent resolutions. These arbitrary acts of royal power, and particularly the last, struck the Parliament with stupor. The people, whom the remonstrances against the imposts strongly interested in the resistance of the magistrates, encouraged their opposition by vociferous evidences of their favour. They became violent in the cause of the Parliament, indulging in open invectives against the prodigalities and scandalous disorders of the king, and their exasperation was at its height when they learned that all the magistrates, with the exception of thirty-one members of the great chamber, had sent in their resignation. Such was the state of the public mind in the capital, when, on the 5th of January, 1757, an unfortunate wretch, named Damiens, stabbed the king, at the gates of the palace of Versailles. The wound was very slight; but it was feared that the regicide's weapon might have been poisoned: the king himself, seized with terror, thought his last moment was approaching. The court attributed this crime to the effervescence created among the people by the violent opposition of the Parliament: the magistrates trembled at their danger: most of those who had resigned hastened to Versailles to offer their services, and were lavish in their protestations of devotion. The debates upon the trial gave reason for believing that the assassin had no accomplices. The court of Peers, formed of the peers of the kingdom and the magistrates who had kept their seats, tried the criminal, and condemned him to the frightful punishment of regicides: his right hand was burnt in fire of sulphur, his flesh was torn off with red-hot pincers, and melted lead poured into the wounds; he was dragged asunder, whilst alive, by four horses, the fragments of his body were burnt, and the ashes cast to the wind.

Louis XV., after this frightful execution was over, endeavoured to conciliate the minds of his subjects; most of the magistrates were recalled, and the Parliament resumed its habitual functions. The marquise de Pompadour, who had

been sent away from the palace whilst the king was supposed to be in danger, returned to it in triumph. The minister Machault, who had contributed to her momentary disgrace, and D'Argenson, who had loudly rejoiced at it, were sacrificed : these two ministers were the most able of the council, which, destitute of talents and strength, remained under the direct influence of the marquise.

The war between England and France, which had been so long imminent, now broke out. The limits of many islands and possessions in America, particularly those of Acadia or Nova Scotia, ill defined by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, had given rise to long controversies, then to hostilities, and the two nations were observing each other as enemies, when the English sent forth an expedition beyond the Alleghany mountains, and constructed various forts in the neighbourhood of Fort Duquesne, built by the French on the Ohio. The latter sent to them, as a negotiator, an officer named Jumonville ; he was killed by an enemy's detachment commanded by Major Washington, who was destined, afterwards, to give freedom to his country. The French took vengeance of this outrage ; and Washington, when attacked by them, was forced to capitulate ; but an imposing force soon threatened Fort Duquesne ; General Braddock led a fresh expedition against it at the head of six hundred men. This corps, surprised in a defile by two hundred and fifty French and five hundred savages, was routed and cut to pieces. The English immediately seized, without any preliminary warning, three hundred mercantile buildings belonging to France. Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, repelled the remonstrances addressed upon this subject to the English parliament, and war was declared.

CHAPTER III.

From the commencement of the Seven Years' War to the death of Louis XV. 1756—1774.

THE war which broke out, in 1756, between England and France, soon fired all Europe, and its ravages extended over the whole world. Maria Theresa regretted Silesia, which she had ceded to Prussia, and, in the hope of recovering that province, she united herself with Elizabeth Petrowna, empress of Russia, Augustus III., elector of Saxony and king of Poland, and Frederick Adolphus, king of Sweden. Louis XV., for

a long time the ally of the king of Prussia against Maria Theresa, had no motive of resentment towards that prince; but it was upon the support of France that the queen of Hungary particularly depended: she knew how to flatter Madame de Pompadour, whom the raileries of Frederick had offended, by treating her as an equal and a friend. Her skilful manœuvre decided the alliance of the two crowns. They engaged to supply each other reciprocally with a succour of twenty-four thousand men, to repel the attacks with which each might be threatened; and soon all the forces of the kingdom were placed at the disposal of Austria.

This fatal and deplorable war, known under the name of the Seven Years' War, began under fortunate auspices for France: the duke de Richelieu for a moment caused his scandals and his vices to be forgotten by the conquest of Minorca and the brilliant capture of Fort St. Philip, the citadel of Port Mahon. Admiral Byng came with his fleet, composed of fourteen ships of the line, to the succour of the city: stopped by Admiral Galissonnière, who closed the port against him, he gave battle, lost it, and led back his shattered fleet to Gibraltar. This naval victory, the most important that the French had gained during fifty years, cost Admiral Byng his life: although his conduct was irreproachable, the English attributed his defeat to treachery: the admiral was declared guilty and shot.

Frederick II. did not wait for the attack of his enemies; on hearing of the league formed against him, he promptly invaded Saxony, and took Dresden, from which place the king of Poland fled. He almost at the same time encountered Marshal Brown, at the head of fifty thousand Austrians, and, with half that number of troops, forced him to repass the Eger; he then flew to Pirna, where the Saxon army was blockaded, and obliged it to capitulate. In addition to the twenty-four thousand men promised to Austria and commanded by the prince de Soubise, sixty thousand French entered Germany under the Marshal d'Estrées, and threatened the electorate of Hanover. D'Estrées beat Cumberland at Hastenberg, at the moment that a court cabal deprived him of the command, and gave him the duke de Richelieu as a successor. The duke followed D'Estrées' plans for the campaign, drove the Hanoverians into a corner near Stade upon the Elbe, and forced Cumberland to sign the capitulation of Closter-Seven, which sent back a part of the army to their

homes, condemned the other to inaction, and placed the electorate of Hanover in the hands of France.

Frederick, conqueror of Prince Charles of Lorraine at the sanguinary battle of Prague, had afterwards been beaten by Marshal Daun at Chotzemitz, and lost twenty-five thousand men, when he heard of several of his generals being consecutively defeated, and lastly of the fatal capitulation at Closter-Seven. But a check was for him the prelude to a victory; he appeared, in some manner, to multiply his troops by making them fly from one extremity of his states to the other; although conquered and pursued, he always was present in full strength where he was least expected. This memorable war placed the seal on his renown; he had to combat, at the same time, and alone, the French, the Austrians, and the Russians, all commanded by able generals; he saw armies twice as strong as his own invade and penetrate into his states; he lost his capital, and was himself often surrounded; but, drawing from these very perils his most astonishing inspirations, he came out a conqueror from all trials, and his power proved to be better established than ever after a contest in which, according to all human foresight, he must inevitably be crushed. In this terrible campaign of 1757, depressed by the reverses of his generals, but still more so by the capitulation of the English at Closter-Seven, surrounded in Saxony by several armies, and held in check by Marshal Daun, Frederick appeared to be without resources, and even he for a moment believed himself ruined; but his genius restored his fortunes: he escaped from the marshal with admirable art, and boldly marched to meet the French army commanded by Soubise, and that of the Circles, which, united, were advancing to surround him: he manœuvred skilfully before them by appearing to wish to avoid them, and took up his encampment in an advantageous position at Rosbach: Soubise attempted to surprise him, and wished to turn his camp; but all his movements were foreseen and counteracted; Frederick changed his front unobserved by the enemy, whose columns he allowed to approach, and when the French and Imperialists arrived within range of his cannon, Frederick's tents were struck, and the Prussian army appeared in order of battle between two hills, from which a murderous fire was poured upon the allies. The assailants were struck with stupor, and the troops of the Circles fled without fighting; their example acted upon the French infantry, which retreated

in disorder before six Prussian battalions, leaving behind three thousand dead and seven thousand prisoners. The marquis de Castries, at the head of the cavalry, and two Swiss regiments, alone did their duty on this day, almost unparalleled in the military annals of France. Frederick took no repose after this unexpected victory : he flew into Silesia, then almost lost, and gained the bloody battle of Lissa, near Breslau, over Prince Charles and Daun. The English then broke the capitulation of Closter-Seven, and the Hanoverian army reappeared under Ferdinand of Brunswick, its new leader, who declared he had nothing to do with that military convention. Such were upon the continent the principal results of this first campaign, in the course of which the master of a kingdom which scarcely boasted of an existence of half a century, sustained, almost alone, the shock of France and Austria, and merited the surname of Great by beating the two armies of two of the most redoubtable powers of the continent.

The count de Clermont lost, the following year, the battle of Crevelt, against Ferdinand of Brunswick : the count was replaced by the marquis de Contades : Soubise, and under him the duke de Broglie, repaired in part, at Sundershausen and Lutzelburg, the losses of that sanguinary day : the French re-entered Hanover ; but, in 1759, Brunswick, beaten by the duke de Broglie at Berghen, in his turn beat the marshal de Contades at Minden, in Westphalia. Frederick contended, with various success, against the Austrians and the Russians : the most murderous day of the preceding campaign was that of Zorndorf, in which thirty-three thousand men, of whom twenty-two thousand were Russians and eleven thousand Prussians, were left on the field of battle.

Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, the minister of George II., then governed the English cabinet ; he turned much of his attention to the colonies, and gave a new vigour to maritime operations : Nova Scotia, in spite of the efforts of the marquis de Montcalm, remained in the power of the English ; Quebec was taken after a battle fought under its walls, in which the generals of both armies, Wolf and Montcalm, fell, and in 1760 the whole of Canada was wrested by England from France. The French arms were not more successful in Africa, in which they lost Senegal, or in Asia, where General Clive, the celebrated founder of the English power in India, rendered himself master, in 1757, of the

French establishment at Chandernagore, upon the Ganges. The success of Clive brought about the disgrace of Dupleix, who was recalled to France, and died poor and forgotten, after having commanded in India as a sovereign. The count de Lally, an Irishman by birth, a man of talent, but of a violent and despotic character, received from Louis XV. the mission of revenging the French disgraces in the East. As his first exploit he took Fort St. David, on the Coromandel coast, and destroyed its defences. Some differences which arose between him and the naval commander, the count d'Aché, proved fatal to the interests of France.

England was at this time threatened with a descent by two French armies under Chevert and the duke d'Aiguillon; two squadrons were to protect this expedition: the first, under M. de la Clue, was destroyed by Admiral Boscawen, off Cape St. Vincent, and, two months later, the second, commanded by the marshal de Conflans, experienced the same fate within sight of the shores of Brittany. One division of this fleet, having taken flight, entered the river Vilaine, from which it was not able to get out again: ignominy marked this defeat, and the day's fight became disgracefully known as *the battle of M. de Conflans*.

The duke de Choiseul, a friend of men of letters and philosophers, whom he protected, supported by Madame Pompadour, entered the ministry as successor to the abbé Bernis, director of foreign affairs; M. de Silhouette was comptroller-general. This last-named minister commenced his duties with some useful measures, one of which exposed the prodigious profits of the farmers-general: M. de Silhouette cut off the half of these, and created seventy-two thousand shares of a thousand livres each, to which he assigned the profits of the other half: all were immediately taken off, and the comptroller-general obtained seventy-two millions in twenty-four hours. Although praised by everybody for these judicious proceedings, he as quickly became the subject of obloquy, when, in 1750, his reforms attacked the rights of the higher classes. In the bed of justice of the 22nd of September, he caused an edict of *territorial subvention* to be registered, which subjected to the impost, without exception, all the bodies which had till that period the privilege of being exempted from it. The reprobation was general, and the magistracy opposed it the first with so much violence, that this wise and just edict could not be executed. M. de Silhouette then caused a part of the pay-

ments due upon this fund to be suspended, and pressed the citizens to carry their silver plate to the mint. England, when informed of this poverty, believed France to be without resources, and refused to treat with her.

The campaign of 1760 was glorious in Germany for the marshal de Broglie : he beat the hereditary prince of Brunswick at Corbach, near Cassel, of which place he prepared the capture : one of the bodies of his army, commanded by the marquis de Castries, established itself at Clostercamp, near Rhumberg, upon the bank of the river : attacked by the prince, he gained a victory which delivered Wesel. A sublime instance of devotedness immortalized this battle. The Chevalier d'Assas, a captain in the regiment of Auvergne, being sent to reconnoitre during the night, was surprised, within hearing of his own camp, by the Hanoverians : twenty bayonets are in an instant at his breast ; if he speaks he is a dead man : " A moi, Auvergne !" cried he, " here is the enemy !" He immediately falls, pierced with many wounds, but the French camp was not surprised. Frederick then escaped into Saxony, from the many armies that surrounded him ; he beat, by turns, Laudon at Lignitz, and Daun at Torgau, and recovered Silesia.

Pondicherry fell this year into the hands of the English : this city contained eighty thousand inhabitants, whom the governor Lally had disgusted by his haughtiness and despotism. Count d'Aché, summoned with his squadron to the succour of the place, did not appear, and seven hundred soldiers only were left to defend it : the city was taken and the fortifications were destroyed. Lally returned to France, and, falsely accused of treachery, paid for his defeat with his life : the Parliament condemned him, and insult was carried to the extent of having him gagged when led to punishment : he left a son worthy of avenging his memory.

Choiseul, minister of war, after the death of the marshal de Belle-Isle, offered peace to George III., who had just succeeded George II. on the English throne. Lord Bute, the prime minister, favoured his views, but Pitt opposed them, and his opinion prevailed. The duke de Choiseul, after having in vain endeavoured to rouse the enthusiasm of the nation, sought the support of Spain, in which Charles III. was then reigning, and by his means the celebrated family compact was signed on the 16th of August, 1761. This treaty, negotiated in secret, stipulated for respective assist-

ance between the various branches of the house of Bourbon, and declared that whoever, from that time, should become the enemy of one of them, should be considered the enemy of all. France had lost, in the course of the last war, thirty-seven ships and fifty-six frigates; the accession of the Spanish marine, though then flourishing, but poorly compensated for these enormous losses.

On the 16th of July, some days before the signing of the family compact, the marshals de Broglie and de Soubise, having effected their junction, together threatened the prince of Brunswick, whose army they encountered at Filingshausen, near Lippe: want of concert between the two French generals deprived them of the victory. There arose from this circumstance a serious difference between them, of which the king's mistress constituted herself the arbitrator. In the eyes of Madame de Pompadour, her most devoted courtiers were the best generals; and we may easily perceive by this instance alone, how grievously the deplorable weakness of Louis XV. affected the authority of the throne. Soubise adulated the favourite, and consequently gained his cause: he who had been conquered at Rosbach, triumphed in the royal boudoir over him who had conquered at Bergen; the duke de Broglie, endeared to the army and to France by his talents and his victories, was banished and replaced by the old Marshal d'Estrées.

Frederick, in the mean time, pressed by the army of the Circles and by the Russians, was driven to bay; but the death of the empress Petrowna, which took place on the 2nd of January, 1762, extricated him from his perils. Elizabeth left the throne to her nephew, Peter III., a passionate admirer of the king of Prussia, of whom he immediately declared himself the defender and friend; but giving himself up without reserve to his taste for innovations, he offended the prejudices as well as the habits of his people, and, after a six months' reign, was dethroned by his own wife, Catherine of Anhalt-Zerbst, who ascended the throne under the name of Catherine II.: a few days after this event, the unfortunate Peter III. was assassinated. The empress declared herself neuter between the various parties. Advantages on both sides marked the course of the campaign of 1762, and preliminaries of peace were signed by England, France, Spain, and Portugal: they converted it into a definitive peace, on the 10th of February, 1763,

by the treaty of Paris, which was disgraceful for France. This power ceded to England a part of* Louisiana, Canada, and its dependencies, as well as Cape Breton and all the other islands in the gulf and the river St. Lawrence : England retained Senegal in Africa : the possessions of the two nations in the East Indies were replaced in the power of those that held them previously to the war, upon condition that the French should send no troops thither : the island of Minorca and Fort St. Philip were given up to England, and France further restored the electorate of Hanover to George III. The English, who, a century before, possessed little beyond the Britannic isles but Jersey and Guernsey, were, at the conclusion of the treaty of Paris, masters in all the seas of a multitude of islands and the strongest naval stations : the French marine was almost annihilated, and from that time the empire of the ocean was acquired by England. The peace was equally signed by the empress-queen Maria Theresa, the elector of Saxony, and the king of Prussia, and, after seven sanguinary campaigns, everything was re-established, among these three powers, upon the same footing as before the war. Frederick retained Silesia and the county of Glatz, by promising his voice to the son of Maria-Theresa, the archduke Joseph, who was elected king of the Romans, and succeeded to the empire on the 18th of August, 1765.

The latter years of this war were marked by the abolition of the order of the Jesuits in the kingdom of France. Their intolerance, their ambition, and their intrigues had excited against them the philosophers, the people, and the Parliament, all of whom watched for an opportunity of inflicting a mortal blow on them. They found it in the bankruptcy of the Jesuit Lavalette, which amounted to many millions. The society, upon being legally summoned to answer for him, refused, and promised nothing but prayers for the victims of this failure. The procureurs-general, particularly Chalotais, procureur-general of the Parliament of Brittany, commenced strong suits against the members of the order; they defended themselves feebly; numerous sequestrations were ordered, and their institution, examined in detail, was violently attacked in all points. An assembly of bishops was convoked by the king, and pronounced for the maintenance of that society, which the parliaments secularized in 1762. The duke de

* The remainder of Louisiana was ceded by France to Spain, to make that country amends for the cession of Florida to England.

Choiseul supported the magistracy with firmness, and Louis at length sacrificed the Jesuits for the sake of quiet. Their order was abolished in France by an edict of 1764, which granted them permission to live in France as simple individuals. All the courts of the Bourbons at the same period declared themselves against this famous society, which was expelled at once from Portugal, where many of its members were accused of complicity in the assassination of the king Joseph. The Jesuits were successively driven from Spain, Naples, and Parma; and the total abolition of the order was strongly solicited at Rome by the duke de Choiseul, who promised, on that condition, the restitution of the *Comtat Venaissin** to the Holy See. Refused by Clement XIII., this brief was granted, in 1773, by the celebrated Ganganelli, who was pope under the name of Clement XIV.; in this order he destroyed the most firm support of the pretensions of the court of Rome. Two sovereigns, who were not Catholics, Frederick II. in Prussia, and Catherine II. in Russia, were the only powers that offered the society of the Jesuits an asylum and protection in their states.

Madame de Pompadour, who had been the cause of the fatal part which France took in the Seven Years' War, died in the year which followed the conclusion of the treaty of Paris, and was very soon succeeded in the favour of Louis XV. by a courtesan of low birth, whom an infamous alliance decorated with the name of Countess du Barri, and whom the king introduced with great indecency into his court and the bosom of his family. He lost, in the course of the four following years, the dauphin, the dauphiness, his father-in-law, Stanislaus Leczinski, the benefactor of the Lorraines, and who died from an accident at an advanced age, and his wife and queen, Maria Leczinski, who only survived her father two years.

By the death of Stanislaus, Lorraine was incorporated with France: Corsica, two years later, was likewise re-united to that crown. Gafforio had driven the Genoese from the island; he died assassinated in 1753. The intrepid Pascal Paoli succeeded him at the head of the party of independence. The French, who landed in Corsica in the year 1756, under the pretence of guarding against the projects of England with respect to that island, obtained the maritime places, under the

* The *Comtat Venaissin*, or the *Comtat*, was a territory inclosed as it were in Provence, and which had formerly belonged to the popes.

plea of protecting them, as mediators; the Genoese ceded, in 1768, all their claims upon Corsica to France, and M. de Chauvelin immediately caused Louis XV. to be there proclaimed king. At the voice of Paoli, the indignant inhabitants flew to arms; but their courage was powerless against a French army commanded by the count de Vaux. Paoli was self-exiled, and Corsica submitted: it obtained the privilege of being governed as a country of states, and preserved the right of regulating its own subsidies.

The Seven Years' War had added thirty-four millions of annual dividends to the public debt. Every year the expenses exceeded the receipts by thirty-eight millions, and the imposts, prodigiously increased during the war, were not at all diminished by the peace. The Parliament of Paris negotiated to obtain an alleviation of the public burdens; that of Besançon refused to register the royal edicts; several opposing magistrates were exiled. All the parliaments of the kingdom soon made the cause of that of Besançon their own, and the Parliament of Paris energetically maintained, to the great displeasure of the court, that the whole magistracy of the kingdom formed but one single body divided into several classes. Louis XV. in a royal sitting held in 1766, forbade the Parliament to form the association they intended, and proclaimed these maxims: *We only hold our crown from God; legislative power belongs to the king alone, without dependence and without partition.* It appears from these facts that the king wished to impose an absolute monarchy on France, and that the great judicial bodies, with ideas more or less vague as to the object of their efforts, aimed at establishing a parliamentary monarchy, in which they would have held the king and the nation in a state of tutelage. Troubles broke out in several provinces, particularly in Brittany, where the duke d'Aiguillon, governor of the province, rendered himself odious by his hard and despotic administration. The Parliament of Rennes took cognizance of the complaints raised against it, and obtaining no support from the court, most of the members sent in their resignation. Chalotais, the procureur-general, who had spoken with energy on the subject of the governor, was arrested, and with his son conducted to the citadel of St. Malo. A commission was formed to try the prisoners, who were accused of having held illegal assemblies, spread abroad defamatory libels against the government, and carried audacity so far as to cause anonymous notes, insulting to his person, to reach

the king himself. The Bretons were represented to Louis XV. as a turbulent and rebellious race, and that an example must be made in order to restrain them ; nevertheless, the Parliament of Paris acted with energy in favour of the accused, and the duke de Choiseul, who proclaimed himself the protector of the magistracy, hastened to suspend the powers of the commission of St. Malo, and to refer the affair to the ordinary judges. The accused excepted against the Parliament of Brittany, under the pretext that it was no longer sufficiently numerous, and were transferred to the Bastille ; at length, in December, 1766, all prosecutions against them were interdicted, and they were acknowledged to be innocent : nevertheless, they were exiled. The Parliament protested against this arbitrary chastisement, which secured the triumph of the duke d'Aiguillon, and the latter redoubled his violences : he carried his audacity so far as to present, for the approbation of the States of Brittany, a regulation which deprived them of the right of fixing and raising imposts. A cry of reprobation issued from every mouth, and an appeal, addressed to the king, brought about the recall of the duke d'Aiguillon, and the re-establishment of the Parliament of Brittany in its integrity, with the exception of Chalotais, who was not restored to his functions.

The first care of the re-established Parliament was to institute a suit against the duke d'Aiguillon, who was accused of abuse of power and enormous crimes. The king had recently raised to the dignity of chancellor Maupeou, first president of the Parliament of Paris. This man, at once audacious and supple, was capable of forming hazardous resolutions and securing the success of them by an immovable firmness, united with the finesse required by the most tortuous intrigues. After having displayed some character in an exile of his company, he soon evinced a preference for the road to fortune above all others, and drew upon himself the contempt of the other magistrates, who considered he had sold himself to the court. Devoured at the same time by ambition and a desire for vengeance, he resolved to subdue and humble the magistracy ; and circumstances seconded his projects.

The king, under his guidance, ordered that the duke d'Aiguillon should be tried by the Court of Peers, and that the sittings, at which he determined to be present, should be held at Versailles. A few months later, in 1770, Louis XV., yielding to new counsels, converted a sitting of the peers into a bed of justice, and, justifying the duke d'Aiguillon, com-

manded all proceedings against him to be put a stop to : a decree of the Parliament followed, which impugned the honour of the duke d'Aiguillon ; the king annulled it, caused all the documents for the trial to be taken from the registry, and, in another bed of justice of the 7th of December, forbade the Parliament to employ the name of class when speaking of the other bodies of the magistracy, to suspend the service for any cause whatever, and lastly, to give in its own dismissal. The remonstrances made on the subject of this rigorous edict were treated with contempt, and the Parliament ceased to perform its functions. A court revolution all at once deprived it of its most powerful protector. The duke de Choiseul had never so far degraded himself as to stoop to the new favourite, Madame du Barri : irritated by his contempt, she ruined the minister in the mind of the king, by reproaching him, in particular, with wishing to drag France into a war with England in favour of the American colonists, then disposed for insurrection. Louis XV., an idolater of disgraceful quiet, yielded to the representations of the favourite ; the duke de Choiseul was disgraced, with his relation M. de Praslin, and banished to his country seat of Chanteloup. It was then that, for the first time since the Fronde, a portion of the court and high society manifested publicly any formidable opposition to the government. All that was great in France made it a point of honour to go and felicitate the duke de Choiseul in his retreat, and gave the appearance of a triumph to his disgrace. The dismissal of the duke de Choiseul was followed by the nomination of the duke d'Aiguillon to the ministry of foreign affairs, and shortly afterwards of the abbé Terray to the comptroller-generalship of the finances. These two men, with the chancellor Maupeou, formed a triumvirate celebrated by the revolution it effected in the judicial order.

On the morning of the 19th of January, 1771, all the members of the Parliament were awakened by two musketeers, who presented to them an order to resume their functions, and to sign their consent or their refusal by a single word, *yes* or *no*. The greater number refused, and the few whom astonishment and fear induced to consent, retracted the next day. On the following night they received a notification by an usher that their places were confiscated : *lettres de cachet* exiled each of them to a different spot. Maupeou named in their place councillors of state and masters of requests, whom he installed himself, passing through a crowd trembling with indignation and rage. The

chancellor next employed himself in forming a company which might appear less like a judicial commission ; he composed it of members of the great council and of men taken from different bodies and different classes. It was such as these that from that time formed the Parliament. Maupeou convoked them on the 13th of April, 1771, and, in a bed of justice secretly prepared, registered two edicts which abolished the ancient Parliament and created the new one. Public indignation burst forth on all sides against a minister who exalted himself above the laws, and deprived France, in the persons of her independent magistrates, of the last securities against despotism. Lambert, the senior of the great council, did himself much honour by his courage. Constrained by a *lettre de cachet* to take his place in the new Parliament, he came, but he said : " I cannot perform any magisterial act here ; I abandon my fortune, my liberty, and my life to the king, but I preserve my conscience : I will never appear in this place again." He was exiled the same evening. All the princes of the blood, with the exception of the count de la Marche, and thirteen peers of the kingdom, delivered a written protest against the subversion of the laws of the state. The provincial parliaments made courageous remonstrances : a great number of bailliages, whose members had nothing but their places to subsist upon, refused obedience to the displacing of the ancient magistrates : at the time appointed for the sitting of the council of state in the chamber of the Parliament, no advocates appeared at the bar, and most of the litigants refused to have their causes tried. The most remarkable remonstrances emanated from the Court of Aids ; they were the work of the virtuous Malesherbes : this company was suppressed. The Châtelet was reorganized at Paris : the provincial parliaments and the noblesse, particularly that of Normandy and Brittany, put forth complaints, to which Maupeou replied by *lettres de cachet* for exile or the Bastille. A great number of voices then demanded the States-General. Maupeou, nevertheless, triumphed over all these resistances : the ancient magistrates had alienated the philosophers by several decrees strongly impressed with fanaticism and revolting barbarity ; such as those of Calas, and of the chevalier de la Barre. Maupeou reversed these iniquitous and cruel judgments, and endeavoured to mitigate the resentments of opinion, by promising the reduction of the immense influence of the Parliament of Paris, gratuitous administration of justice, the abolition of

the venality of places, and the readjustment of the criminal laws. He thus secured the execution of his vast project, and obtained from many of the members of the provincial parliaments the registration of the edicts which suppressed them, by reimbursements for their places, and of those who afterwards reinstalled them in their functions, by salaries and appointments. At the end of 1771, in the space of less than a year, the new judicial order was in action over the whole surface of the kingdom, and Maupeou boasted of *having got the crown out of the registrar's office.*

Whilst Maupeou was so violently remodelling the French magistracy, the abbé Terray proceeded in a manner no less arbitrary and despotic with finance : he was never capable of forming a financial plan ; his only aim was to dispense with payment and to find resources ; and his means of execution were bad faith and rapacity. No economical check against the monstrous luxury of the court was thought of, and Louis continued to exhaust the treasury by his disgraceful prodigalities : the reforms struck at the funds of the state, and were nothing but a real and shameful bankruptcy. The assessment of the contributions was at the same time raised beyond all measure, and Terray destroyed the most glorious work of Machault, the regulation for the free circulation of grain in the interior of the kingdom. Terray abolished it for the sake of embarking in infamous speculations, of which the alarm and misery of the people guaranteed the success.* The duke d'Aiguillon, the minister of foreign affairs and third member of this triumvirate, allowed three powers to make a serious inroad upon the rights of nations and the European balance of power. The last elector of Saxony, the king of Poland, died in 1763. The dissensions of the Poles gave Catherine II. and the king of Prussia a great influence in the following election, and Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, one of the old favourites of the empress, was chosen king, under the terror of Russian bayonets. The two foreign sovereigns had, in concert, removed all the most independent and redoubtable candidates, and openly protected the Polish dissenters against the Catholic and dominant party, which had excluded them from the vote : some senators, who opposed the wishes of Catherine, were carried off and transported to Siberia. Indignant at these violences,

* Terray prohibited exportation in such a province,—the price of corn naturally fell there ; he bought it, and sold it again in another province, which he had reduced to scarcity by promoting exportation.

the Polish party obtained possession of Cracow and Bar, and in the latter city a confederation was formed, in 1768, for the deliverance of the country from the yoke of the foreigner. The confederates implored the support of France, which only sent them an insignificant aid of fifteen hundred men, commanded by Dumouriez, afterwards so celebrated. At the same time, and at the instigation of the French ambassador, the count de Vergennes, the Ottoman Porte commenced a disastrous war against Russia, the results of which were the destruction of the Turkish fleet, the taking of Bender, and the conquest of the Crimea by the Russian arms. Strong in her successes, in her good understanding with Frederick II. and Maria Theresa, and in the apathetic indolence of Louis XV., Catherine II. signed, in 1772, with the courts of Prussia and Vienna, a treaty for the dismemberment of Poland. This first partition seized upon a third of that country, and brought on other treaties, which effaced Poland from the number of independent nations. This same year, King Gustavus III. effected in Sweden the revolution which substituted the will of the monarch for the sovereign authority of the States.

Louis XV., insensible amidst such serious events, continued to offer to all the spectacle of his shameful debaucheries, and the still more dangerous example of not blushing at them. Nevertheless, when he heard of the partition of Poland, he was for a moment indignant at being counted as nothing in Europe: "Ah!" said he, "if Choiseul had been here, things would have gone on otherwise." Then he went to forget his disgrace and his anger in fresh orgies, and amidst scandals to that time without example. He caused Madame du Barri to be publicly presented at court, and gave her a distinguished place at the table at which were seated, for the first time after their marriage, his grandson the dauphin, and his young bride Marie Antoinette of Austria. He joined a sordid avarice to his depraved tastes, and created for himself a private wealth, which he increased by the most odious means: at a period of famine, he, as well as his minister Terray, speculated upon the misery of his people, by gambling upon the augmentation of the price of corn: at length, devoured by *ennui*, tired even of pleasures, disgusted with everything, he died of the small-pox, on the 10th of May, 1774, at the age of sixty-four. His remains infected the air, and were conveyed as quickly as possible, and without pomp, to St. Denis. This king, despised by all

classes of the nation, has left nothing but the remembrance of one of the most disgraceful reigns of history.

The ancient order of things was crumbling away on all sides of a throne degraded by scandals unredeemed by any splendour or any virtue. The great bodies, which, during so long a time, had constituted the strength of the monarchy and contributed to its splendour, were eclipsed and died away; the clergy raised against them the just murmurs of enlightened men and the indignation of the middle class, by their violences against Jansenism, their cruel rigours on the subject of the bull *Unigenitus*, and by the vices of a great number of their members: the high noblesse daily lost its power in the eyes of the nation by its state of servitude in a court which was held in general contempt, whilst the shameful traffic in letters of nobility contributed to lessen the consequence of the provincial gentry; and the ancient parliaments, which had so long and successfully defended the rights of the crown, and which formerly strengthened the throne even whilst they for a moment resisted the monarch, were destroyed by royal authority. The finances of the kingdom were in a deplorable state, and the treasury presented a deficit of forty millions. The misery of the people, overwhelmed with imposts and vexations, was excessive: a crowd of the inhabitants of the country abandoned agriculture to give themselves up to smuggling, and France appeared to be carried back to that epoch of spoliation from which it had been delivered by Henry IV. and his minister.

Amidst so many calamities and signs of dissolution, the spirit of inquiry and analysis increased: Montesquieu, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Voltaire, leaders of a powerful school, exposed, with the magic of admirable talent, the abuses of the priesthood and of arbitrary power, and called upon Frenchmen to assert their claims to political rights: a crowd of distinguished men all at once sprang up in the popular ranks, and combated under the same banner; D'Alembert, Diderot, Helvetius, Condillac, Mably, and a number of others, shook the foundations of the existing order of things: most of them, after the example of Voltaire, confounded good and evil in their bold attacks; thus, after having exposed the abuses of the Church, they attempted to disturb Christianity in its most noble institutions. The spirit of criticism attended the progress of literature: La Harpe and Marmontel had already appeared, whilst the poet Delille founded the didactic school of poetry in France.

This period, in which the celebrated Soufflot, architect of the Hôtel de Dieu and of the Pantheon, and the illustrious composers Grétry and Monsigny upheld almost alone the glory of the fine arts in France, was rich in scientific discoveries. Buffon and Saussure immortalized themselves in the natural sciences ; in the first were united, in the same degree, the genius of a great naturalist and that of a great writer ; Lavoisier created modern chemistry ; Haly was about to bring to light the theory of the composition of crystals. Several learned men and philosophers projected the gathering together of all human knowledge in one immense work, which they undertook under the name of *Encyclopædia* : Diderot and the mathematician D'Alembert took the most extensive part in this prodigious labour, conceived in a spirit hostile to ancient beliefs and ancient prejudices. For several ages France had not witnessed a reign so trifling, so fatal to all its interests, and so disgraceful as that of Louis XV., and yet never had more intelligence appeared at one time to throw a light upon the vices of a government : a social and political revolution was imminent, and announced itself by infallible presages. When the time is come to regenerate an old society by establishing it upon new bases, a mysterious power blinds beforehand the representatives and defenders of the order of things which is doomed to perish, and allows genius and strength to pass into the ranks of their adversaries.

CHAPTER IV.

From the accession of Louis XVI. to the convocation of the States-General. 1774—1789.

LOUIS XVI. ascended the throne on the 11th of May, 1774, at the age of twenty years : his morals were pure, his intentions correct and generous ; but, to a complete inexperience in affairs he joined great indecision of will ; and yet never was there a prince who stood more in need of strength of mind and perseverance. On his accession he found the finances in disorder, public opinion exigent and on the watch to crush abuses, and privileged bodies leagued against all reform. The king increased his difficulties by choosing for his guide old Maurepas, in the preceding reign a victim to the hatred of Madame Pompadour, whom he had offended ;

Louis XVI. hoped to find in him a sage, and met with nothing but a frivolous courtier. This minister fancied he could make himself popular by recalling the ancient parliaments ; but he had not the tact to employ his power so as to make them submit to useful and sufficient reforms. They were re-established on the 12th of December ; and Maurepas, by procuring one day of popularity for royal authority, prepared for it innumerable annoying obstacles for the future.

Maupeou and the abbé Terray had fallen, amidst the acclamations of the people : Maurepas, who sought support in public opinion, had recourse, in order to replace the disgraced ministers, to men pointed out by it. His choice fell upon Turgot, endowed with a firm and judicious mind, and already celebrated for his great political views : he had been previously admitted into the council of the king as minister of the marine ; Maurepas gave him the comptrollership of the finances. The entrance to the council was opened the following year to Lamoignon de Malesherbes, a magistrate of the highest merit, and a friend of Turgot, whom he seconded in his vast operations ; his department was the king's household, and he disposed of *lettres de cachet*, the abuse of which power was not to be dreaded in his hands. The other influential members of the council were Hùe de Miromesnil, keeper of the seals ; the count de St. Germain, minister of war ; and De Vergennes, minister of foreign affairs.

Louis XVI., on ascending the throne, had suppressed the right of *joyeux avènement* (joyous accession) : yielding to the inspirations of his heart as much as to the counsels of his wise ministers, he abolished the *preparatory question*, and the law which rendered all subject to the *taille* responsible for each other. But Turgot meditated still more extensive reforms ; giving all his cares to the happiness of the people, he undertook the suppression of a great number of services and burdensome privileges ; it was of him Malesherbes said : "*He has the head of Bacon and the heart of L'Hôpital.*" He wished to make the noblesse contribute to the imposts in the same proportion as the third estate ; he further wished, by means of provincial assemblies, to accustom the nation to the discussion of public interests : he combined with Malesherbes a system of administration which might have brought France back to a state of unity by destroying all abuses, and caused edicts to be made, in this spirit, which replaced the *corvées* for roads by a contribution laid equally upon all, pro-

claimed afresh the freedom of trade in corn in the interior, and abolished *jurandes** and trading companies. Persons who had enjoyed these privileges were loud in complaints and murmurs; the parliaments refused to register these wise edicts, and a bed of justice became necessary to force them to do so. The philosophers and the economists triumphed; but a formidable league was formed in the court against the reform ministers. Placed between a young king unacquainted with affairs and an old courtier-like minister, Turgot found his situation a very difficult one. If he had at once explained his projects, he would not have been understood, and would have uselessly compromised his credit. He never dared to unveil his vast plan of general administration; he confined himself to preparing Louis XVI. to understand it at a later period, and reformed the most pressing abuses, whilst warning the king of the storms which threatened his reign if protecting institutions did not strengthen his power. The error in the plan of Turgot was, that it demanded, to be put into execution, twenty years of the life of a minister, and, on the part of the prince, a will of iron to retain the author of it in his counsels in spite of the wishes of his family, his court, and the outcries of the privileged orders. Success then was impossible under a monarch so easily accessible as Louis XVI. was to diverse and conflicting interests. Malesherbes himself, although governed by the best intentions, did not succeed in procuring the abolition of *lettres de cachet*, which arbitrarily disposed of the liberty of citizens; he was never able to destroy the monstrous abuse of letters of *surséance*, granted to debtors for the postponement of payment; he had scarcely power to reduce in a small degree the ruinous luxury of the king's household; his most just proceedings had already raised a thousand clamours from all sides against him.

Very soon, jealous of the popularity of Turgot, and of his ascendancy over the king, Maurepas himself excited the enemies of the two wise ministers, and alarmed the king by representing the dangers of the spirit of system. Malesherbes perceived the revolution which was being effected in the mind of the weak prince, and gave in his resignation; Turgot waited for his disgrace. Louis XVI. had said of him: "No one loves the people but M. Turgot and myself;" and he dismissed him. Courtier-ministers succeeded the

* The wardenship of a company of tradesmen.

popular ministers, the system of government was changed, and all reforms were abandoned.* Clugny, formerly intendant of St. Domingo, then Taboureau, replaced, by turns and without success, this great minister: after them, the comptroller-generalship fell into the hands of an honest man of high financial capacity. Necker, a Genevese banker, decorated with the title of envoy from his republic, had been joined with Taboureau, and succeeded him in 1777. Louis XVI., according to ancient usage, had just taken the oath to exterminate heretics, and Necker belonged to the Protestant communion; such, however, was his reputation and so imminent was the danger, that he was placed, by Maurepas himself, at the head of the finances, with the title of director-general. Necker made good faith and probity the basis of his system, which consisted in reducing expenses to a level with receipts, in employing imposts in ordinary times, in having recourse to loans when imperative circumstances required it, in having taxes assessed by the provincial assemblies, and in creating audits of accounts to facilitate loans, the interest of which would be secured by economies. These ideas were wise: the capitalists had conceived so high an opinion of the talents and probity of Necker, that his name alone, in their eyes, offered a sufficient guarantee, and re-established the confidence of the lenders.

Necker placed France in a state to carry on a war which exercised a great influence over the destinies of that kingdom, by accelerating the movements of men's minds and the progress of liberal ideas: this war was that of the English colonies of North America, which had revolted against the mother-country. England, oppressed with debt after the peace of 1763, had wished to make her American colonies contribute to her expenses; these, accustomed to tax themselves, and to see the sums raised for the costs of administration consumed upon their own soil, opposed a vigorous

* As soon as the dismissal of Turgot was known, there was an explosion of joy at court and in the numerous societies at Versailles and the capital. People were seen in the public walks congratulating each other. Most enlightened men preserved a sad silence, and all cast anxious looks towards the future. The 12th of May, 1776, the day of Turgot's dismissal, is one of the most fatal epochs for France. This minister, superior to his age, wished to make, without agitation, by the power of a legislative king, the changes which alone could guarantee us from revolutions. His contemporaries, selfish and superficial, did not at all understand him; and we have expiated by long calamities, their disdain for the virtues and intelligence of this statesman.—Joseph Droz, *Hist. of the Reign of Louis XVI.*

resistance to the new pretensions of the mother-country. The struggle commenced in 1773, on account of a considerable tax laid by the English Parliament upon tea, of which an enormous quantity was consumed in America. The inhabitants of Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, refused to admit into their ports the bales subject to this tax, and the angry multitude threw them into the sea. England immediately placed an interdict upon the port of Boston, and ordered General Gage to blockade it. But the impulse was given; deputies from all the principal points of the colonies assembled at Philadelphia in general congress, and there was drawn up and agreed to, in September, 1774, the celebrated *Declaration of Rights*, which served as a type for all those that were soon afterwards made in Europe. The Congress annulled the powers of all the English officials, and ordered the levy of the national militia; George Washington was proclaimed generalissimo. The first successes of the American militia inflamed all hearts, the insurrection became general, and the taking of Boston by the insurgents carried enthusiasm to the highest pitch. At last, the Congress published, in 1776, *the Act of Independence*, by which it constituted itself a free power and independent of English control. Diplomatic agents were immediately sent to the various courts of Europe, to obtain their recognition of the independence of the American colonies, and Benjamin Franklin, celebrated for his discoveries in science as well as for the services he had rendered his country, was chosen by the Congress to plead the national cause at the court of Versailles, and to ask for the support of France against England. The simplicity of his costume and manners created a lively sensation at Paris, and the general admiration of which he, personally, became the object, hastened the conclusion of the negotiations between France and the insurgent colonies.

The youth of France, thirsting for glory and liberty, were eager, on touching the soil of America, to repair the disgraces of the last war, and La Fayette, then only twenty years of age, from that time signalized himself by his heroic devotion to the cause of the freedom of nations. He renounced the pleasures of the most brilliant and enviable existence, equipped a vessel at his own expense, and offered his sword to the Americans, for a time subjected to severe reverses. He wished to serve as a simple volunteer in their ranks, but he received the grade of major-general and obtained the friendship of Washington. Many Frenchmen

of the most distinguished families followed the example of La Fayette. The English government, directed by Lord North, complained of this, and, to avenge itself, committed some acts of aggression against France. Louis XVI. still hesitated to commence hostilities; in 1778, however, after the memorable day of Saratoga, in which the English general Bourgoyne, with a body of six thousand men, was forced to lay down his arms, France concluded a treaty of alliance and commerce with the Americans. England immediately recalled her ambassador, and war was resolved upon.

A squadron of twelve ships of the line, commanded by the count d'Estaing, sailed from Toulon for America, and uselessly undertook the conquest of Rhode Island, one of the armed places of the English. A tempest dispersed the fleet, and the capture of some of the West-Indian islands was the only result of this first campaign. On the 27th of July of the same year, the French admiral Orvilliers encountered Admiral Keppel at the entrance of the Channel, in sight of the isle of Ushant: the two fleets were each of thirty sail: the engagement lasted during a whole day, and they separated to refit, without either party having lost a single vessel. This fight was at first celebrated in France as a brilliant victory. The duke de Chartres, afterwards famous as the duke of Orleans, commanded the rear of the fleet; his conduct, after having been the object of exaggerated praise, was afterwards aspersed unjustly, and the king drove him from the marine service by naming him colonel-general of the hussars: the gift of this post was an insult, under the circumstances in which it was conferred. This prince had other affronts still more cruel to submit to, and appeared, from that time, to be devoted, by a species of fatality, to an unfortunate celebrity.

In the following year, France concluded an alliance with Spain, which doubled her naval forces. The admirals D'Orvilliers and Don Louis Cordova united their fleets, and threatened England, without any result, with a descent, whilst the count d'Estaing, seconded by the count de Grasse and La Motte-Piquet, took possession of the islands of St. Vincent and Granada, and triumphed over Admiral Byron in the battle of St. Lucia. These successes retarded his arrival in the United States, and the unsuccessful expedition of Georgia terminated the campaign; the count d'Estaing, in concert with General Lincoln, rashly attacked Savannah, the capital of that province, and was repulsed with loss, in

spite of prodigies of valour : he raised the siege, divided his fleet into three squadrons, to which he gave as commanders the count de Grasse, La Motte-Piquet, and the marquis de Vaudreuil : he returned personally to France, and was replaced by the count de Guichen, who honourably sustained the war against the English admiral George Rodney.

The states of the North, in the course of this year, repelled the pretensions of England, who arrogated to herself the right of search in the vessels of the various powers, proclaimed an armed neutrality, and declared, that in their intercourse with the Americans they would only refrain from furnishing them with arms and warlike stores. England uselessly attempted to make an ally of Holland, where the republican party prevailed over that of the stadtholder, who was favourable to the English, and it had to contend against the combined fleets of France, the United Provinces, and Spain.

The majority of the French ministry was at this time composed of men remarkable for their merit and their talents. Vergennes caused the kingdom to be respected abroad, Ségur and Castries, soldiers worthy of high esteem, carried on the war actively, whilst Necker furnished the king with means to support it. His celebrated account rendered in the month of January, 1781, offered, for the first time, an excess of six millions in the receipts over the expenditure. It produced a profound sensation, and was received by public opinion with a favour which inspired a jealous uneasiness in old Maurepas. Offended at being left out of the concert of praises lavished upon a minister whom he considered as his creature, Maurepas pointed out to the king a danger in the public discussion of the acts of his government, raised by the accounts rendered by Necker : from that moment all the plans of this statesman were received with disfavour ; the council opposed them, and the privileged classes contended strongly against all his useful reforms. He however succeeded, by the authority of his name alone, in filling up two loans which amounted to ninety millions ; but he soon became aware that he no longer possessed the confidence of the monarch, and sent in his resignation, which was accepted on the 23rd of May. Under his administration, the American war had increased the public debt forty-five millions, which deficiency was partly made up by useful operations and numerous savings. Necker left in the treasury the means for completing the decisive campaign of 1781, and his retreat was considered a public calamity.

Six thousand French, under General Rochambeau, for a length of time blockaded at Rhode Island, proved a seasonable succour to the Americans, recently betrayed by Major Arnold, and depressed by several reverses. From that time fortune was favourable to the cause of independence; the count de Grasse, in the Bay of Chesapeake, beat the admirals Hood and Grave, and cut off York Town from all succour; General Cornwallis, at the head of the main body of the English army, had established his centre of operations in that city. Washington and Rochambeau combined their forces and marched in concert against this place, which was defended by formidable batteries. The assault was ordered; La Fayette, Colonel Hamilton, and General Lincoln led the Americans; Vioménil, Saint Simon, and the viscount de Noailles led the French; in their ranks were Robert de Dillon, Charles de Damas, Alexandre Berthier, Matthieu Dumas, and Charles de Lameth. The combined armies emulated each other in daring courage, and the two outward batteries were carried; Cornwallis, being without any hopes of succour, capitulated on the 19th of October, and eight thousand men were made prisoners. This victory decided the war; a tacit truce, observed on land between the two camps, preceded the conclusion of the peace by eighteen months.

The duke de Crillon had taken possession of the island of Minorca and of the city of Mahon: he undertook the following year, 1782, the siege of Gibraltar, the approach to which was closed against Admiral Howe by the combined fleets of France and Spain under Don Louis de Cordova. Floating batteries, the invention of the chevalier d'Arçon, were brought against those of the city, which was defended by the brave General Elliot: these floating batteries took fire from a shower of bombs and red-hot balls, and the conflagration produced a frightful loss of lives and vessels. A few days after, taking advantage of a gale of wind which dispersed the French fleet, Admiral Howe, by means of skilful manœuvres, entered the port and revictualled the place, the siege of which was immediately abandoned. In the course of this same year, a naval battle, deeply injurious to France, was fought in the Caribbean seas: the count de Grasse, surprised in an unfavourable position by Admiral Rodney, between Guadeloupe and the Isle of Saints, lost eight ships, and was made prisoner.

India had been for four years the seat of a sanguinary war.

The English took Pondicherry in 1778, and made the Dutch undergo immense losses. Haider Ali Khan, sultan of Mysore, and his son Tippoo Saib, supported the French in those countries : these two redoubtable leaders came too late to the assistance of Pondicherry ; but, at the head of twenty thousand men, partly disciplined in the European manner, they obtained many advantages : four times conquered by Sir Eyre Coote, they retreated fighting, and evacuated the Carnatic, after having ravaged all the English possessions. The death of Haider, which took place in 1782, permitted England to repair these disasters. The bailli de Suffren commanded the French marine with glory in the seas of India : he protected the Cape of Good Hope against Admiral Johnstone, and preserved that important colony to the Dutch : he left the marquis de Bussi there, who acquired as much honour by his negotiations as by his exploits.

Suffren afterwards fought several glorious battles on the coast of Coromandel. Tippoo Saib seconded his operations on land : he beat the English general Matthews, notorious for his cruelties, who, in the city of Omapore, had signalized his victory by the massacre of all the inhabitants and of four hundred of the wives of Haider and Tippoo : conquered in his turn by the latter, his punishment was the just chastisement of his crimes. Gondelour was besieged by the English : the bailli de Suffren hastened to defend it, and encountered the fleet commanded by Hughes, within sight of that city : he had but fifteen ships against eighteen, and yet obtained so much the advantage that Gondelour was saved.

The preliminaries of peace were signed in Europe. The Whigs succeeded the Tories in the English ministry. Lord North, the most ardent in carrying on this sanguinary war, had, in falling, given place to Rockingham, Camden, Charles Fox, and Burke. The new administration persuaded George III. to consent to a peace, which was signed on the 3rd of September, between England on the one part, and France, Spain, and the United States on the other : the independence of the United States was recognised. France derived very little benefit from her immense sacrifices. England restored to her, in America, the islands of St. Lucia and Tobago, and in India, Pondicherry ; she likewise guaranteed to her in Africa the possession of the river Senegal and its dependencies, and upon the coast of Malabar, the conservation of Mahé and of a factory at Surat : the two nations likewise signed a treaty of commerce. (England did

not conclude the peace with Tippoo Saib and Holland till the following year. France owed important assistance to the last-named power, particularly to the republican party, her faithful ally : she repaid these services by a shameful abandonment, when, in 1788, the ardent Frederick-William II., king of Prussia, the nephew of the great Frederick, and brother-in-law of the prince of Orange, restored the advantage to the Orange party, and re-established the stadtholder by force of arms. From that time the influence of Prussia and England was substituted in Holland for that of France.

Maurepas died shortly after the disgrace of Necker : France and its government then offered the strange spectacle of striking contradictions and the most complete discord between laws and manners. Thus, when a French army went to succour a republic, the constitution of which was founded upon the principles of equality, an ordinance was issued that none were to be admitted to the rank of officer who could not make proof of four degrees of nobility (1781) ; thus, whilst public opinion was exalting the philosophers, whose irreligious writings, for the most part, had a tendency to destroy Christianity, the government kept up the rigours of a Draconian code against Protestant Christians, and these were not even able to obtain from the Parliament, in 1778, a legal means of verifying their marriages or assuring the condition of their children. The deficiency in the treasury had increased during the war, and Louis XVI., to replenish it, had in vain set the example of sacrifices, by suppressing a part of his household and his guards : he was not imitated by anybody. Joly de Fleury, and after him D'Ormesson, had succeeded Necker without being able to find a remedy for the evil ; Calonne, after them, obtained the control of the finances. This brilliant and fluent man, of a light mind and an audacious character, attempted to carry out a plan directly opposite to that of Necker : his aim was to support himself by the influence of the courtiers, and to strengthen public credit by prodigality. Great bounties for a while sustained his system, and his punctuality in payment seduced the capitalists : he contracted numerous loans after the peace, and exhausted his credit : he was then obliged to admit the enormous difference that existed between the receipts and the expenditure, and insinuated that the fault of it lay in the operations of his predecessor Necker. The latter published a vigorous reply to these indirect attacks, and Calonne avenged himself by procuring his exile. After having ex-

hausted the resource of loans, he was obliged to resort to new imposts, which the Parliament refused to register. Calonne, in order to make the Parliament more tractable, convoked an assembly of notables in 1787. He thought that, being chosen from the upper classes by the government, from which they would hold their mandate, they would be more docile than the parliaments or the States-General; he forgot that these men, all being in the enjoyment of privileges, their first care would be to defend them. The minister represented, in this assembly, the suppression of abuses as the only means of re-establishing order; he proposed to extend the stamp-duty, and to convert that of the twentieth, or five per cent., into a territorial or land-tax, which included all landed property, without even excepting that of the clergy. He could not deny that in a few years the loans had risen to one thousand six hundred and forty millions, and that a deficit of a hundred and fifteen millions existed in the revenue: this frightful revelation excited a general cry: Calonne resigned his place and quitted the kingdom.

Loménie de Brienne, archbishop of Sens, a man without firmness, though not without courage, replaced Calonne, whose antagonist he had been, and maintained before the assembly, as the only means of safety, propositions which differed but very little from those of his predecessor. The notables proved to be parsimonious and not at all docile; they approved of the establishment of provincial assemblies, but Brienne in vain demanded of them to consent to two edicts, the one for the stamp-duty, the other for a land-tax of eighty millions. The notables referred to the wisdom of the king that which concerned imposts and all urgent and indispensable measures, and then separated. Brienne, deprived of their concurrence, presented the edicts to the Parliament, which refused to register them, and declared the States-General alone competent to the levying of imposts. The registration was forced in a bed of justice held at Versailles. Louis XVI. promised an annual publication of the state of the finances, and the convocation of the States-General within five years. The magistrates protested against the violence which had been done to them, and the edicts were not executed. The Parliament was exiled to Troyes on the 15th of August, and recalled on the 20th of September, under the tacit condition of consenting to an edict permitting the creation of gradual and successive imposts, to the amount of four hundred millions. This agreement

was only made with the heads of the Parliament and the most moderate magistrates, who flattered themselves with being able to bring the others to their opinion. A royal sitting was appointed for the 19th of November. The king opened it by a conciliatory speech: the new keeper of the seals, Lamoignon, allowed some imprudent sentences to escape him, and proclaimed doctrines in contrast with the present situation: "To the monarch alone," said he, "belongs the legislative power, without dependence and without partition." It was put to the vote, and the older part of the magistrates were for the registration. The abbé Sabatier was of a different opinion, but did not depart from respectful forms; he prepared to register the first loan only, and to supplicate the king to grant a more early convocation of the States-General; Freteau adopted the same view; Robert de Saint Vincent gave utterance to some vehement expressions; D'Eprémesnil only aimed at touching the heart of the king; he supported the registration of the edicts, and supplicated Louis XVI. to promise the convocation of the States-General. Everything announced a majority of the suffrages in favour of the edicts, when Lamoignon, faithful to the system which establishes that when the king is in his parliament, his will is the supreme law, approached the throne. The monarch, after having listened to him, ordered the registration of the edicts with the form alone that was customary in beds of justice: a murmur of general surprise was heard. The duke of Orleans arose, and with some hesitation, said: "Sire, this registration appears to be illegal—it must express that the registration is by the express command of your majesty." The prince was agitated; Louis XVI., equally affected, after a few unconnected words, said: "Yes, it is legal, because I will it to be so." He ordered another edict to be read which restored to non-Catholics a legal means of certifying their marriages and their deaths, and then he retired.

After the departure of the king, the agitation of the assembly became extreme; in vain Malesherbes and the duke de Nivernois endeavoured to restore calmness; the sitting was terminated by a resolution that the Parliament took no part in the illegal registration of the edict relative to the loans. The king commanded that this resolution should be erased from the records; the duke of Orleans was exiled to one of his estates; the abbé Sabatier and Freteau were arrested and taken to the state prisons. The Parlia-

ment protested against *lettres de cachet*, and demanded, by a decree, the recall of its members and of the prince : this decree was annulled by the king and maintained by the Parliament, which was supported in its struggle with power, by public opinion, and the whole magistracy of France.

Brienne became convinced that to overcome the resistance of the Parliament it was necessary to annul it, and in concert with M. de Lamoignon, the new keeper of the seals, he persuaded the king to agree to a plan which destroyed the political authority of the magistracy. The most profound secrecy was necessary to secure the execution of this plan : it was divined before it was ripe : one of the most ardent members of the parliamentary opposition was prodigal of gold, procured one of the copies of the ministerial project, and immediately read it to the chambers. The abstracted paper contained edicts importing the creation of an assembly composed of the princes, the peers, and the marshals of France, and of a certain number of distinguished personages, chosen from the clergy, the nobility, and the magistracy, with all the authority that was enjoyed by the plenary courts under Charlemagne. This court was to register the laws of general police and the edicts, no longer to be submitted to the authority of the parliaments, which were from that time to be limited to the exercise of judicial functions. The Parliament of Paris was also to be deprived of its title of a court of peers : four sovereign councils, named *grands bailliages*, were to be established in the extent of its influence, and circumscribe all its attributes very narrowly. The magistrates listened to the reading of this threatening project with indignation, they invoked the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the code of which was nowhere, however, written : they demanded the regular convocation of the States-General, were loud in their reprobation of arbitrary confinements, and decreed their own inviolability. Brienne immediately obtained from the king an order to arrest Duval d'Eprémesnil and Montsabert, the two magistrates whose opposition was the most energetic. On the 5th of May, D'Agout, a captain of the guards, presented himself before the Parliament, and demanded that they should be given up in the name of the king. "We are all Montsaberts and D'Eprémesnils," replied the indignant magistrates ; but the two marked counsellors, in order not to compromise their brethren, arose and surrendered themselves. One was taken to Pierre-en-Cise, near Lyons, and the other to the Isles St. Marguerite. The report of their detention

was quickly spread, and aroused the anger of the people : the multitude crowded to the place of the sittings, and greeted the magistrates with loud acclamations. Notwithstanding all these demonstrations, the edicts in question were registered on the 8th of May, and something like a plenary court was established ; but public opinion became angry, Le Châtelet protested, and the people were in a state of commotion : every one was aware that each member of this court was a courtier ; and to grant to this court the right of registration, was to leave the public fortunes at the free disposal of the ministers.

Of all the provinces, Brittany, Béarn, and Dauphiny distinguished themselves most by the energy of their resistance. The Parliament of Rennes protested, and was threatened with being dissolved by force : a crowd of gentlemen, followed by the populace, came forward in its defence, and most of the nobles present at Rennes signed a declaration conceived in the following terms : " We, members of the noblesse of Brittany, declare those persons infamous who would accept of any place, either in the new administration of justice, or in the administration of the States, which should not be acknowledged by the laws and the constitutions of the province." A denunciation against the ministers was then drawn up, and the deputies charged with presenting it to the king were thrown into the Bastille ; civil war seemed imminent in Brittany. The troubles of Béarn were not less serious : the Montagnards descended in military array into the city of Pau ; they broke open the gates of the palace of justice, which had been closed by the king's orders, and, yielding to their menacing cries, the governor himself supplicated the Parliament to assemble. The noblesse and the magistracy made vehement protestations. The disorders were still greater in Dauphiny ; the Parliament resisted, and the duke de Clermont-Tonnerre, governor of the province, gave notice of exile to the magistrates by *lettres de cachet*, transmitted to him beforehand : a furious populace filled the streets of Grenoble, retained the exiled magistrates, sounded the tocsin at the house of the governor, and forced him, with the axe suspended over his head, to convoke the Parliament. A great number of the members of the noblesse, the clergy, and the third estate, fixed on the 21st of July for a meeting of the particular states of Dauphiny. The marshal de Vaux, the new governor of the province, although he had twenty thousand men under his command, did not dare to

resist the general voice, and the States assembled at the castle de Vizille, the ancient residence of the dauphins : there, with one accord, the three orders stamped with reprobation the men who should accept functions created by the new edicts ; they resolved that the impost to replace the *corvées* should be, in Dauphiny, paid by the three orders, and gave in their private Estates the double representation to the third : before they separated, they supplicated the king to withdraw his edicts, to abolish *lettres de cachet*, and to convoked the States-General. All the provinces were in a state of commotion, and almost everywhere, in the interest of their privileges, the privileged classes set the numerous classes the example of insurrection and resistance.

It was thus, by the accumulated errors of power, the nation became familiar with ideas of inquiry and resistance, and was, as it were, exercised in advance in civil war. Brienne, not knowing what to resolve upon, convoked an assembly of the clergy, and demanded pecuniary assistance ; he obtained nothing from them but a selfish refusal and a violent declaration against the plenary court. Seeing, then, the deficit increase daily, without any means of making it up, he endeavoured to seduce the French people by promises, and wished to acquire a claim upon their gratitude. A decree announced, in August, 1788, that the States-General would assemble on the 1st of May, 1789, and suspended till that period the re-establishment of the plenary court.

By this decree Brienne obtained no advantage for himself : then happened that which always does happen when a government, instead of seizing the seasonable moment for reforms or popular measures, only grants them at the last extremity, in an incomplete manner, and as so many forced concessions : he got no thanks for his condescension, and that which he granted, increased the demand for that which he still withheld. To support his tottering power, the minister descended to the vilest expedients ; he obtained possession of the funds of the invalids, and of the money of a benevolent lottery opened for the victims of a frightful hailstorm ; he at last created a paper currency for the payments of the state, and vainly endeavoured to conceal a bankruptcy under this disastrous measure. At whatever cost, Brienne was determined to continue minister ; the public misfortunes, so much increased by his incapacity, had not shaken his credit with the king. A court intrigue effected his overthrow : jealous of his influence over the queen,

Madame de Polignac declared herself his enemy, and the count d'Artois demanded his dismissal. Brienne withdrew, advising Louis XVI. to recall Necker to his counsels, as the only man capable of restoring the finances. His disgrace was received by the public with transport; but when it became known that in dismissing him a cardinal's hat had been demanded for him, and that he quitted office loaded with favours, the weak king acquired no popularity by the sacrifice he had made,—nothing was remembered but the honours which he bestowed upon a man who was the object of general animadversion. Louis XVI. followed the advice of Brienne—he recalled Necker to the ministry; the parliaments resumed their functions, and the edicts were abolished. On learning this news, the people exhibited a savage joy. A troop of young men burnt the cardinal in effigy on the Place Dauphine, took possession of the Pont Neuf, and forced all passengers to bow before the statue of Henry IV. The multitude directed their course towards the house of the brother of the archbishop, with the intention of setting fire to it; stopped by the soldiers, they turned their fury upon the commandant of the watch, and marched towards his dwelling for the purpose of giving it up to pillage and the flames: a bloody contest here took place, and instead of punishing the authors of the disturbance, the Parliament laid a complaint against the military who had suppressed it.

Necker resumed the direction of affairs; he found, in the confidence of the capitalists, funds enough to last him till the opening of the States-General; but this minister, so skilful as a financier, was not, as a politician, equal to the perilous circumstances in which France was then placed. He did not know how, by the means of a convocation of the delegates of the French nation, to take the initiative of a measure called for by the state of morals and by public opinion; he was not any more able to conceive and put into execution a plan for sufficient and indispensable reforms; and he hesitated a long time before he granted the third estate the double representation, that is, a number of deputies equal to those of the two privileged orders united. This immense question not being settled, became in all parts of the kingdom the object of the warmest discussion. The citizen class, which had taken but a weak part in the quarrels of the magistracy and the court, comprehended this time that the cause in dispute was theirs, and that all reforms would be illusory if the third estate, of which they formed

a part, were not able to carry on the struggle with numbers equal to the two first orders. This desire, so legitimate, found an echo in the noblesse, and it was asked everywhere if twenty-four millions of Frenchmen put forth extravagant pretensions when they claimed a number of representatives equal to that of four or five thousand of their compatriots. Uncertainty on this head became every day more dangerous ; it set all brains fermenting, inflamed the passions of the middle classes, and those who had the greatest interest in obtaining the double representation of the third estate, exercised also, by their intelligence, the highest influence over public opinion.

Such was the state of things in France, when, on the 27th of September, 1788, the Parliament registered the edict which convoked the States-General ; but it then appeared afraid of its own work, and recoiled before a measure which it had itself so energetically called for : it saw the ancient monarchy tottering on its basis, and believed it to be its duty to lend it its support ; with this view it decided, that for the convocation of the States-General, the same form should be observed as that employed at the period of their last meeting in 1614. The deputies were, at that time, in equal numbers in each order ; they gave their suffrages in common, not individually, but by order ; and the result of the votes was thus necessarily always favourable to the privileged classes. Necker's system went to make these latter contribute, in proportion with their fortune, to the exigences of the state. In order to procure its adoption, it would be necessary to double the representation of the third estate, and vote definitive resolutions by the head : this opinion had become almost general, and the clause added by the Parliament to the edict of the 27th of September, was the means of immediately destroying all the popularity of that body. Now, it was said, the Parliament opposed the wish of the people from selfishness—it had only then contended at first against the court to obtain power, or to preserve that which it had usurped : it was soon abandoned by the men of the law, who had constituted its strength and brought about its success.

The noblesse itself was divided into two parties, one of which embraced the cause of the third estate with warmth : this party counted in its ranks the duke of Orleans and most of the gentlemen who had fought in America. Associations were formed in the principal cities, which undertook

to bring about the triumph of this cause ; a great number of inflammatory writings were circulated in the provinces ; hired brigands pervaded the country ; a multitude of wreckless men gave themselves up in Paris to serious excesses, and, some months later, they created terror in that city by setting fire to and plundering the manufactory of Réveillon. Whilst the concealed leaders of a violent and demagogue faction sought to raise the populace and dominate over the court by terror, the citizens and a great part of the young nobility seized with transport every opportunity of applauding the most popular maxims. Many writers, after the example of Condorcet, boasted, in their eagerly read works, of a social order based upon liberty and equality of rights : a multitude of pamphlets, and among them the celebrated *brochure* of Sièyes, entitled, *What is the Third Estate ?* added greatly to the fermentation of the public mind : the moment of the crisis was approaching, when the king convoked the second assembly of the notables, to which was submitted the question of the mode of convocation of the States-General. It was opened on the 9th of November, 1788, and was divided into six offices, as the preceding one had been ; a single one only of these,—that over which *Monsieur*, the king's brother, presided, declared itself in favour of the double representation of the third estate. Necker did not adopt the decision of the notables ; he hoped, by keeping up the contest between the privileged classes and the third estate, to retain the power of directing it, and, in accordance with a memorial addressed by him to the sovereign, there appeared, on the 27th of December, 1788, a royal declaration, called *the result of the council*, in which the question, so long debated, was yet but half settled. Louis XVI. decided that the deputies of the third estate should be equal in number to the deputies of the two other orders united ; but he preserved perfect silence as to the mode of general deliberation. This declaration was received with favour, though it left a question of the highest importance undecided. The third estate felt its strength, it reckoned with reason upon the defection of part of the noblesse and the clergy ; it comprehended that it would be master of the form of the deliberations, and from that time the revolution was decreed.

The philosophers of the age had powerfully assisted in producing this result. The most famous, Voltaire, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Diderot, and D'Alembert were no more ; but

their school flourished: its work was the destruction of abuses and privileges, and it unceasingly sapped the old institutions of France. Letters then boasted of a great number of celebrated names: the abbé Barthélemy published his learned *Voyage d'Anacharsis*, and Bernardin de St. Pierre his admirable *Etudes de la Nature*; Lebrun, Roucher, André Chénier, then little known, the unfortunate Gilbert, and particularly Delille, sustained the glory of French poetry. Ducis, more remarkable still for his noble character than his talent, rendered himself illustrious on the stage, recently enriched with the masterpieces of Voltaire, where already Marie-Joseph Chénier had appeared, and where Beaumarchais had given, by his *Mariage de Figaro*, a strong impulsion to the revolutionary movement. The genius of the arts, after having slumbered during the last reign, appeared to revive under the chisels of Houdon and Chaudet, as well as under the vigorous pencils of Vien, and David and his brilliant school: at no period were there more or greater talents upon the stage, where Talma had just appeared, and where the Contats, the Fleuryrs, the Molés, and the Brizards carried the art of dramatic eloquence to the highest pitch of excellence. The sciences claimed many celebrated names, and in the first rank were the mathematicians Monge, Lagrange, and Laplace; the illustrious Lavoisier, already quoted as the inventor of modern chemistry; Fourcroy, his eloquent interpreter; Vauquelin, Berthollet, author of *Chemical Statics*; Guyton de Morveau, who had become one of the benefactors of humanity, by his experiments on the disinfection of air; the physician Coulomb, immortalized by his researches upon the loadstone; the naturalist Daubenton, the collaborator and successor of Buffon; the learned physician Vicq d'Azyr; the astronomer Delambre, one of the men to whom France owes the adoption of the metrical system, and the illustrious Bailly, author of the *History of Ancient and Modern Astronomy*. The public mind was attentive to the voyages and discoveries of the count de Choiseul in Greece, of Bougainville, and of the unfortunate Pérouse, and dreamt of important ameliorations in human destinies, by means of the theories of Mesmer on magnetism, and the recent invention of balloons by Montgolfier. Men of letters, learned men and philosophers, were admitted to the intimacy of the great, who appeared to be anxious for universal knowledge. Never were the manners of the superior and enlightened classes more mild and pleasing than at this period; French politeness, acknowledged throughout Europe,

constituted the great charm of social life, and had acquired a noble and graceful perfection, of which there will soon remain nothing but the remembrance. But a gulf was being hollowed, by the deficit of the treasury and the vices of the government, beneath the feet of this brilliant society ; behind it surged a humiliated, discontented middle class, whose voice scarcely drowned the menacing murmurs of a multitude crouching in ignorance and misery. From them the threatening growling of the storm began to rise ; furious winds battered down an edifice whose foundations were undermined, and it disappeared before the blast of a popular hurricane.

NOTE.—I have been obliged to abstain, by serious considerations, from giving a sketch of the state of literature and the sciences beyond the eighteenth century. I have not pretended to trace a complete picture of them at any period of this history : compelled to confine my labours within very narrow limits, I have only mentioned the most celebrated names : the two last centuries, with regard to literature and science, would demand a lengthened and profound study

FOURTH EPOCH.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

1789—1880.

THE history of the Revolution exhibits France to us, in a period of forty years, under four principal phases, and of a striking diversity. In the first we see the struggle which the nation sustains against the court and the privileged orders; an imposing and terrible struggle, which terminates by the triumph of the multitude and by the fall of the throne. The second presents us with the scourge of foreign war, that of the reign of the populace and of violent and wicked men, into whose hands an imprudent and blind resistance had caused power to fall: that is the bloody epoch during which France is a prey to terror and then to anarchy,—it is that of the Republic to the 18th Brumaire. The Revolution, in its third phase, shows us the nation exhausted by so many evils, wearied by so many excesses, and seeking, at the feet of a great captain, a refuge in military despotism. France then appears to be transformed into one vast camp, and signalizes, during twelve years, by an uninterrupted series of triumphs, her reaction against Europe: that is the epoch of the Consulate and the Empire. At length, when the application of one part of the principles in the name of which the Revolution was effected has received from time a species of consecration, when so many men, moved by contrary views, have learnt to live together and in peace under the iron hand of the conqueror, he falls in his turn, the love of liberty revives in all hearts, and the restoration is accomplished, under the condition of endowing France with political liberties, and of respecting the general interests inherent in the new order of things. This period, during which France learns to exercise her political rights, by struggling sixteen years to defend them, is

the last phase of the Revolution,* and terminates by the great days of July, 1830: these have for result the establishment of a new government, capable, beyond all others, of assuring to the French the durable possession of all the fruits obtained in half a century of tempests.

If, at the beginning of the reign of Louis XVI., the voice of the Turgots and the Malesherbes, of men equally distinguished by their patriotism and their intelligence, had been listened to, France might, perhaps, have enjoyed from that time a great many advantages which she has purchased by so much blood and treasure and so many tears. But it is, alas! with nations as with individuals: their experience is always dearly acquired, and they have need of painful trials before they consent to follow the counsels of wisdom. All parties in France would listen to nothing but their selfish passions, all perished successively with the excess of their own fury; and in the sanguinary period of which we are about to sketch the rapid picture, the French nation, by its hideous saturnalia, by its astonishing victories, and its marvellous progress in population and wealth, at the end of the most fearful convulsions that have ever desolated an empire, was for the universe an object, by turns, of horror, fear, admiration, and envy.

* Alas for human wisdom and foresight, when directed towards France: what would M. de Bonnechose say to this after the 2nd of December, 1851?—*Trans.*

BOOK THE FIRST.

STATES-GENERAL.—CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.—LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.—

FALL OF THE MONARCHY.

5th of May, 1789—1st of September, 1792.

CHAPTER I.

From the opening of the States-General to the dissolution of the
Constituent Assembly.

5th of May, 1789—20th of October, 1791.

THE States-General opened on the 5th of May, 1789, in the hall of *les Menus*, at Versailles. The deputies were summoned to the royal sitting, and introduced according to the order established in 1614; but the time was past in which the third estate, speaking on their knees with heads uncovered, acknowledged their humiliating inferiority in the presence of the other orders; they hastened to prove that they considered themselves as their equals, and when, after the example of the king, the deputies of the two first orders put on their hats, those of the commons, contrary to the custom of the ancient states, immediately imitated the nobility and the clergy. This gesture alone ought to have sufficed to teach the court that a revolution was accomplished in minds and in manners. The deputies of the Commons would, however, have gained but little by proclaiming themselves the equals of the deputies of the other orders, if they had not been able to make this equality recognised by establishing it upon facts. The first and most important question to be resolved, was to know whether the votes should be taken by order or by the head: in the first case, the deputies of the third estate would have lost the advantage they possessed in having double the number of that of the deputies of each of the privileged orders. The court, the majority of the nobles, and a great part of the clergy, attached the highest importance to the votes being given by order in all political questions; but the nobility counted among its members some popular dissidents; the curés formed a considerable portion of the deputies of the clergy; their opinions approached very near

to those of the deputies of the third estate, to whom unanimity of sentiment and numerical strength gave a great advantage. They displayed on this occasion a patience proof against every trial, and a firmness not to be shaken. They proceeded to the verification of their powers, after having invited the noblesse and the clergy to verify in common the powers of all. Then, by the advice of Sièyes, they constituted themselves, on the 17th of June, into a National Assembly. This important decision was immediately supported by acts of sovereignty; the Assembly voted the provisional collection of the taxes, and the cessation of those that it should not have established; it consolidated the public debt, named a committee of supplies for the army, and proclaimed the inviolability of its own members.

The public agitation became extreme when a royal sitting was announced, and, under pretext of the preparations it required, the hall of the States was closed. Bailly, the first deputy of Paris, then presided over the Assembly: esteemed for his literary and scientific labours, he had acquired the respect of all parties by the nobleness and firmness of his character. He presented himself, on the 20th of June, 1789, with a great number of his colleagues, at the door of the States, and found it closed. The violent projects of the court being no mystery, the indignant deputies resolved to prevent the execution of them; they followed their president to the Jeu de Paume, and there, with uplifted hands, they all swore, with the exception of one, not to separate till they had given a constitution to France. Two days after, the majority of the clergy joined the deputies of the communes in the church of St. Louis, where the latter were provisionally assembled.

Necker had conceived a plan which might have brought the orders together and promoted a conciliatory feeling in the people; the king had promised to adopt it, and to make mention of it in his speech to the Assembly: but the influence of the court prevailed over the prudence of the minister. Terrified at the immense ascendancy which the third estate took, by its first acts, in public opinion, the party of the princes, which was opposed to Necker, communicated its alarms to Louis XVI., and prevailed upon him to interpose his power to annul the decrees of the Assembly, to command the separation of the orders, and himself to fix all the reforms that were to be effected by the States-General.

Such were the preludes of the royal sitting which was held on the 23rd of June. The king appeared with all the

pomp of sovereign power, and was received by a part of the deputies in chilling silence ; he only recognised the Assembly as the order of the third estate, and commanded it to be dissolved. The members of the noblesse and clergy who were present obeyed immediately after the departure of the king ; those of the communes did not quit their seats. The grand master of the ceremonies came to remind them of the order of the king. "Go and tell your master," cried Mirabeau, "that we are here by the command of the people, and that we will not go hence unless forced by bayonets." Sièyes, then addressing his colleagues, said with the utmost coolness : "You are to-day what you were yesterday : let us deliberate." The Assembly persisted in its decrees, and, upon the motion of Mirabeau, pronounced the inviolability of its members. From that time royal power was lost ; the majority of the members of the clergy resumed their seats in the Assembly after its first sitting. The order of the noblesse persisted in its refusal, notwithstanding the instances of the count de Clermont-Tonnerre and the earnest exhortations of Lally-Tollendal, one of the most worthy of its members, the son of the unfortunate General Lally, and already celebrated by the talent he had displayed in re-establishing the memory of his father. "Think, gentlemen," said he, "that in the march of political revolutions, there is a force of things which prevails over that of men. There has been a period when it became necessary that slavery should be abolished, and it was abolished ; another in which it was necessary that the third estate should enter into the National Assemblies, and it did enter them. Here is one in which the progress of reason, the too long neglected rights of humanity, the respect which this imposing mass of twenty-four millions of men ought to inspire, are about to give to this same third estate the equality of influence, the just proportion of rights which ought to belong to it. This third revolution is begun, nothing can prevent it. I firmly believe that it only rests with the noblesse to assign themselves a post of honour, to cover themselves with a glory more brilliant perhaps than all they have hitherto acquired, to inscribe themselves for ever the benefactors of the nation. It is by this title, gentlemen, it is by your dearest interests, I conjure you to acquiesce in the motion of M. de Clermont-Tonnerre." The efforts of Lally were warmly combated by D'Eprémesnil and Cazalès, and the motion was rejected ; but on the morrow forty-seven members of the noblesse, having the duke of Orleans at their

head, joined the third estate and the majority of the clergy: they were welcomed with enthusiasm.

The fusion, however, of the orders into a single assembly not being complete, and this dissidence keeping up an extreme agitation without, Necker again advised the union of the three orders: the terrified queen and several influential persons added their entreaties to his; Louis XVI. yielded, and annulled his declaration of the 23rd of June as easily as he had abandoned the ideas of Necker for those of his courtiers. He sent for the duke de Luxembourg, the president of the noblesse, and expressed his new wish to him; Luxembourg combated it; he endeavoured to persuade the monarch that disunion among the three orders was the last means that remained of preserving his power. "Your faithful noblesse," said the duke in conclusion, "has the choice of going, as your majesty wishes it to do, to share with its co-deputies the exercise of the legislative power, or to die in the defence of the prerogatives of the throne. Its choice cannot be doubtful." "M. de Luxembourg," replied the king in a firm voice, "my determination is taken, I have made up my mind to all sacrifices: I will not have a single man perish in my quarrel. Tell, then, the order of the noblesse that I beg it will unite itself with the other two. If that be not sufficient, I command it as its king; I will that it do so." The king was obeyed; after the 27th of June, the clergy, the noblesse, and the third estate formed but one body, which was indifferently named the *National* and the *Constituent* Assembly: deliberation became general, and the distinction formerly established between the orders ceased to exist.

All moral authority having passed from the monarch to the Assembly, the counsellors of Louis XVI. imprudently persuaded him to have recourse to force. Troops were collected in great numbers round Versailles; Necker was exiled; the marshal de Broglie, La Galissonnière, the duke de Vauguyon, the baron de Breteuil, and the intendant Foulon were chosen for the ministry, all partaking, more or less, the opinion of the court. The approach of the troops and the exile of Necker excited great fermentation in Paris. Camille Desmoulins, a young and fiery demagogue, harangued the people at the Palais Royal, and called upon them to take up arms. The busts of Necker and the duke of Orleans were paraded through Paris; the prince de Lambesc, colonel of the Royal Allemand, disturbed this ovation by making his

men charge the groups; but the French guards took part with the people, the troops refused to fire upon their companions in arms, and beat a retreat; tumult and disorder increased in the capital; the barriers were set fire to, and plunderers pillaged several houses; the people were without bread, and the greatest evils were anticipated. In order to prevent them, some electors assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, assumed authority, and rendered great services by their firm, active, and prudent conduct. The National Assembly, after having in vain attempted to bring about a reconciliation between it and the court, unanimously decreed the responsibility of the ministers and all the king's counsellors, of whatever rank they might be; it voted regrets to Necker and the disgraced ministers, placed the public debt under the safeguard of French loyalty, and established itself in permanency; the archbishop of Vienne presided, and La Fayette was elected vice-president.

The people of Paris, inflamed by the hostile attitude of the court, and by the energy of the Assembly, were eager to follow up their first advantages, and demanded arms: the committee of the electors, sitting at the Hôtel de Ville, organized the national guard, which it extended to forty-eight thousand men, and to which, upon the motion of La Fayette, it gave the tricoloured cockade:* each district had its battalion. Fifty thousand pikes were forged; the arsenal of the Invalides was plundered,—and, “*To the Bastille! to the Bastille!*” became the cry of the whole population. This memorable siege was soon undertaken; the French guards came in troops to the aid of the people, bringing cannon with them, and quickly decided the capture of the citadel, whose feeble garrison laid down their arms. The people, carrying in their hands bloody trophies of their triumph, returned, shouting and roaring, to the Hôtel de Ville, and assassinations soon stained their victory. The unfortunate Delaunay, governor of the Bastille, and prisoner of the multitude, was slaughtered by them. A letter found upon his person furnished an accusation of treachery against Flesselles, the prévôt des marchands; the populace wished to massacre him, but determined to bring him to trial before their tribunal: he was assassinated by a pistol-shot. Effervescence was at its height; Paris prepared for fight on the morrow, and the whole city wore the appearance of one vast camp.

* This cockade united to white, the ancient colour of France, red and blue, the colours of the city of Paris.

The still self-blinded court saw nothing in the movement of Paris but a riot : the king proposed to dissolve the Assembly, and gave Marshal de Broglie, commander of the army, unlimited power. When informed, in the middle of the night, by the respectable Rochefoucauld-Liancourt of the taking of the Bastille and the other events of the 14th of July : "It is a revolt," said the king. "Sire, it is a revolution!" replied the great citizen. The resolution of the king gave way before the gravity of the circumstances, and the next day he appeared in the midst of the Assembly. "The silence of peoples is the lesson of kings," Mirabeau had said, and the deputies at first preserved a sullen attitude in the presence of the monarch ; but when he had said that *he was but one with the nation*, that the troops should be sent away, and had added, with a firm voice, "Well ! I place my confidence in you !" applause burst from all sides, the whole Assembly arose, and conducted Louis XVI. back to his palace.

The king felt the necessity for restoring quiet to the capital himself ; he caused it to be announced that he would recall Necker, and that he would come the next day to Paris, where Bailly had just been named mayor, and La Fayette commander of the citizen guard. It was they who received the monarch. "Sire," said the former, presenting the keys of the city to him, "Henry IV. reconquered his people, here the people reconquer their king." Louis entered the Hôtel de Ville without a guard, and received the tricoloured cockade amidst the acclamations of the multitude ; he did not set out on his return to Versailles till he had approved the choice of the people and sanctioned the new magistrates.

Then commenced the first emigration. The count d'Artois, the prince de Condé, the prince de Conti, and the Polignac family set the example, and left France. The return of Necker was a triumph ; but it was also his last great day : he believed himself to be the master of the party of which he was but the instrument, and attempted to save Bézénval, second in command of the troops, and then a prisoner to the people. The intendant Moulon and his nephew Berthier had already perished, victims of popular fury : Bézénval was more deeply compromised than they, and Necker, by proposing an amnesty, depopularized himself at once. From that time he began, but in vain, to struggle against the revolution. The movements of Paris extended to the provinces ; in all parts the people organized themselves into municipalities and national guards ;

troops of armed men pervaded the country, plundering and firing châteaux, and taking particular pains to burn the title-deeds of the nobility. It became evident that to calm this violent irritation it was necessary to destroy, in part, the cause of it, by the abolition of the most objectionable privileges; and the Assembly proceeded, without due caution, to this reform in the celebrated night of the 4th of August. The viscount de Noailles gave the signal for the expected sacrifices by proposing the redemption of feudal rights and the suppression of personal services; an emulation in offering and an appearance also of patriotism were evinced among the privileged orders; but a great number among them, members of the *côté droit* of the Assembly, only assisted to destroy everything in the ancient social system in the hope of overturning everything, and thus bringing about the reaction which they deemed inevitable. Abuses and privileges were suppressed: the Assembly voted the redemption of the tenths and their change into a pecuniary tax, the suppression of the exclusive right of sporting, the abolition of seigniorial justices, that of the venality of the places of the magistracy, that of the inequality of imposts, of the *annates* (first-fruits) of the court of Rome, and of the plurality of benefices; lastly, wardenships and masterships of companies were suppressed, and the Assembly decreed to Louis XVI. the title of *Restorer of French Liberty*. That memorable night led to the government of the public powers and to the gratuitous administration of justice. It rendered all Frenchmen equal in rights: they became all capable of obtaining public posts, of holding property, and of giving themselves up to any employment they might choose; it, in fact, removed all the obstacles which opposed themselves to the preparation of the new constitution.

At this period three principal parties divided the Assembly: that of the court and the privileged classes, formed of the majority of the noblesse and the clergy, the most remarkable orators of whom were the abbé Maury and Cazalès, an officer of cavalry, he who desired a constitution on the model of that of England: Necker, Mounier, Lally-Tollendal, and the wise Malouet were at the head of the second party, principally comprised of the minority of the noblesse: the rest of the Assembly formed the party inimical to all aristocratic distinctions among the different classes of the nation. This last party was divided into several fractions, agreeing very ill with each other: in one were Bailly and La Fayette; in

another, the members of a celebrated triumvirate, always ardent in supporting the most popular propositions, and formed of the counsellor Duport, the author of the famous confederation of the clubs, Colonel Alexandre Lameth, and the eloquent Barnave. Some members of this third party distinguished themselves by their revolutionary violence, but their credit was as yet weak ; among their names figured one sinister name, then obscure, but afterwards too famous—that of Robespierre. A fourth party might, further, be reckoned in the Assembly—the Orleans party ; but it was vague and undecided, and, if it really existed, it was only composed of a few members personally attached to the prince, and who might be suspected of a design to transfer the crown to his head. The principal leaders of the Assembly were two men, foreign to the third estate, and adopted by it,—Sièyes and Mirabeau. The first dominated by the ascendancy of a powerful reason, of a philosophic brain, abounding in new ideas ; he governed in the committees ; the second reigned in the tribune. Abandoned early to the most impetuous passions, a victim to his own disorders, and accustomed to struggle against his headstrong will, consumed by the necessity for a prodigious activity in harmony with his powerful means, as bold as he was eloquent, revolutions were his element. Repulsed by the noblesse of Provence, he threw himself into the arms of the people, who welcomed him with transport : he dominated for some time over all parties, and in the Assembly exercised the sovereignty of genius.

The royal power, in fact suspended, was replaced by that of the National Assembly, which hastened to name different committees charged with providing for all branches of the public service. It next adopted, upon the proposition of La Fayette, a declaration of the rights of man, drawn up in the spirit of the celebrated declaration of the American Congress, and which served as a basis to the constitution. Louis XVI. hesitated before he accepted it, and only gave his adhesion to it with regret. The Assembly decreed the permanency of the legislative body ; and after a very animated discussion, in which Necker, Mounier, and Lally-Tollendal argued for the division of this body into a senate and a chamber of representatives, it was decided that it should be indivisible and composed of one single chamber.

It then became necessary to determine the part of the monarch in the composition of laws ; some desiring that the king should have the power of opposing the decrees of the

Assembly in a positive manner, and others that his *veto* should be only suspensive: this question excited most violent debates. Paris was still in a state of great agitation, the natural consequence of the victory of the 14th of July. The assembly of the electors, which had taken place of the provisional municipality, was just replaced. A hundred and eighty members, named by the districts, constituted themselves legislators and representatives of the commune, whilst the committees of the sixty districts of Paris, from which they held their power, equally attributed to themselves a legislative power superior to that of their constituents: the mania for public discussions had become general, assemblies of all kinds were formed in the city: soldiers, journeymen tailors, wig-makers, domestic servants, had all special meeting-places. The most animated deliberations took place at the Palais Royal, where the people controlled those of the National Assembly; it was there that the discussion upon the *royal veto* excited the most violent irritation; the middle class, which composed the national guard, had not as yet all the authority in its hands in Paris, and the ministry, terrified at the menacing demonstrations of the multitude, persuaded the king to abandon the *unlimited veto*, for the *suspensive veto*. The Assembly decided that the refusal of the monarch's sanction should not be prolonged beyond two legislatures. The court, however, did not yield without much reluctance, and meditated other projects; they affected to represent the king as oppressed, and, having no hopes but in civil war, they wished him to seek refuge in the bosom of his army. Louis XVI. loved his people, and resisted these violent suggestions: troops, nevertheless, were sent for to Versailles; the regiment of Flanders and some dragoons came thither, and the enemies of the revolution recovered their courage.

The officers of the newly-arrived regiments were feasted by their comrades in the *salle de spectacle* of the château, reserved for great solemnities; the king and the queen, holding the dauphin in her arms, appeared at this noisy meeting; the sight of them excited cries of enthusiasm; white cockades were distributed, and the tricolour emblems were trampled underfoot; such was the famous repast of the 1st of October, the consequences of which became so fatal to the royal family. The news of it soon reached Paris, and produced the greatest fermentation: the arrival of the regiments, their hostile dispositions, the fear of plots, and above all famine, created a formidable rising. A young girl

gave the signal, on the 5th of October, by passing through the streets with a drum, crying, "*Bread ! bread !*" A troop of women soon surrounded her, and, "*To Versailles !*" became the general cry. Maillard, one of the volunteers of the Bastille, placed himself at the head of this strange gathering, quickly increased by a furious mob, and offered to lead them : restrained for several hours by La Fayette, they at length marched forward and arrived at Versailles, where their appearance spread terror and dismay. A first engagement took place between the people and the body-guard, when La Fayette arrived at the head of the Parisian army to endeavour to control the disorderly populace : his presence restored safety, and calm was re-established. Whilst both sides surrendered themselves to sleep, some of the populace found, during the night, one of the gratings of the château open, and, calling their comrades, entered ; the alarm was given, and the combat commenced in the apartments between the people and the body-guard on duty, many of whom died heroically at their posts, crying, "*Save the queen !*" Marie Antoinette, when made aware of the peril, fled half-dressed to the king's apartment. La Fayette proceeded to the scene of action as quickly as possible : the French guards had already taken part with the body-guards : La Fayette succeeded in clearing the château, and exposed his life in repelling the people from the apartments. The multitude demanded with loud cries that the king should appear and should go to Paris with his family ; Louis XVI. showed himself, and made the promise they required ; but the queen, above all, was the object of the hatred of the people. La Fayette appeared with her at a balcony, and kissed her hand respectfully : the crowd applauded, but still continued their cries for the departure of the king for Paris. Louis XVI. consented, and went thither with his family that same day, escorted by his guards, and accompanied by a bloody and hideous train. The principal result of this event was the placing of the court under the immediate surveillance of the people. It struck all those with terror who dreaded popular intervention, and determined many members of the Assembly to abandon it : Lally-Tollendal and Mounier were of this number, and the latter endeavoured, but without success, to raise Dauphiny, his province, against the National Assembly.

This attempt proved the dangers of provincial organization. The provinces, which viewed with pain the loss of their privileges, formed small states too vast and too independent ; it became necessary, to prevent civil war, to reduce

their extent, and to subject them, under other names, to a uniform administration. On the 22nd of December, the Assembly adopted the plan of Sièyes, which divided France into eighty-three departments of a surface nearly equal ; the department was divided into districts, and the district into cantons. Their administration was regulated in a uniform and hierarchical manner : the department and the district had each an administrative council and an executive directory ; those of the district held of the council and the superior directory. The canton, composed of five or six parishes, was a simple electoral division. Citizens paying a contribution equivalent to three days' work were declared active citizens, and joined the canton in nominating their deputies and their magistrates : everything was subject to election, and this had several degrees. A criminal tribunal was established for the whole department, a civil tribunal for every district, and a peace tribunal for every canton. The administration of the commune was confided to a general council and to a municipality composed of a number of members in proportion with the population, and immediately elected by the people : the municipal officers alone had the right to require the action of the armed force.

The execution of this vast plan excited the dissatisfaction of the states and parliaments of several provinces, whose powers it annulled ; they protested, and by doing so precipitated their ruin. But the most redoubtable enemies of the revolution were the nobles and the bishops. The financial crisis and the wants of the treasury contributed powerfully in raising against it the great body of the clergy. The deficiency was immense, the imposts reduced almost to nothing, and the loans ill covered. Necker, after trying several but little-productive expedients, required the Assembly to vote an extraordinary impost of a quarter of the revenue, in which every one was to rate himself, and Mirabeau, alarming his colleagues by the hideous picture he drew of the bankruptcy about to fall upon France, induced them spontaneously to sanction this useful measure ; but it was far from sufficing to fill up the void in the treasury, and from that time the immense wealth of the clergy was looked upon as the only resource capable of meeting the exigences. The tenths, at first redeemable, had already been suppressed, when Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, proposed to the clergy to renounce their property, valued at many millions, in favour of the nation, which would employ it in the payment of its debt and the support of religion. It was in vain for

the clergy to resist ; it was declared that they were not proprietors, but depositaries of the wealth consecrated to the altars, and that the nation, by undertaking all the expenses of the public worship, ought to resume its property. The public expenses required four hundred millions for this first year : state notes were created to this amount, to which a forced currency was given, the property of the Church being the security : such was the origin of the *assignats*, which, issued at first with prudence, facilitated at the revolution the accomplishment of great things, and which afterwards fell into discredit from the odious abuse of them. From this period is to be dated the implacable hatred which the clergy entertained for the revolution, and which the Assembly rendered still more dangerous by aiming a blow at the discipline of that body and the consciences of its members, in the fatal vote upon the civil constitution of the clergy. This established the see of a bishopric in every department, intrusted the people with the election of bishops and curates, and allowed ecclesiastics a salary which was to compensate for the property formerly held by the clergy, and of which the nation had resumed possession. A scission was by this effected in this order ; a great number of its members immediately abandoned the Assembly, and leagued themselves with the dissident nobles.

The National Assembly persisted with constancy, but inconsiderately, in plans of reform and in the fresh organization of the social and political body : it attached the army to the revolution, by declaring rank and advancement independent of genealogical titles ; it abolished all these titles, in accordance with the proposition of some popular members of the noblesse, and organized the judicial body upon a new basis. It established two degrees of jurisdiction, and a court of cassation ; the jury, after the example of England, was introduced in criminal cases ; all the places in the magistracy were made temporary, and conferred by election ; in short, the legislation of this period sprang entirely from the principle of the sovereignty of the people ; the king, however, still preserved the initiative in questions of peace or war ; but the right of determining upon them was reserved for the legislative body.

The anniversary of the taking of the Bastille was approaching : the nation dated its freedom from that memorable day, and it was resolved to celebrate it with extraordinary splendour. Deputies, sent to Paris by the eighty-three depart-

ments, formed an imposing confederation in the Champ de Mars. There, in their presence, in that of the electors, of the National Assembly, of the Parisian guard, of the deputies of the army, and of an immense population, the bishop of Autun celebrated a solemn mass upon a vast altar decorated according to antique custom, and of which four hundred priests, clothed in white albes and tricoloured girdles, occupied the extremities. La Fayette, in his quality of commandant-general of the national guards of the kingdom, advanced the first to take the civic oath ; after him, all the deputies repeated it, amidst the thundering of artillery, the acclamations of the people, and prolonged cries of "*Vive le Roi ! Vive la Nation !*" Louis XVI. then rose, and said : "I, king of the French, swear to employ all the power delegated to me by the constitutional act of the state, to maintain the constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by me." "Here is my son," said the deeply-agitated queen, holding the dauphin up in her arms, and showing him to the people ; "here is my son, and he unites with me in the same sentiments." The vociferous acclamations of the people again were heard, and a hymn of thanksgiving terminated this festival, the last day of hope or happiness for the royal family. Intrigues of the various parties were renewed even on the morrow, and the *côté droit* urged the Assembly on to extremes : "*We like its decrees,*" said the abbé Maury, ironically ; "*we want three or four more of them.*" Necker, whose methodical and fixed ideas were unceasingly at variance with the rough and rapid march of the Assembly, gave in his resignation on the 4th of September ; a great number of nobles emigrated at the same period, and the spirit of insurrection made daily progress among the people and the army. Three regiments in garrison at Nancy revolted, and were brought to submission with much difficulty by Bouillé, who wished to induce the king to come to the army which he commanded in chief on the northern frontiers.

Of all the adversaries of the revolution, none was more difficult to be conquered, or excited more embarrassment than the clergy. The king had sanctioned the civil constitution of this body, the pope refused his adhesion to it ; from that time the archbishops and bishops formed a league, which the Assembly imprudently strengthened by requiring of all priests in orders the oath of fidelity to the nation, to the law, to the king and the civil constitution : those who refused were struck with destitution. This fatal measure attacked

consciences, and created a schism. There were two clergies in the kingdom, the one constitutional and bound by oath, the other refractory, and not bound by oath: the members of the latter division refused to abandon their functions, and fulminated against the successors whom the law imposed upon them; they employed all their power over the populations which habit and faith placed under their influence, to attach them to their cause: it was thus that a furious struggle was got up in many parts of the kingdom, and that, under an apparent calm, all hopes of order or conciliation vanished.

The creation of clubs multiplied the seeds of agitation, and precipitated France into anarchy. The clubs were at first private meetings, without political authority, at which people met to discuss the affairs of the state; the first, formed with this view, was by the Breton deputies, at the ancient convent of the Jacobins, whence it received its name; but this club soon increased in members and influence, and wished to act upon the Assembly, the municipality, and the multitude: its first members abandoned it, and were replaced by violent, ambitious men, and friends of disorder, members of the commune, or simple citizens. They formed affiliations in the provinces, and raised, by the side of legal power, a still more redoubtable power, which was not long ere it led and subjugated the first.

Emigration continued; the aunts of the king left France; Louis XVI., who was suspected of wishing to join them, was arrested by the people and detained in Paris with his family, at the moment he was preparing to quit the capital for St. Cloud: the Assembly, whilst proclaiming the inviolability of the monarch, declared that his flight from the kingdom would pronounce his abdication. The deputies, however, after having destroyed all abuses and privileges, and completed the constitution, manifested in their acts a more monarchical tendency. This reaction, favourable to power, was due in a great measure to Mirabeau, whose services the court had purchased, who wished at the same time to consolidate the throne and to maintain all the useful results of the revolution. But to have his voice respected, he should have taken care to keep his personal character respectable: the guilty gold which he received only to lavish in wild expenses, deprived him of that consideration without which political men are generally condemned to a painful impotence: the confidence which his genius commanded was denied to his character: the king acknowledged the correctness of his counsels, but

he trembled at giving himself up to them. No one deplored more than Mirabeau himself, this fatal situation which he had created for himself: "I am paying very dear," he often said, "for the follies of my youth! Poor prince! thou art made to pay for them too!" "Look around us," said he one day to one of the Crillons, with an accent of profound conviction; "none but I, I alone could contend with the anarchy which is about to devour you, your friends, the throne, and the prince; I must be listened to, I must be followed, or we shall all perish." Talking another time with Cabanis, he cast sad and prophetic glances into the future of his country, and broke a solemn silence with these words: "Oh! if I had brought to the revolution a character like that of Malesherbes, what destinies I should have assured to my country! what glory I should have attached to my name!"

In spite of his faults, his genius still dominated over the National Assembly; he succeeded in having rejected, as injurious to individual liberty, a violent decree which was proposed against emigrants: this was his last triumph. Although he was but forty-two years of age, his constitution was destroyed by excesses of all kinds; he looked for and called upon death amidst frightful sufferings. In his agony he still spoke of France, and of the state in which he left it: "I carry away in my heart," said he, "the mourning of the monarchy, whose wreck will shortly be the prey of the factions."* A few minutes after speaking thus, he expired. The National Assembly in a body assisted at his obsequies, and caused his remains to be carried to the new church of St. Geneviève, destined, under the name of the Pantheon, to receive the mortal relics of great men. Mirabeau was, perhaps, the only man capable of directing and restraining the revolutionary torrent; his death was a public calamity, and the nation mourned for him.

Already the storm began to growl fearfully on the frontiers, the emigrants endeavoured to rouse all Europe against France. They formed two bodies, the one organized under Condé, at Worms, the other under the count d'Artois, at Coblenz: this prince, with Calonne, his minister, went to the court of the emperor Leopold; and the secret declaration of Mantua, signed on the 20th of May, 1791, was the result of their conference. It promised Louis XVI. the succour of a coalition into which Austria, the circles of Germany, Switzerland, and the kings of Sardinia, Spain, and Prussia were to

* Joseph Droz, *Hist. du Règne de Louis XVI.* tom. iii. p. 367.

enter. But Louis first endeavoured to restore the monarchy alone ; he attempted to reach Montmédy, and throw himself into the army commanded by Bouillé. His plan of escape was concerted with that general, who placed, from distance to distance, detachments on the route by which the king was to arrive. On the night of the 20th of June, the royal family left the Tuileries in disguise, deceived the watchfulness of the guard, passed the barriers of Paris without obstacle, and immediately took the road to Châlons and Montmédy. On learning this, stupor at first seemed to seize both the Parisians and the Assembly ; but the latter quickly assumed the executive power, announced its pacific resolutions to the coalition, sent commissaries to the troops to receive their oath in the name of the Assembly, and proposed to teach France and Paris that a monarch was not indispensable to the government of the state. The report was soon spread of the arrest of the king ; the unfortunate Louis XVI. was recognised and arrested at Varennes ; all the national guards of the neighbourhood flew to arms ; the detachments of troops posted on the route were either repulsed or feared to act ; Bouillé himself came up at the head of a regiment ; but he came too late, the king was already many hours on his way back to Paris. The Assembly sent three of its members to meet the king, for the purpose of securing his return : these were the count de Latour-Maubourg, Pétion, and young Barnave ; the last named, from that time, touched by the condescending manners and the sad fate of the royal family, resolved to lend them his counsels and support.

The king was received in Paris with a silence of very sinister augury : the Assembly suspended him provisionally from his functions, and named commissioners to interrogate him. The discussions on this subject were stormy ; some wished to maintain the king on the throne, others to precipitate him from it : the Lameths and Barnave, with the intention of defending him, joined the moderate party, and created the club of the *Feuillants*, to oppose it to that of the Jacobins, the direction of which was seized upon by Pétion and Robespierre, the leaders of the republican party. The Assembly, by the advice of Barnave, declared there was no occasion to bring Louis XVI. to trial or to pronounce his abdication ; but at the same time, to calm the popular effervescence, it declared that the king had in fact abdicated, and ceased to be inviolable, if he made war on the nation, or suffered that it should be made in his name.

This declaration of the Assembly irritated the multitude. The agitators prepared a petition, in which they appealed to the sovereignty of the people, and considered Louis as dethroned since his flight. Brissot drew it up; it was carried, on the 17th of July, to the Champ de Mars, and placed upon the altar of the country; Danton and Camille Desmoulins harangued an immense crowd, and did all in their power to excite their hearers to insurrection. The danger became threatening, and the Assembly enjoined the municipality to watch over the public safety. La Fayette and Bailly went to the Champ de Mars at the head of a numerous troop of national guards; Bailly pronounced the legal summons and unfurled the red flag: the multitude replied to this signal by a shower of stones; then the door to conciliation was closed, it became necessary to have recourse to force, and La Fayette commanded his men to fire; the second discharge was murderous, and dispersed the mob; the multitude took to flight, and never pardoned either La Fayette or Bailly for having done their duty on that fatal day.

These deplorable dissensions restored courage to the enemies of the revolution, and the emigrants dreamt of nothing but stifling it by the efforts of all Europe: *Monsieur* assumed at Brussels the title of regent; Bouillé wrote a violently threatening letter to the Assembly; the emperor, the king of Prussia, and the count d'Artois met at Pilnitz, where they signed, at the risk of compromising the king whom they wished to defend, the treaty of the 27th of July. In this declaration they considered the cause of Louis XVI. as their own, requiring that he should be replaced on his throne, and that the Assembly should be dissolved, otherwise they threatened France with the most frightful calamities. The irritated Assembly replied to these menaces by levying a hundred thousand national guards, and by arming their frontiers: it however approached the term of its operations, and the convocation of the electoral colleges was fixed by it for the 3rd of August: a fatal decree, issued before the king's flight to Varennes, interdicted every member from forming part of the following Assembly. In vain Dupont had exclaimed: "Since we are surfeited with principles, why do we not acknowledge that stability is also a principle of government?" The decree was passed, and the mania of disinterestedness becoming contagious, Bailly laid down his mayoralty, and La Fayette the command of the national

guards. The course of the revolution thus became abandoned to fresh men, who commenced another, for the sake of procuring themselves a name and a fortune.

Before its dissolution, the Assembly collected its decrees into one body, declaring that the nation had the right to revise its constitution, but that it would be prudent not to exercise this right within thirty years. The king accepted the constitutional deed without restriction. On the 29th of September he closed the Assembly, and gave utterance in its bosom to some touching expressions, which the members received with acclamations and marks of respect and love. Thouret, then addressing the people, pronounced these words : "The Constitutional Assembly declares that its mission is achieved, and that at this moment it terminates its sittings."

Thus ended this celebrated assembly, after having accomplished the greatest things in the short space of two years ; the double and principal vice of the constitution drawn up by it was the having composed the legislative body of only one chamber, and having made the royal authority much too subordinate to popular power. Nevertheless, whilst recognising the people as the source of power, it was in the hands of the middle and most enlightened class that they had placed the exercise of it by the double election ; and it may be said that it was destroyed less by its own vices than by the fury of the factions which, by raising all Europe against the revolution, obliged the revolution to unchain, in its own defence, popular passions, and for some time rendered the direct intervention of the multitude in the government of the state inevitable.

CHAPTER II.

The Legislative Assembly.—From the 1st of October, 1791, to the 20th of September, 1792.

THE court, the nobility, and the clergy, had exercised no power in the new elections ; they were made under an influence entirely popular, and the Assembly opened its sittings on the 1st of October, 1791. It immediately declared itself to be the National Legislative Assembly, and took, upon the constitutional act, amidst the applause of the people of the tribunes, the oath *to live free or to die*. The minority of the last chamber had become the majority of

this, and the parties which divided it were not long in showing themselves. The *côté droit*, composed of men firmly attached to the constitution, formed the *Feuillant* party, which looked for its support to the club of that name, to the national guard and the army ; but it did not dominate in the Assembly, and soon yielded the important post of the municipality to its adversaries of the *Gauche*, who composed the *Girondin* party, at the head of which shone the celebrated orators of the Gironde, from which it took its name, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, and with them Brissot, Condorcet, and the fiery Isnard. This party was disposed to call in the multitude and the most violent means in defence of the revolution, differing, in this respect, from the Constitutionals, who rejected any other support but that of the law. The Centre of the Legislative Assembly was attached to the new order of things ; but public dangers repressed its resolutions, and subjected them to the violent decisions of the *Gauche*. Without the Assembly, the democratic faction supported the Girondins, and influenced the clubs and the multitude : Robespierre reigned in the Jacobins ; Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine at the club of the Cordeliers, still more violent than the preceding one ; and the brewer Santerre, in the faubourgs : such were the principal leaders of the popular party, and their power was increased rapidly by the bold undertakings of the leaders of the revolution.

Emigration augmented daily ; the two brothers of the king and the princes protested against the acceptance of the Constitutional Act by Louis XVI. : at their summons, nobles quitted their châteaux, and officers their regiments ; distaffs were sent to those who hesitated ; hostile meetings were appointed in the Austrian Netherlands and the neighbouring electorates ; the counter-revolution was prepared at Brussels, Worms, and Coblenz, under the protection of foreign courts. Whilst the emigrant nobles were doing all in their power out of the kingdom to promote a war, refractory priests neglected nothing to raise the people by exciting their fanaticism ; the bishops forbade application to be made, for the sacraments, to constitutional priests, qualified as *intruders* ; violent circulars were spread all over the country against those who participated in them, and dangerous risings took place in Le Calvados, La Gévaudan, and La Vendée. The irritated Assembly adopted, on the 30th of October, a decree which declared Louis Stanislaus Xavier, brother of

the king, deprived of his rights to the regency, if he did not return; it afterwards decided that the French assembled beyond the frontiers were suspected of being engaged in a conspiracy against their country; that if, on the 1st of January, 1792, they were still in a state of hostile assemblage, they should be treated as conspirators, and be punishable by death; it then decreed that refractory ecclesiastics should be compelled to take the civic oath, under pain of being deprived of their pensions, and be subject to detention in case religious troubles should arise in their communes. The king sanctioned the first decree, but opposed his *veto* to the two last. He spoke, however, with energy against emigration; but the court placed all its hopes in Europe, and was the centre of the intrigues carried on against the Assembly: blinded by its hatred for the constitution and its principal authors, it committed the enormous error of withdrawing all its confidence from the Constitutionals, at the time that they alone devoted themselves to its defence: it was thus it placed Pétion in the mayoralty in preference to La Fayette, and opened the entrance of the commune of Paris to men of the multitude.

National indignation was particularly excited by the conduct of the neighbouring princes, who received emigrants favourably, and patronized the military gatherings. The Assembly wished Louis XVI. to make a solemn engagement against them, and Isnard terminated a speech made with this view in the tribune, with these violent words:—"Let us tell Europe, that if cabinets engage kings in a war against peoples, we will engage peoples in a war to the death against kings: let us tell Europe that all the battles which peoples fight by the order of despots, resemble the blows which two friends, excited by a perfidious instigator, deal each other in the dark. When the light of day appears, they throw down their arms, embrace each other, and chastise him who has deceived them; in the same manner, if at the moment at which our enemies' armies shall be contending with ours, the light of philosophy should fall upon their eyes, the peoples will embrace each other in the face of dethroned tyrants, of the consoled earth, and satisfied heaven." The proposed measure was carried with transport and unanimity: Louis XVI. approved of it. "If my representations are not listened to," said he, "it only remains for me to declare war." The Assembly voted twenty millions for this object; a hundred and fifty thousand men were levied, three armies were formed

and established on the frontiers of the north and the east, and Rochambeau, Luckner, and La Fayette placed at the heads of them. The emigrant princes were, at the same time, decreed *impeached*, and *Monsieur* deprived of his rights to the regency. Austria, at that time governed by Kaunitz, the principal minister, answered these decrees by ordering Marshal de Bender to support the elector of Trèves, if he should be attacked, and required the reinstatement of the German princes formerly possessed of estates in Alsace ; Austria insisted upon the restoration of feudalism in that province, or war.

The Legislative Assembly then accused the ministry of weakness and ill-will ; and a court intrigue having caused the minister of war, Narbonne, sincerely attached to the constitution, to be sacrificed to the justly suspected Bertrand de Molleville, minister of the marine, a total dissolution of the council followed, with the sending of Delessart, the minister of foreign affairs, before the high court of Orleans. The king, pressed by circumstances, formed a Girondin ministry, the most remarkable members of which were General Dumouriez and Roland. The first, accustomed from his youth to intrigue, was determined to rise, by whatever means : he was bold, fickle, without political conviction, but endowed with a rapid and sure perception, of an active genius and rich in resources. The second loved liberty with enthusiasm : he joined austerity of morals to a great simplicity of manners ; but he had but little expansion of mind, and allowed himself to be too much governed by his wife : she, endowed with the noblest qualities of heart and mind, was herself the slave of a dangerous enthusiasm : she was the soul and the counsel of the Gironde.

The first measure of the new ministry related to the war. Leopold was dead ; Francis II., king of Bohemia and Hungary, was about to succeed him in the empire, and his elevation changed nothing in the Austrian policy with regard to France. The prince de Kaunitz required, in the name of his court, the restitution of the property of the Church to the clergy, of the estates of Alsace to the German princes, and of the comtat of Venaissin to the pope. Such was the ultimatum of Austria : Louis XVI. answered it by proposing war, and the Assembly decided upon it. The invasion of Belgium, then occupied by the Prussians, was resolved upon, and Rochambeau was ordered to undertake it : but the two first invading columns were seized with a panic terror at the

sight of the Prussian army, and took to flight : Rochambeau laid down the command, and the war assumed a defensive character. Two armies covered the French frontiers on the north and the east, under La Fayette and Luckner ; the army of La Fayette extended from the sea to Longwy ; that of Luckner, from the Moselle to the Jura.

The first reverses of the French arms excited great anxiety in Paris, and created violent symptoms of dissatisfaction. The court was accused of complicity with the enemy, and the Assembly pronounced its own permanence : it ordered the disbanding of the constitutional guard of the king, extended by him from eighteen hundred men to six thousand, and passed two decrees contrary to the wishes of the king : the one exiled the refractory priests ; the other established a camp of twenty thousand men under the walls of Paris. The ministers supplicated the king to deprive the opposing clergy of all hope, by admitting the sworn priests near his person : their efforts were useless, and a scission broke out on this subject in the ministry. Roland wrote Louis XVI. a severe letter on his constitutional duties, and conjured him to make himself frankly the king of the revolution : this letter offended the monarch, and decided the dissolution of the cabinet ; the Girondin ministers were dismissed, and, a few days after, the two decrees were rejected by the king : the Assembly immediately declared that three members of the last ministry, Roland, Servan, and Clavière, took with them the regrets of the nation.

The new ministry was chosen from among the Feuillants, who only reckoned in their ranks men suspected by the multitude for the moderation of their principles, and odious to the court for their attachment to the constitution : they wanted strength, and the king, who perceived their weakness and impotence, no longer hoping for anything but by the intervention of Europe, charged Mallet Dupan with a secret mission to the coalesced princes. The partisans of constitutional monarchy, at the head of whom were Lally and Malouet, made one last effort against the revolutionary torrent : Dupont, Lameth, Barnave, and La Fayette endeavoured to suppress the clubs and re-establish the authority of the king : La Fayette wrote to the Assembly, denouncing the Jacobins as the abettors of all disorders, and conjuring them to take none but legal measures for the public safety : this letter had no other effect than to shake the credit of the young general. The parties became more and more divided,

all hope of reconciliation disappeared ; each of them sought to triumph by culpable means : the court reckoned upon Europe to restore its power, and the Gironde had recourse to the multitude to establish its influence : Chabot, Santerre, and the marquis de Saint-Hurugue excited the faubourgs ; the anniversary of the *Jeu de Paume* was approaching, and a formidable insurrection was made ready. On that day, the 20th of June, thirty thousand men, armed with pikes, came down the faubourgs, and marched towards the place of the sittings of the Assembly, where their leader pronounced a threatening speech ; his hideous train then defiled in the hall, singing the sanguinary chorus of *Ca ira*, and to the cries of *Vivent les sans-culottes, à bas le veto !* Santerre and Saint-Hurugue then led them to the Tuileries, the gates of which palace the king ordered to be thrown open. He presented himself almost alone before the insurgents ; when called upon by them to sanction the two decrees, he resisted with admirable courage, but he did not dare to refuse the red cap which was presented to him on the end of a pike, and he placed it on his head, amidst the applause of the populace : Pétion at length arrived ; he harangued the multitude, who dispersed without resistance, satisfied for this time with having outraged royal majesty.

The indignant Constitutionals supplicated the king to grant them his confidence and accept their support ; the duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt offered to conduct him to Rouen, where he commanded, and La Fayette conjured him to come and place himself at the head of his army ; but fatality blinded the unfortunate monarch,—he refused. La Fayette hastened to Paris ; he demanded of the Assembly the destruction of the Jacobin sect, and the punishment of the authors of the 20th of June ; but the Assembly did not even invite him to the honours of the sitting till after they had deliberated whether he should not be tried for deserting his post ; La Fayette depended upon the national guard for closing the clubs ; the court caused the failure of his project, the national guards did not answer to his appeal, and he returned to his army, after having lost his influence and his popularity.

The foreign sovereigns continued to gather together formidable masses on the French frontiers, and the division of parties at home rendered the situation of the kingdom more and more alarming : the king was in the Assembly the object of the most violent invectives : the question of abdi-

cation had already been agitated, when, on the 5th of July, the Assembly declared *the country in danger*: all citizens able to bear arms were called out, pikes were distributed, battalions of volunteers were enrolled, a camp was formed at Soissons, revolutionary enthusiasm was at its height, and was still further increased by the arrival of the confederated Marseillais at Paris; Pétion became the object of the adoration of the people, and on the anniversary of the 14th of July, the only cry of the federation was *Pétion, or death!* The club of the Feuillants was closed, the grenadier and chasseur companies of the national guard, which constituted the strength of the citizens, were broken; the troops of the line and the Swiss were sent to a distance: everything denoted preparation for a catastrophe.

The enemy's army was in motion; the duke of Brunswick, preceded by a strong manifesto, advanced at the head of seventy thousand Prussians and sixty-eight thousand Austrians, Hessians, or emigrants. This manifesto contained frightful threats against Paris, and all other cities that should have the audacity to defend themselves; it rendered the populations of the cities indignant, and produced a general rising. In Paris, the popular party was anxious to destroy the authority of the king at once; Robespierre, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, and the infamous Marat harangued the multitude, and excited them to a state of frenzy. On the 3rd of August, Pétion, the mayor, presented himself before the Assembly, and demanded the abdication of the king, in the name of the commune and the sections. This petition was referred to a committee of twelve members; a few days after, it was discussed whether La Fayette should not be impeached, and he was acquitted by a very feeble majority, the people insulting all who voted in his favour; scenes of disorder were multiplied, and the insurgents fixed upon the 10th of August for an attack upon the palace.

The faubourg Saint Antoine, whither the Jacobins went in procession, was the centre of the insurrection; it was there decided that Pétion should be placed under restraint, in order to keep him from all responsibility, and to substitute an insurrectional municipality for the council of the commune: the agitators at the same time repaired to the barracks of the Marseillais and Breton federates. When informed of these menacing demonstrations, the court placed the château in a state of defence; the interior was guarded

by from eight to nine hundred Swiss, and by a troop of gentlemen armed with swords and pistols ; several battalions of national guards, and among them those of Les Filles, St. Thomas, and of Les Petits Pères, remarkable for their royalist sentiments, occupied the courtyards and the outward posts ; but a fatal circumstance shook their resolution : Mandat, their general-commandant, was summoned before the new council of the commune to render an account of his conduct, and was slaughtered by the multitude on the steps of the Hôtel de Ville ; the brewer Santerre was immediately invested with the command of the national guard, and the court was thus deprived of its most firm and influential defender. The insurgents, maddened by the redoubtable Danton, advanced in several columns and pointed their cannon against the château ; the king, with grief depicted on his countenance, passed his defenders in review ; but in the ranks of the national guard the cries of *Vive le Roi !* were smothered by those of *Vive Pétion ! à bas le veto ! à bas le traître !* The procureur-syndic, Rœderer, advanced towards the insurgents, and read to them that article of the law which permits that force should be repelled by force ; the national guards seconded him very feebly, and the audacity of the insurgents was redoubled. Rœderer returned to the château, and declared to the royal family that there was no longer any safety for them but in the midst of the Legislative Assembly. "Come, sir," said the queen to the king, offering him a pistol, "this is the moment to show yourself." Louis XVI. remained silent ; a few moments after he gave the signal for departure, and repaired to the hall of the Assembly, amidst the vociferations of the populace. Vergniaud presided ; the king took a place beside him ; but Chabot having reminded the Assembly that they could not deliberate in the presence of the king, Louis XVI. and all his family passed behind the president, into the obscure apartment of the *logographe*.

The cause of contention no longer subsisted after the departure of the king for the Assembly ; a furious struggle, however, ensued between the Swiss and the assailants, of whom the Marseillais and the Bretons formed the van : the audacious Westermann, an ancient adjudant-sous-officier, directed the attack ; the Swiss, whom the first discharge had rendered masters of the Carrousel, were driven back by the multitude, put to flight, and exterminated. This was the last day of the monarchy ; the new municipality came to have its powers recognised in the Assembly, preceded by three

banners, upon which were these words, *Patrie, liberté, égalité* : its spokesman terminated his harangue by demanding the deposition of the king and a national convention. Vergniaud replied by proposing the convocation of an extraordinary Assembly, the destitution of the ministers, and the suspension of the king. These sinister measures were approved of ; the Girondin ministers were recalled to power ; Louis XVI. was led to the Temple, and the 22nd of September was named for the opening of the Assembly that was to decide the destinies of the nation.

The coalesced army approached, and civil war was to be dreaded. La Fayette preferred renouncing his command to keeping up sanguinary contention in the heart of France, at such a moment ; he passed the frontier with Bureau de Pusy, Latour-Maubourg, and Alexandre de Lameth ; being recognised by the Austrian posts, he was arrested, and confined by the emperor, first at Magdebourg and then at Olmutz, in contempt of the law of nations : there he displayed noble courage and fortitude, during a cruel captivity of four years. His deliverance was only to be obtained at the price of some retractations, and he remained in irons rather than renounce the cause to which he had devoted his fortune and his life.

The conquering party of the 10th of August proceeded in Paris to the establishment of its power by the most violent means ; it pulled down all the statues of the kings, abrogated the departmental directory, abolished the conditions required by the law for becoming citizens, and thus opened free access for the multitude into the government ; and the same party then demanded of the Assembly the establishment of an extraordinary Assembly, to try those whom it styled the conspirators of the 10th of August. This tribunal was established ; but its justice appeared too slow for the terrible Commune, docile to the inspirations of Marat, Panis, Sergent, Jourdeuil, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, and Tallien, and, above all, governed by the impetuous and formidable Danton, recently appointed minister of justice, and surnamed the *Mirabeau* of the populace.

The Prussians, supported by thirty-six thousand Austrians and ten thousand Hessians, menaced the northern frontier ; six thousand French emigrants, under the prince de Condé, marched in concert with them against France. The army of Sedan was without a leader, and the invasion of its enemies was rapid. Longwy, upon being invested by them, capitulated ; Verdun was bombarded ; thence the road was open

to Paris : terror prevailed in the capital, and, in the executive council, it was already proposed to retire behind the Loire : Danton maintained with reason that France is in Paris, that they must make their stand there, at whatever cost, and terminated his speech by these ominous words : " My advice is, that to confound agitators and stop the enemy, *we must make the royalists afraid.*"

Numerous incarcerations were immediately ordered and made by the Commune, the prisoners being taken from the dissident classes of the nobility and the clergy ; regiments set out for the frontier, whispered reports chilled the hearts of the citizens : the Commune was on the alert, and measures, were immediately taken by it for the levying in mass of the citizens. Vergniaud presented himself at this assembly, and pronounced these words : " It appears that the plan of the enemy is to march straight upon the capital, leaving the strong places behind it untouched. Well, this plan will make our safety and produce their ruin. Our armies, though too weak to resist them, will be strong enough to harass their rear, and when they arrive, pursued by our battalions, they will find themselves in the presence of the Parisian army, drawn up in line of battle under the walls of the capital ; and, enveloped on all sides, they will be devoured by that land which they have profaned. . . . Parisians, now is the time for the display of energy ! Why are not the intrenchments of the camp further advanced ? where are the spade and the pickaxe which destroyed the altar of the federation, and made level the Champ de Mars ? You have sung and celebrated liberty, you must now defend it ! We have not now bronze or marble kings to overthrow, but living kings, armed with all their power ! I demand, then, that the National Assembly set the example and send a dozen commissaries, not to make speeches, but to work themselves, and dig and pick with their own hands in the face of all." This proposition was adopted unanimously. Danton followed Vergniaud, and proposed new measures : whilst he was speaking, the alarm-drum was heard, and a cannon was fired : " That cannon which you hear," exclaimed the fiery orator, " is not the cannon of alarm, it is the charging step upon our enemies. What do we require to conquer and annihilate them ? Courage ! still courage ! ever courage !"

The news of the capture of Verdun arrived at Paris in the night of the 1st to the 2nd of September, and for a time created a perfect stupor ; the Commune seized upon this

moment to accomplish its execrable projects ; the tocsin was sounded, the barriers were closed, and the massacres of the prisons commenced. During three days, the unfortunate nobles and priests recently confined in the Abbaye, the Conciergerie, the Carmes, and La Force, were slaughtered by three hundred murderers, with a hideous parody of judicial forms. Among the victims, instances of noble resignation and the most heroic devotion were multiplied, whilst their executioners exhibited as many acts of the most atrocious delirium. Skilful in inventing tortures for those even whom their hands could not reach, they performed horrible saturnalia around the Temple, and held up to the windows of the royal prison, under the very eyes of the queen, the bloody head of her friend, the unfortunate princess de Lamballe. The Assembly wished to check these massacres, but it was powerless. The mayor, Pétion, was suspended from his functions ; good citizens groaned in terror, and the Commune alone reigned in Paris. These horrible scenes did immense injury to the cause of the revolution, and its ferocious authors met with due chastisement.

The Prussians continued to advance: Dumouriez, appointed to the command of the army upon the Moselle, threw himself, by an inspiration of genius, into the forest of Argonne, the only position in which he could stop the enemy ; there he established his principal forces at Grand-Pré and the Islettes, and wrote to the Assembly : "*I am waiting for the Prussians; the camp of Grand-Pré and that of the Islettes are the Thermopylæ of France ; but I shall be more fortunate than Leonidas.*" The Prussians were, in fact, obliged to suspend their march, but an error committed by Dumouriez constrained him to abandon his position and fall back into the camp of Sainte Menehould, where he concentrated his forces, and received the reinforcements which were brought to him by Beurnonville and Kellermann ; his army amounted to seventy thousand men. On the 20th of September the Prussians attacked Kellermann at Valmy, with the intention of cutting off the retreat of the French army, whose warlike appearance intimidated the duke of Brunswick ; the action was reduced to a brisk cannonade, which was prolonged till night, and the honour of the day remained with the French. This first success, although otherwise of little importance, animated the French army, and gave it confidence in itself ; it astonished the enemy, to whom the emigrants had spoken of this campaign as of a military promenade. The duke of Brunswick

was without magazines, and the season was becoming bad ; he promised to retire if the French would re-establish the constitutional king upon his throne. The executive council replied "that the French republic could not listen to any proposition before the Prussian troops had evacuated the territories of France." Brunswick ordered a retreat, which was begun to be effected on the 20th of September. The French re-entered Verdun and Longwy, and the enemy passed the Rhine at Coblenz. Other successes, on different points, marked this campaign. Custine, on the Rhine, obtained possession of Trèves, Spire, and Mayence ; Montesquiou invaded Savoy, and Anselme, the county of Nice. The French armies resumed the offensive everywhere, and the revolution was victorious.

BOOK THE SECOND.

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC TO THE CONSULATE.

National Convention.—Reign of Terror.—Victories of the French armies.—Conquest of Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy.—Reaction of the Royalist and Girondin party.—Directorial Government.—Anarchy.—Defeats.—Expedition of Egypt.—Fall of the Directory.

20th of September, 1792—10th of November, 1799 (19 Brumaire, an 8).

CHAPTER I.

From the opening of the National Convention to the fall of the Girondins.

20th September, 1792—June, 1793.

THE first act of the new Assembly, which took the name of *the National Convention*, was to abolish royalty and proclaim the republic ; it afterwards declared that it should date from the first year of the French republic. These measures were voted by unanimous acclamation ; but very quickly the two parties which had been formed at the end of the Legislative Assembly, recommenced a furious war, the issue of which was mortal to both. These two parties were that of the Girondins, who sat on the right hand in the Assembly, and that of the Montagnards, who occupied the upper part of the left, from whence came the name by which they were designated. The first, commendable for their intelligence and the uprightness of their intentions, were sincerely republicans ; but in the volcanic state in which France then was, their disgust for the multitude, and their repugnance for violent means, placed them in a difficult position ; they had lost the assistance of the Constitutionals without obtaining that of the democrats. The Montagnards, less enlightened, less eloquent than the Girondins, were more resolute and not at all scrupulous in the choice of means ; the most extreme democracy appeared to them to be the best of governments : their principal leaders were Danton, Robespierre, and Marat : the two last were particularly, and with reason, held in horror by the

Girondins. Robespierre, endowed with moderate talents, but devoured by envy and ambition, had till that time kept himself apart, speaking, whether in the Constituent, or in the Jacobins, where he reigned, or in the Convention, against all who had, by turns, obtained the ascendancy ; he aspired to the first rank, and, associating the cause of his vanity with the popular passions, he triumphed over all superiority, by throwing upon it the then odious name of aristocracy and privilege ; he distinguished himself in the eyes of the multitude by the appearance of an austere patriotism, and captivated them by prodigally lavishing upon them the wealth and blood of the conquered. Marat, a furious fanatic, had made himself truly the apostle of murder in his speeches and in his infamous journal *The Friend of the People* : he preached the recourse to a dictatorship, in order to combat the enemies of the revolution, and the extermination *en masse* to get rid of them. These two leaders, worthy of each other, had already left far behind them Danton and his partisans, who would have wished to stop in the career of murder at the massacres of September. The Girondins prevailed in the Assembly over their rivals, and the departments were favourable to them ; but the Commune of Paris was devoted to the Montagnards, who, by means of it, disposed of the insurrections, by the Jacobins of the public mind, and of the faubourgs and sections by the *sans-culottes*. A third party, without a pronounced opinion and without system, floated between the two others,—this was that of *La Plaine* or *Le Marais*. It was composed of men for the most part well intentioned, but destitute of character ; they voted for the Gironde, and gave that party the majority as long as they had nothing to fear for themselves ; terror then threw them into the opposite ranks.

The Girondins, and among others the energetic Barbaroux, leader of the Marseillais, accused Robespierre of aiming at a tyranny ; this accusation, ill sustained, fell back upon Marat, who, every day, promoted fresh massacres : he wished to justify himself ; his appearance at the tribune excited a movement of horror, and when this atrocious man, perfectly unmoved, said : "I have a great number of personal enemies in this Assembly. *All ! all !*" was the general cry ; and yet this attack produced no consequences. That against Robespierre was deferred for some days : "*Nobody*," said he, "*will dare to accuse me to my face.*" "*I will*," cried Louvet ; and, rushing to the tribune, he assailed Robespierre with astounding, unpremedi-

tated eloquence, prefacing each fresh enumeration of crimes with this redoubtable formula : "*Robespierre, I accuse thee !*" The future tyrant would have been vanquished that day ; but he asked for a week to prepare his defence ; he obtained it, and the order of the day terminated this contest. It was in this manner that the Girondins, by their attacks, themselves augmented the importance of their adversaries ; they were not aware that they must conquer and crush them, under the penalty of perishing themselves. Powerless against the Commune, they still further abandoned the club of the Jacobins to their enemies, and irritated the populace of Paris by requiring that the guard of the Assembly should be confided to a body drawn from the departments. From this circumstance they obtained the name of the Federalists, with the reproach of wishing to raise the provinces against the capital, whilst the Montagnards were promoting the unity and indivisibility of the republic.

The French arms were triumphant in Belgium. General Clairfait had joined Duke Albert before Mons, and their united armies covered the heights above the villages of Jemmapes, Cuesmes, and Berlaimont. The position of the Austrians, defended by numerous abattis,* steep declivities, woods, fourteen redoubts, and a powerful artillery, appeared impregnable. Their cavalry, posted between the hills, particularly between Jemmapes and Cuesmes, was in readiness to pour down upon the French columns as soon as the fire from the batteries should have shaken them. Dumouriez formed his army into a half-circle parallel with the enemy : Generals Ferrand and Beurnonville commenced the attack by the wings. The left of the French made the enemy give ground, and Dumouriez immediately brought forward his centre upon Jemmapes. His infantry advanced in close columns under a severe fire ; but at this moment the Austrian cavalry was put in motion : a French brigade was driven back by this movement, and exposed, on the right, the flank of their columns. The attack was about to fail, when young Baptiste Renard, a simple domestic of Dumouriez's, sprang forward, signalled the danger, and brought back the brigade to the face of the enemy. The alarm had reached the attacking battalions of the centre, and they began to waver before the murderous fire of the batteries ; but the duke de Chartres rallied them ; he gathered round him a gallant, chosen troop, and restored

* Trees felled and fastened together, to impede the progress of an enemy's army.—*Trans.*

the fight. Dumouriez hastened to the right at the moment the intrepid Dampierre was falling upon an Austrian redoubt; he collected some scattered battalions, repulsed the enemy's cavalry, and, sounding the Marseillaise at the head of his battalions, bore down upon the Austrian intrenchments, overthrew them, and carried the village of Cuesmes. The battle was won, the Austrians were driven back beyond the Roër, and the conquering general entered Brussels on the 14th, whilst his lieutenants took possession of Namur and Antwerp. The whole of Belgium was subdued.

From that time divisions commenced between the conquering Dumouriez and the Jacobins. These latter fell upon the conquered provinces as upon their prey. The Flemings had received the French with enthusiasm and as liberators, the Jacobins quickly alienated them by draining them by requisitions and giving them up to an odious anarchy. The indignant Dumouriez repaired to Paris, with the double purpose of repressing their violences and saving Louis XVI. In both his efforts proved powerless.

The unfortunate monarch had languished four months in the tower of the Temple, with the queen, his virtuous sister Madame Elizabeth, and his two children, dividing his time between the pleasing distraction of their education and reading. The Commune exercised a cruel watchfulness over the captives, and steeped their hard lot in all the bitterness they could add to it. The discussion upon the trial of the king was opened in the Convention on the 12th of November; the principal charges against Louis XVI. were founded upon the papers discovered at the Tuileries, in an iron chest, the secret of which had been indicated to the minister Roland. In it were found all the plots and all the intrigues of the court against the revolution, as well as the arrangements with Mirabeau and General Bouillé: other papers found in the office of the civil list, likewise, appeared to prove that Louis had not always been a stranger to the movements made by the powers of Europe in his favour. But, as king, the constitution declared his person inviolable; besides, he was deposed, and could not be condemned but in contempt of all laws, for acts which had been performed anterior to his deposition. The Montagnards themselves felt the illegality of the proceedings carried on against him. Robespierre, by insisting upon his death, rejected all forms as false, and, with Saint Just, admitted nothing but reasons of state. "What," said the latter, "what must not the good

citizens and friends of liberty among us fear, on seeing the axe tremble in your hands, and a people respect the memory of its chains on the first day of its liberty?" The Montagne,* by promoting with inveteracy the condemnation of the king, wished to triumph over the Gironde, which had openly manifested a desire to save him. The great majority of the Assembly persisted in the intention of subjecting this great trial to judicial forms, and Louis XVI., already separated from his family, appeared as an accused person before the Convention, which he did not except against. His deportment was firm and noble, his answers precise, affecting, and almost always victorious. Upon being led back to the Temple, he demanded a defender, and named Target and Tronchet. The first refused; the venerable Malesherbes offered himself in his place, and wrote to the Convention these memorable words: "I have been twice called to the councils of him who was my master, in times when that function was ambitioned by everybody: I owe him the same service, when it is a function which many people think dangerous." His request, by which Louis XVI. was deeply affected, was granted. When he saw him, he pressed him in his arms, and exclaimed, with tears in his eyes: "You are risking your own life, and cannot save mine." Tronchet and Malesherbes immediately prepared for his defence, and took as a colleague Desèze, who pronounced it, and ended his pathetic pleading by these solemn and true words: "Louis, on ascending the throne at the age of twenty years, brought to it the example of morals, justice, and economy; he brought to it no weakness, no corrupting passion; he was the constant friend of the people. The people wished that a disastrous impost should be destroyed, Louis destroyed it; the people wished for the abolition of servitude, Louis abolished it; the people selected reforms, he made them; the people wished to change the laws, he consented to it; the people wished that millions of Frenchmen should recover their rights, he restored them to them; the people wished for liberty, he gave it to them. The glory cannot be denied to Louis of having met the wishes of the people by his sacrifices; and it is he whom it has been proposed to you to!—Citizens, I do not finish, I stop before history; remember that it will sit in judgment upon your judgment, and that its sentence will be that of ages." Louis XVI. went out

* The party of the Montagnards was termed the Montagne; that of the Girondins, Gironde.

with his defenders, and immediately a violent storm arose in the Assembly. The indignant Lanjuinais rushed to the tribune, and demanded the abrogation of the proceedings; he cried aloud that the hour of ferocious men was past; that the Assembly must not be dishonoured by making it sit in judgment upon Louis XVI.; that nobody in France had the right to do so; that if the Assembly wished to act as a political body, it could only adopt measures of safety against the *ci-devant* king; but that if it pretended to act as a tribunal, it departed from all principles, for it was judging the conquered by the conqueror himself, since most of the members present had owned themselves conspirators of the 10th of August. At this expression a frightful tumult arose: cries of "*Order! order! to the Abbaye! to the Abbaye!*" resounded from all sides; but Lanjuinais, intrepid and calm, added: "Better die a thousand times than condemn, against all laws, even the most abominable of tyrants." A crowd of orators succeeded to Lanjuinais; Saint Just inflamed the hatred of the enemies of the unfortunate prince, by representing him, with hypocritical mildness, under the most odious colours. Rabaud Saint Etienne, a Protestant minister, who had already honourably distinguished himself as a member of the Constituent, in his turn declared himself indignant at the accumulation of powers assumed by the Convention. "As for me," said he, "I am tired of my portion of despotism, I am tormented by the tyranny which I exercise as my part, and I sigh for the moment in which you will have created a tribunal which will make me lose the forms and the appearance of a tyrant. You seek for political reasons;—these reasons are to be found in history. The people of London, who had been so eager for the death of their king, were the first to curse his judges, and to prostrate themselves before his successor. They crowded to assist at their punishment. People of Paris! Parliament of France! do you hear me?" The fierce and gloomy Robespierre then appeared, and said in a tone of malignity and passion: "The last proof of devotion that we owe to our country, is to stifle in our hearts every movement of sensibility." He launched out in invectives, and indulged in the most perfidious insinuations against the deputies of the Gironde, who, in this critical moment, preserved a profound silence; as for him, he would give utterance to his whole mind: he demanded that Louis XVI. should be condemned, he required that his blood should be spilt.

These stormy debates continued during three days ; at length Vergniaud came forward to speak, Vergniaud, the greatest orator of the Girondin party ; and he was listened to in profound silence. He advocated an appeal to the people ; he repelled with scorn the perfidious insinuations of Robespierre ; and he predicted all the dangers which would result to France from a precipitate condemnation : " The powers of Europe," said he, " only await this pretext to fall all together upon France : they will be conquered without doubt, the heroism of French soldiers is a sure guarantee of that ; but victory even will demand a great increase of efforts and expenses. What gratitude will the country owe you for having performed in its name, and in contempt of its ill-understood sovereignty, an act of vengeance which will become the cause or the pretext of events so calamitous ? The social body, fatigued by the attacks made upon it from without, by armed enemies and by factions within, will sink into a mortal languor. Beware lest, in the midst of its triumphs, France do not resemble those famous monuments which in Egypt have conquered even time : the stranger who passes them is astonished at their grandeur ; if he wishes to enter them, what does he find ?—Inanimate ashes and the silence of the tomb !" Vergniaud asked if it were not to be feared that the people would then attribute all evils to the Convention : " Who will assure me," continued he, " that to the seditious cries of anarchical turbulence, there would not rally the aristocracy thirsting for vengeance, misery anxious for change, and the pity even which inveterate prejudices will excite for the fate of Louis XVI. ? Who will guarantee that from that tempest in which we shall see issue from their dens the slaughterers of the 2nd of September, you will not have presented to you, all covered with blood, and as a liberator, that *defender*, that leader that is said to be so necessary ? A leader ! ah ! if such were their audacity, he would only appear to be instantly pierced with a thousand wounds. But to what horrors would not Paris be given up ? Who would dwell in a city over which reigned terror and death ? What hands could wipe away your tears, and carry succour to your despairing families ? Would you go to seek those false friends, those perfidious flatterers who would have precipitated you into the abyss ? Ah, shun them, rather ! dread their reply ! I will tell you what it would be. You would ask bread of them, and they would say to you : ' Go and dispute with the earth for some

bloody fragments of the flesh of the victims you have slaughtered ! or—Do you want blood, take it ; here is some ; —blood and carcasses ; we have no other food to offer you !’ You shudder, citizens ! O my country ! I implore you, respond to the efforts I make to save you in this deplorable crisis !”

The impression produced by this prophetic speech was profound, and the divided Assembly hesitated : Brissot, Gensonné, Pétion, supported the appeal to the people ; Barrère opposed it : his cautious smoothness, his cold and cruel logic, abounding in specious reasons, triumphed over the eloquence of Vergniaud. The close of the discussion was pronounced, and the nominal appeal was fixed for the 14th of January. Three questions were submitted to the vote : *the culpability, the appeal to the people, and the punishment.* Passions rendered them blind and implacable, and a unanimous vote declared Louis guilty. The appeal to the people was scouted ; there then only remained the question of what punishment should be inflicted. The agitation in Paris was awful ; a furious multitude surrounded the doors of the Assembly, uttering the most hideous threats against those who were inclined to clemency. A great number of the members became intimidated ; Vergniaud himself, who presided, felt the courage he had evinced on the preceding days fail him, and he basely voted for death. At length, after forty hours of nominal appeal, he pronounced, in an agitated voice, the result of the scrutiny. Of seven hundred and twenty voters, death was decreed by a majority of twenty-six voices. The defenders of Louis XVI., Desèze and Tronchet, protested against the sentence ; Malesherbes wished to speak, but sobs stifled his voice. The proposition for delay was rejected, and, two days later, by a majority of three hundred and ninety voices against three hundred and ten, it was decreed that on the morrow, the 21st of January, the guilty sentence should receive its execution.

Louis requested to be allowed to have a priest, and named the abbé Edgeworth of Firmont. This request was granted. M. Edgeworth came to the Temple, and as soon as he saw the king, would have thrown himself at his feet : Louis raised him, and received him in his arms. The unfortunate prince was permitted to have a last interview with his family ; but the municipal officers being unwilling to lose sight of him for a single instant, insisted that the interview should take place in an apartment the door of which was glazed, and would

give them an opportunity of seeing all that passed. Louis XVI. entered this room at eight o'clock, and walked about in great anxiety whilst waiting for the beings who were so dear to him. At half-past eight a door opened, and the queen appeared, leading the young dauphin by the hand, and followed by Madame Elizabeth and Madame Royale ; uttering heart-felt cries and sobs, they threw themselves into the arms of the king. After a long and painful conversation, the king arose, and put an end to this cruel scene by promising to see his family again the next day. Notwithstanding this promise, which was doomed never to be accomplished, the adieux were heart-rending. Louis tore himself from these poignant emotions, and returned alone to the abbé Edgeworth, and with him recovered his calmness and resignation. He thought of nothing but preparing himself for death. Towards midnight he went to bed and slept. Cléry, his faithful and only servant, remained standing by him, contemplating the peaceful sleep of his master on the eve of execution. At five o'clock in the morning the king awoke ; Cléry lit the fire, and made an altar of the commode. The abbé Edgeworth said mass : Louis, on his knees, received the communion from the hands of the priest, and arose with the courage of the Christian and the just man. The drum already began to sound in Paris, and the sections took their arms. At eight o'clock, Santerre, with a deputation from the Commune, from the department, and the criminal tribunal, repaired to the Temple. The king prepared to set out ; he spared himself and his family another separation, which would have been more horrible than that of the preceding day ; he charged Cléry to convey his adieux to his wife, his children, and his sister ; he sent to them by him some of his hair, and some jewels, and presented his testament to one of the municipal officers ; then, with calmness he gave the signal for departure. A line of armed men was placed on each side of the way to the Place de la Révolution, and everywhere, as the fatal carriage passed, a profound silence was preserved. At half-past ten Louis XVI. arrived at the Place de la Révolution. A vast space was left vacant round the scaffold, cannons were ranged and pointed, and federates in arms kept back the immense crowd of a vile populace, who, at the sight of their victim, uttered ferocious cries. The king undressed himself, and as he hesitated at allowing his hands to be tied by the executioner, the abbé Edgeworth looked at him and said : " Suffer this outrage as a last resemblance with the God who

is about to be your reward." Louis resigned himself; he allowed himself to be bound and led to the scaffold. When there, separating himself suddenly from the executioners, and addressing the multitude: "I die innocent," said he; "I pardon my enemies; and you, unfortunate people! . . ." A rolling of the drums drowned his voice, the executioners laid hold of him: "Son of St. Louis," exclaimed the abbé Edgeworth, "ascend to Heaven!" and, the instant afterwards, Louis XVI. had ceased to live.

Thus perished, on the 21st of January, after a reign of eighteen years, one of the kings who had done most honour to the throne by their virtues; he had the uprightness of intention necessary to commence useful reforms, but he wanted the strength of character indispensable for carrying them out, or for directing the revolution and bringing it safely to port. His death is a great crime, of which France was not the accomplice, but of which, notwithstanding, she bore the punishment. It increased the perils of the revolution tenfold, irritated the fury of the various parties, and its earliest chastisements fell upon its principal authors. The Girondins would have wished to save Louis XVI., but they did not dare to undertake his defence openly: they dreaded the name of counter-revolutionists, or of the accomplices of tyrants, under which their enemies designated them, and many even, Vergniaud among the rest, in spite of themselves, gave a pledge of their devotion to the revolution by voting for the death of the king without delay: they were the victims of their culpable weaknesses. The iniquity of the death of Louis XVI., by multiplying the dangers around the Convention, drew it into a new train of furies and violences, in which it became impossible for it to stop. We shall see that in this manner every new crime committed by this famous Assembly brought new enemies around it, and constrained it to redouble its cruel and tyrannical measures, to enable it to combat them: it is only thus that the historical fatality of the events of the revolution can be admitted or understood. If, after Jemmapes, the life of Louis XVI. had been the pledge of peace between France and Europe, who can venture to say that the atrocious dictatorship of the Committee of Public Safety would have become indispensable for the salvation of the country?

After the awful crime of the 21st of January, indignant Europe flew to arms with one accord. The French revolution from that time had to reckon among its declared enemies

England, Holland, Spain, all the Germanic Confederation, Bavaria, Swabia, the Elector Palatine, Naples, the Holy See, and then Russia ; and, almost at the same time, La Vendée rose threatening and formidable. It became necessary to contend with, in addition to enemies at home, 350,000 of the best troops in Europe, which were advancing upon all the frontiers of the republic. In order to face these perils, Danton and the Montagnards, who had chosen him as their leader, excited by speeches and insurrections the enthusiasm and fanaticism of the people, in the name of *liberty, equality, and fraternity*, and kept them in this state of violent crisis in order to employ their passions and their furies. It was Danton who caused the despotism of the multitude to be established under the name of the Revolutionary Government. A levy of 300,000 men was ordered, and an extraordinary tribunal of nine members was created, destined to punish the enemies of the revolution in the interior, whose sentences were to be without appeal. The Girondins combated the idea of such an arbitrary and redoubtable institution, but their resistance was useless : stigmatized with the name of intriguers and enemies of the people, their ruin was already resolved upon. Marat and Robespierre excited the multitude against them to the last degrees of violence, and the project of assassinating them all in a nocturnal insurrection was conceived at the Jacobins and the Cordeliers ; but it miscarried. The next day Vergniaud ascended the tribune, and denounced these murderous projects : " We march," cried he, " from crimes to amnesties, and from amnesties to crimes. A great number of citizens have come to the point of confounding seditious insurrections with the great insurrection of liberty, of considering the exploits of brigands as the explosions of energetic minds ! Citizens, it is greatly to be feared, that the revolution, like Saturn, will devour all its children successively, and engender despotism with all the calamities that accompany it." Prophetic, but impotent words !

The insurrection of La Vendée redoubled the audacity of the Jacobins. Partial troubles had already broken out in that part of Brittany and Poitou, almost covered with woods, without roads and without trade, where the want of industry, by impeding the development of the middle class, closed all access to intelligence. Ancient manners were there kept up with the prejudices and customs of feudalism ; the population of the fields there dwelt in a state of submission to their priests

and their nobles; and none of these had emigrated. The requisition of the three hundred thousand men produced a general insurrection in La Vendée, the first leaders of which were Cathelineau, a carrier, Charette, an officer of the marine, and Stofflet, a gamekeeper. Nine hundred communes rose at the sound of the tocsin, and the noble leaders Bonchamps, Lescure, Laroche-Jacquelin, D'Elbée, and Talmont joined them and seconded the movement with energy. They beat the troops of the line and the national guards that were sent out against them. Everything gave way before the intrepid impetuosity of the Vendean peasants: although destitute of arms, they possessed themselves of artillery by precipitating themselves upon the cannons that were thundering against them. It was thus that the republican generals Marcé, Gauvilliers, Guétiéau, and Ligonier were overthrown, one after the other. The Vendéans, conquerors and masters of several places, formed three corps of from ten to twelve thousand men each: the first, under Bonchamps, occupied the banks of the Loire, and received the name of *the army of Anjou*; the second, under D'Elbée, in the centre, was called *the grand army*; the third formed the army called *des Marais* (fens or marshes), under Charette, and occupied the lower Vendée. A council of operations was established, and Cathelineau was proclaimed generalissimo. This formidable rising provoked in the Convention measures of increased severity against the priests and nobles; all who took part in a gathering were pronounced outlaws, the property of emigrants was confiscated, and the revolutionary tribunal entered upon its terrible functions.

Another enemy then declared himself. Dumouriez, after an unsuccessful invasion of Holland, had recently lost the battle of Nerwinde, against the prince of Coburg, commander-in-chief of the Austrians, and had been obliged to evacuate Belgium. For a long time at open war with the Jacobins, he dreamt of destroying them and re-establishing the constitutional monarchy: after the defeat of Nerwinde, being more than ever the object of their furious attacks, he meditated a defection, and the project of marching upon Paris in concert with the Austrians. It is to be presumed that his intention was to bring about the coronation of the young duke de Chartres, who was then in his camp, and had distinguished himself at the battles of Valmy and Jemmapes. He promised the Austrians several strong places as a guarantee; but he failed in his attempts to get possession of them, and completed

his exposure to the eye of the Convention. This assembly, when informed of his projects, immediately summoned him to its bar, and, upon his refusal to appear, sent the minister of war and four deputies, Camus, Quinette, Lamarque, and Bancal, with orders to bring him before them, or to arrest him in the midst of his army. Dumouriez gave them all up to the Austrians ; but he had presumed too much upon the affection his troops bore him : republican enthusiasm increased among the soldiery, and Dumouriez's army abandoned him : he had then no other resource but to pass into the enemy's camp.

The Girondins, in condemning Dumouriez, had shown as much energy as the Montagnards ; they were, nevertheless, accused of complicity with him. Vergniaud, Brissot, Guadet, Gensonné, and Pétion, became particularly objects of the atrocious persecutions of Robespierre and Marat : they enjoyed a moment of vigour, and dragged Marat before the revolutionary tribunal ; but he was acquitted, and borne in triumph into the Assembly. After that the Sans-culottes occupied the avenues of the Chamber and the tribunes. Guadet, for the purpose of emancipating the Assembly from the Jacobins and the Commune, proposed energetic measures, such as the dissolution of the municipality and the meeting of the Convention at Bourges—Barrère caused a middle term to be adopted, and the Assembly created a committee of twelve members, charged with watching the Commune, and arresting the authors of plots laid against the national representation. A war to the death, and fatal to the Gironde, was immediately commenced between that party and the municipality. The commission of the Twelve at first spread terror in the Commune by the arrest of the infamous Hébert, its substitute, the author of the execrable paper of the Père Duchesne, whom they seized in the bosom of the municipality. The Jacobins, the Cordeliers, and the Sections placed themselves in permanence and organized a formidable insurrection ; Danton directed them. An immense multitude marched to the Assembly ; the deputies, when introduced, boldly demanded the liberty of Hébert and the suppression of the Twelve. The Girondins resisted, but the Montagnards and the Sans-culottes of the tribunes broke forth against them in vociferations and threats ; the sitting was carried on in frightful disorder ; at length, in the middle of the night, amidst cries and tumult, the petitioners being mixed with the

Montagnards on the same benches, voted the cassation of the Twelve, and the enlargement of the prisoners.

This sentence was revoked the next day. The Commune, the Jacobins, the Sections were again in commotion; Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Chaumette, and Pache, the mayor of Paris, united to render this second insurrection more formidable than the preceding one. Henriot commanded the armed force; forty sous per diem were promised to the Sans-culottes as long as they should be under arms; the alarm-gun was fired, the tocsin was sounded, and they marched towards the Convention. The palace of the Tuileries, where the Convention sat, was blockaded, and all free deliberation rendered impossible. Then Barrère and the Committee of Public Safety, to whom the creation of the Twelve was due, demanded their suppression, and it was definitively pronounced. This satisfied Danton, but was not enough for Robespierre, Marat, and the Commune. "We must not leave the people to grow cool!" said a Jacobin deputy. Henriot placed the armed force at the disposal of the club; the arrest of the Girondin deputies was determined on. Marat himself sounded the tocsin, Henriot commanded the movement, and, on the 2nd of January, eighty thousand men in arms surrounded the Convention. The intrepid Lanjuinais rushed towards the tribune, and amidst furious and vociferous interruptions, denounced the projects of the factions. "Paris is pure," cried he, "Paris is good; but Paris is oppressed by tyrants who thirst for blood and domination." He concluded by proposing that all the revolutionary authorities of the capital should be put an end to. The insurgent petitioners entered at the same instant, and demanded his arrest and that of his colleagues. A violent debate began, when the deputy Lacroix rushed into the hall, complaining of the outrages he had received from the multitude, and declaring that the Convention was not free. The Montagnards themselves became indignant, and Danton cried out that the outraged national majesty must be avenged: the Convention arose in a body, and set forward with its president at its head. On the Place du Carrousel they met Henriot, on horseback with his sabre in his hand: "What do the public require?" said the president Hérault de Séchelles; "the Convention has no object but their welfare." "The people have not assembled to hear speeches," replied Henriot; "they demand that twenty-four guilty persons be given up to them." "Let all of us be given

up," shouted the deputies. Henriot ordered his cannon to be pointed against them, and the Convention retreated. Surrounded on all sides, the members of the Convention returned disheartened to their hall, unable to prevent the arrest of the proscribed, and Marat, acting as a dictator, exercised authority over the fate of all. Twenty-four illustrious Girondins were placed in a state of arrest in their own houses by order of the Assembly, and the satisfied multitude dispersed. From that day the Girondin party lost all power, and a free Convention no longer existed.

CHAPTER II.

From the fall of the Girondins to that of Robespierre.—2nd June, 1793
—27th July, 1794 (9 Thermidor, an 2).

THE Girondins Pétion, Barbaroux, Guadet, Louvet, Buzot, and Lanjuinais, took advantage of the indignation excited in France by the events of the 31st of May and the 2nd of June, and attempted to raise the departments. Caen became the centre of insurrection in the north: Brittany took part in it, and the insurgents, under the name of the *Assembly of the deputies met at Caen*, formed an army commanded by General Wimpfen, and prepared to march upon Paris. It was from this party came the heroic Charlotte Corday, a young girl endowed with a generous mind, as intrepid as she was enthusiastic. Indignant at the frightful evils heaped upon France and the cause of liberty by monsters, she imagined that she should render an immense service to her country by delivering it of Marat, the most atrocious of them all; she poniarded him in his bath, and died upon the scaffold with the noblest firmness. But the horrible system of Marat did not perish with him: the violent situation of the republic had set the sanguinary passions of the multitude in a state of fermentation; the assassinated Marat became a god for them; his remains were borne in triumph to the Pantheon, and in all popular societies his bust was placed by the side of that of the Conventional Lepelletier Saint Fargeau, whom one of the body-guards, named Paris, had punished for his regicide vote by assassinating him.

The dangers of the Convention, however, increased daily: the principal cities of the kingdom, and more than sixty departments, were in arms. A fanatical villain, named

Châlier, in emulation of Marat, had endeavoured to renew at Lyons the proscriptions of the Commune of Paris; a contest commenced, the municipality was taken by assault by the Sections, and Châlier was decapitated. Lyons, however, was still obedient to the Convention; but, after the 2nd of June, it declared against it; twenty thousand men took up arms within its walls. Marseilles rose at the same time; Toulon, Nismes, Montauban followed its example, and everywhere in these cities the royalists took part in the movement: they called in the English at Toulon, into which port Admiral Hood entered, proclaiming Louis XVII. Bordeaux likewise revolted in favour of the proscribed of the 2nd of June. The insurrection extended to Brittany, the Vendéans were masters of Bressuire, Argentan, and Thouars: forty thousand men under Cathelineau, Lescure, Stofflet and Laroche-Jacquelin, carried Saumur and Angers, and threw themselves upon Nantes. The situation of the republic was not more consolatory with regard to its foreign enemies: all concord was at an end between its generals, for the most part Girondins, and the Montagnards the conquerors of the Convention. In vain Custine was appointed to the army of the North; Mayenne capitulated after an admirable resistance, which procured its defenders the glorious surname of the *Mayençais*. The enemy took Valenciennes and Condé; the frontiers were broken in, and the discouraged army retired behind the Scarpe, the last defensive position between it and Paris.

The Convention resolved to face boldly all the perils which its own excesses had drawn upon France: in a few hours it voted a constitution which established the pure government of the multitude, and which, acknowledged by its authors themselves to be impracticable in a time of general war, was suspended till peace. The deputies of the forty-four thousand municipalities of France, when heard at the bar of the Convention, demanded the arrest of all the suspected parties, and the levy *en masse* of the people. "Let us comply with their wish," cried Danton. "It is by cannon-balls we must make known our constitution to our enemies! This is the instant at which we should swear that we will devote ourselves to death, or that we will annihilate tyrants." The oath was taken, and Barrère, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, soon proposed energetic measures. "The young men," said he, "will fight; married men will forge the arms, and provide for their subsistence; the women

will make clothes for the soldiers, and attend the wounded ; the children shall make lint of old linen ; and the old men shall be carried to public places, to inflame the courage of our warriors, and propagate hatred to kings and the unity of the republic. National houses shall be converted into barracks, public places into workshops. The republic is nothing but one great besieged city ; France must be nothing but one vast camp." These measures were adopted : all young men, from eighteen to twenty-five, were put under arms, and France soon had on foot fourteen armies and twelve hundred thousand soldiers. Terror was employed to get them together and provide for their subsistence ; violent and multiplied demands were made upon the middle classes ; they were obliged to contribute under pain of death : the law against suspected persons was carried rigorously into effect ; and France, which was transformed into a camp for one party, became a prison for the others. Commerce and the bourgeoisie furnished the prisoners, and were placed, as well as the authorities, under the surveillance of the multitude, represented by the clubs, whom the Convention wished to attach to its cause by every means. Every indigent person received forty sous per diem for assisting at the assembly of his section ; certificates of citizenship were given out, and every section had its revolutionary committees. By these violent means the Convention triumphed over its enemies : the army of Calvados was put to flight at Vernon, and there was a solemn retraction on the part of the insurgents at Caen ; Toulon, Bordeaux, and Lyons fell successively before the arms of the republic. La Vendée alone, in the name of the altar and the throne, maintained for a long time still an inveterate and terrible struggle. Repulsed in their attack upon Nantes, where they lost the intrepid Cathelineau, the Vendéans fell back behind the Loire, and beat successively the republican generals Biron, Rossignol, and Canclaux. At length, seventeen thousand men, of the ancient garrison of Mayence, reputed the best troops in the army, were transported into La Vendée ; Kleber commanded them. Léchelle was named generalissimo, and the royalists, after having conquered Kleber and the Mayençais in a battle, experienced four consecutive defeats at Châtillon and Chollet ; their principal leaders, Lescure, Bonchamps, and D'Elbée, received mortal wounds in these sanguinary conflicts. Surrounded on all sides in La Vendée, the insurgents requested succour from England, which, before granting it, required

that they should have possession of a seaport. Eighty thousand Vendéans left their devastated country, and directed their march to Granville; repulsed before that place, for want of artillery, and routed at Mans, they were destroyed whilst endeavouring to cross the Loire at Savenay. Charette continued the war, but at length lost the isle of Noirmoutier. The Achilles of La Vendée, the heroic Henry de La Roche-Jacquelin, was killed by a soldier whose life he had spared: his death completed the subjection of the country by the republicans, and a system of extermination was instantly commenced. Conquered La Vendée was surrounded by General Thureau with sixteen intrenched camps, and twelve moveable columns, known under the name of *the infernal columns*, penetrated into that unfortunate country, carrying sword and fire wherever they went.

The republic triumphed at the same time on the frontiers. That of the North was most strongly threatened: the duke of York besieged Dunkirk with thirty-three thousand men; Freytag, along the Yser, covered the siege with another army, and the prince of Orange commanded fifteen thousand Dutch at Menin. A hundred thousand soldiers of the coalesced army, spread from Quesnoy to the Moselle, either besieged places or guarded passages. It became necessary to prevent the invasion of France by cutting this formidable line, and forcing the English to raise the siege of Dunkirk. Houchard, commandant of the army of the North, suddenly drew near to that place with very inferior forces, after a sanguinary attack upon Menin, and marched at once against the corps of observation of Freytag. At the first shock, Freytag fell back, and his centre recrossed the Yser; then he returned to the charge, in order to disengage his right wing. A second and furious contest ensued, and the enemy retired *en masse* upon the road of Furnes, the head-quarters of the duke of York; they stopped at the village of Hondtschoot, where they occupied a formidable position. Houchard followed them, and the next day an attack was commenced along the front of their whole line. Some thick copses, which covered the enemy, became the central point of the action; at length the positions were carried, the French triumphed, and Freytag retreated in disorder upon Furnes. The raising of the siege of Dunkirk was one of the results of this victory, of which Paris received the news with enthusiasm.

The coalesced armies, however, fell back towards the centre

of their line of operations, and still formed an imposing mass between the Scheld and the Meuse. Valenciennes, Condé, and Quesnoy falling into their hands, gave them an important position on the Scheld, and they were desirous of obtaining one likewise upon the Sambre, to facilitate their advance. The taking of Maubeuge might render them masters, not only of the basin of the Sambre, but also of all the space comprised between that river and the Meuse : they invested that place. The prince of Coburg, commandant-in-chief, divided his army into two bodies ; the one of thirty-five thousand men surrounded Maubeuge, whilst with the other body, of almost equal force, Coburg covered the siege, by occupying the positions of Dourlens and Wattignies. Houchard, the conqueror at Hondtschoot, had just been replaced by Jourdan over the army of the North : Carnot, in concert with this general, directed the operations. An attack upon Wattignies was determined on, and after a vigorous resistance, the village was carried. This fortunate success caused the siege of Maubeuge to be raised, concentrated the coalesced armies between the Scheld and the Sambre, and permitted Jourdan to resume the offensive. Kellermann about the same time drove back the Piedmontese to the other side of the Alps. France lost the lines of Tech, in the Pyrenees, and its army was obliged to fall back from before Perpignan : the lines of Weissemburg were also forced on the east by the Prussians united with the Austrians, under Brunswick and Wurmser ; but the young and intrepid Hoche, at the head of the army of the Moselle, bore down, by a skilful manœuvre, upon the flank of Wurmser, and compelling it to fall back, effected his junction with the army of the Rhine. Brunswick followed the retrograde movement of Wurmser ; from that time the two combined French armies were in a condition to advance, and encamped in the Palatinate. France, in her contest with Europe, had recovered all she had lost except Condé, Valenciennes, and some forts in Roussillon. The allied powers had obtained nothing, and accused each other reciprocally of having caused their defeats.

The glory of France was at this period entirely in its armies, which appeared to rival each other in efforts to efface the opprobrium with which an atrocious government disgraced her in the eyes of Europe. The Committee of Public Safety followed up the course of its pitiless executions. "The sword of the laws," said the execrable Saint Just, whilst

causing it to be decreed that the decemviral power should continue till there was peace,—“the sword of the laws must reach all parts with rapidity, your arm must be present everywhere.” Thus was created that terrible power, which finished by devouring itself. The executive authority was concentrated in the hands of this committee, which disposed of all lives and all fortunes. It was supported by the multitude, which it pampered by cruelties in the name of justice, and which deliberated in the clubs and revolutionary committees. It was composed, after the 31st of May, of none but violent Montagnards. Robespierre, Couthon, Saint Just, Collot d’Herbois, Billaud Varennes, and Barrère, formed a part of it; each of them took upon himself a particular part in the government. Carnot, their colleague, had no active share in the proscriptions; his genius directed the military operations, and was associated with all the victories. Every one of these which the republic gained over its internal enemies, was signalized by horrible massacres: Barrère caused a frightful anathema to be pronounced against the city of Lyons, the name even of which was ordered to be expunged, and be replaced by that of *Commune-Affranchie*. Collot d’Herbois, Fouché, and Couthon, were the pitiless executors of the decrees of the committee against that unfortunate city: the scaffold was too slow for their vengeance, and cannon poured destruction upon the public places and the conquered insurgents.

Toulon, Caen, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, became the theatres of atrocious executions. In Paris, the most illustrious victims and the leaders of all the fallen parties lost their heads upon the scaffold. The queen Marie Antoinette and Bailly died thus within a few days of each other, execrable circumstances adding to the horror of their condemnation and execution. The Girondins, proscribed on the 2nd of June, followed them closely, to the number of twenty-two, and all marched firmly to their death, singing the Marseillaise; the duke of Orleans was not spared; Barnave and Duport Dutertre were immolated, and with them the generals Houchard, Custine, Biron, Beauharnais, and a number of others; Pétion and Buzot destroyed themselves: their bodies were found half-devoured by wolves; Madame Roland died upon the scaffold: upon learning the news of her execution, her husband killed himself on the high-road. All the fugitive Girondins were outlawed. Two hundred thousand suspected persons were incarcerated; blood

flowed in all the cities ; châteaux, convents, and churches were destroyed ; monuments of art were overthrown ; the land wanted arms to cultivate it, and famine was added to the calamities which devoured France. Public credit was annihilated, all expenses were provided for by the sale of the property of the proscribed, and by despotic measures, commanded, perhaps, by necessity, and sustained by terror. Wishing to consecrate an unheard-of revolution by a new era, the division of the year was changed, together with the names of the months and days, and the Christian calendar was replaced by the Republican calendar. The new era dated from the 22nd of September, 1792, the epoch of the foundation of the republic. There were twelve equal months of thirty days each : *Vendémiaire*, *Brumaire*, *Frimaire*, for the autumn ; *Nivôse*, *Pluviôse*, *Ventôse*, for the winter ; *Germinal*, *Floréal*, *Prairial*, for the spring ; and *Messidor*, *Thermidor*, and *Fructidor*, for the summer. The five complementary days of the year received the name of *sans-culottides*, and were consecrated to *Genius*, to *Labour*, to *Actions*, to *Rewards*, and to *Opinion*. This was not enough for the Commune of Paris : directed by the infamous Chaumette, his substitute Hébert, Ronsin, general of the revolutionary army, and the atheist Anacharsis Clootz, it obliged the constitutional bishop of Paris and his vicar to abjure Christianity at the bar of the Convention, caused the worship of *Reason* to be decreed, and instituted festivals, which became scandalous scenes of debauchery and atheism : it was not till it had attained the last term of crime and folly, that the revolutionary movement of the Commune was stopped. When it had arrived at this point of madness, the Committee of Public Safety declared itself inimical to it, and Robespierre made the Convention interdict every measure contrary to freedom of worship.

Danton and his friends, Camille Desmoulins, Philippeaux, Lacroix, Fabre d'Eglantine and Westermann, demanded still more ; they wished to re-establish legal order, and with this view they were desirous of stopping the action of the revolutionary tribunal, of emptying the prisons, that were filled with the suspected, and of dissolving the committees. Camille Desmoulins edited, with this object, under the name of *Vieux Cordelier*, a strong journal against the despotism of the dictators. Robespierre was the most formidable of these ; Camille and his friends wished to gain him ; but Robespierre artfully affected neutrality between the parties, and meditated the

destruction of their leaders, one after the other. His colleagues in the Committee of Public Safety were furious against Camille and the Dantonists; he gave these up to them, and obtained in return promises of the heads of D'Hébert, Cloutz, Chaumette, Ronsin, and the principal anarchists of the Commune. This compact being concluded, he ascended the tribune, and denounced to the Convention, as enemies of the republic, the ultra-revolutionists on the one part, and the Dantonists, whom he designated *Moderates*, on the other. Saint Just spoke to the same purpose; he thundered against those whom he named the enemies of virtue and terror, and caused the most boundless powers to be confided to the government, in order to punish them. The anarchists of the Commune, Hébert, Cloutz, Ronsin, and their accomplices, were the first that were seized and condemned; most of them died like cowards; the revolutionary army was broken up, and the Convention obliged the Commune to come and render thanks at its bar, for the acts even which annulled its own power. The turn of the Dantonists was then come: famous representatives of the old Montagne, their names, particularly that of their leader, appeared still all-powerful. When warned of the projected attacks of his enemies, Danton answered, as the duke of Guise of old did: "*They would not dare,*" but the committee reckoned with reason upon the terror of the Assembly: the Dantonists were arrested on the 10th Germinal; Robespierre prevented their being heard in the Assembly: "We shall this day see," said he, "if the Convention can destroy a pretended idol, an idol long since rotten; and whether this idol, in its fall, will crush the Convention and the French people." Saint Just read the report against the parties attacked, and the Assembly, stupefied by terror, decreed their accusation. When brought before the revolutionary tribunal, they evinced the greatest courage, together with a strong contempt for their judges: they were condemned. "We are immolated," cried Danton, "to the ambition of a few base brigands; but they will not enjoy their victory long . . . I drag on Robespierre . . . Robespierre follows me." They met death with firmness, amidst an immense but silent crowd: for long after that time no voice was raised against the decemvirs, and the Convention decreed that *terror and all the virtues* were the order of the day.

During four months, the power of the committees was exercised without restraint, and death became the only means of

government. Conspiracies in prisons were invented, and the envoys from the Committee of Public Safety replaced those of the Montagne in the departments. It was after this change that the proconsuls Carrier in the city of Nantes, Joseph Lebon in that of Arras, and Maignet at Orange, signalized themselves by unheard-of cruelties. At Orleans, the principal inhabitants were slaughtered; at Verdun, seventeen young girls, accused of having danced at a ball given by the Prussians, met with death on the same day on the scaffold; at Paris, among the most illustrious victims of this awful period, we may name the octogenary marshals De Noailles and De Maillé, the ministers Machaud and Laverdi, the learned Lavoisier, the venerable Lamoignon de Malesherbes and his family, D'Esprémesnil, Thouret, and Chapelier, all three members of the Constituent Assembly, and the angelic Madame Elizabeth, whose blood was called for by Billaud Varennes: "It is only the dead that do not return," said Barrère. "The more the social body transpires," repeated Collot d'Herbois, "the more healthy it becomes." By this infernal system, Robespierre and the fanatical Saint Just announced their wish to establish the reign of virtue; they associated with them the paralytic and pitiless Couthon, and together formed, in the bosom of the committee even, a redoubtable triumvirate, which, by isolating itself, brought on its ruin; but, before they separated, the decemvirs attempted to lay the foundations of new manners and new institutions. Robespierre, who reigned by murder, felt, nevertheless, that the social order, under pain of dissolution, must repose upon a religious basis; he had consequently caused the Convention to decree that the French people should acknowledge the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, and he afterwards dedicated decadary festivals to the *Supreme Being, to Truth, to Justice, to Modesty, to Friendship, to Frugality, to Good Faith, and to Misfortune*. Considered by his fanatical admirers as the principal founder of a moral democracy, and as the new pontiff of the Eternal, he attained the highest degree of power. President of the Convention, he marched at its head, alone and at twenty paces in advance of it; he was the object of general attention; his countenance beaming with joy and pride, he bore in his hands flowers and ears of corn, and proceeded thus towards the altar, where he harangued the people in the character of high priest. After this a milder government was hoped for; but he terminated his discourse with these words: "People, let us to-day give ourselves up

to the transports of a pure joy ; to-morrow we will again contend with vices and tyrants." The executions were resumed, and on the morrow, the 21st Prairial, Robespierre caused an execrable project of a law to be presented by Couthon, the sanguinary dispositions of which were, in case of need, applicable to all Frenchmen. This project denied defenders to the accused, ordered them to be tried *en masse*, and gave juries no other guide or rule but their own consciences : it was adopted. Fouquier Tainville, the public accuser, and the judges, his accomplices, members of the revolutionary tribunal, were scarcely sufficient to try the proscribed ; fifty victims per day were at Paris dragged to execution ; the scaffold was transported to the faubourg St. Antoine, and an aqueduct was constructed to receive and carry off the human blood.

The immortal campaign of 1794 commenced whilst this execrable system was being carried on. The northern frontier was still, as it had been in the preceding year, the great theatre of war. The French occupied, as principal positions, Lille, Guise, and Maubeuge : Pichegru commanded them, Jourdan having quitted the command in chief of the army of the North, for that of the Moselle. The prince of Coburg, the head of the allies, commenced operations by the blockade of Landrecy, with a mass of about a hundred thousand men ; the English, under the duke of York, covered the blockade towards Cambray, and Coburg himself, with a numerous body, established himself as a post of observation on the side of Guise, whilst the Austrian general Clairfait extended his forces towards Menin and Courtray. Such were the positions of the two armies, when the invasion of Flanders by the left wing of the French army was determined on. The generals Souham and Moreau marched quickly from Lille upon the right wing of the enemy, and gained the first victory at Moncroën over Clairfait. Jourdan then received orders to detach forty-five thousand men from the army of Moselle, and to come by forced marches towards the Sambre and the Meuse, to crush the left of the allies : this plan secured the success of the campaign. In vain the allies endeavoured, by a bold march upon Turcoing, between Lille and Courtray, to divide the French army ; General Souham gained a complete victory over the duke of York at Turcoing. The enemy rallied before Tournay ; they checked the victorious French army, and Landrecy succumbed ; but Jourdan arrived with the army of the Moselle ; he joined the army of the North, and

ninety thousand men took up the offensive with success : the victory of Turcoing presaged others, and the two French wings threatened to envelop the enemy. Pichegru pushed forward upon the left of the Austrians and besieged Ypres ; drawing on Clairfait, designedly, to the succour of the city, he conquered him at Hooglède, whilst Jourdan invested Charleroi, and already occupied the banks of the Sambre. The prince of Orange, and then Coburg, marched to the deliverance of this important place. Jourdan, although repulsed several times, crossed the river again, and got possession of the heights which border the plains of Fleurus, already glorious for France under Louis XIV. A fresh battle was fought there on the 16th of June, 1794. The two armies were nearly equal in numbers, and eighty thousand men on each side took part in the action. Charleroi had just fallen into the hands of the French ; the allies were ignorant of this reverse, and the combined forces of the prince of Orange and Coburg attacked Jourdan, with the view of delivering the place. Kleber, Championnet, Lefebvre, and Marceau, commanded the French divisions ; Kleber by a vigorous charge, repulsed the right of the allies, whilst Jourdan compelled the centre and the left to give ground. The allies, already shaken, learnt at length that Charleroi, which they came to defend, had yielded ; they hesitated, fell back, and the victory was gained by the French. Coburg commanded a retreat, and decided upon concentrating all his forces near Brussels, in order to cover that capital. Pichegru did not allow him time ; he advanced rapidly, and Brussels was soon occupied by the army of the North under his orders, and by that of Jourdan, which received the name of the army of the Sambre and Meuse. The allies, dispersed, fell back towards the Meuse and the Rhine ; France recovered all the places it had lost, and made new conquests. Never had the French armies in Flanders been more numerous or more worthy of admiration. Pichegru commanded seventy thousand men present under arms, Jourdan a hundred and sixteen thousand. The government, exhausted by so many and such great efforts, was unable to provide for the support or the equipment of the armies ; but the soldiers learned to do without things apparently the most necessary ; they no longer encamped under tents, they bivouacked under the branches of trees : the officers, without appointments, lived as the soldier did, ate the same bread, marched on foot as he did, with their knapsacks at their backs: enthusiasm sustained these immortal armies.

Pichegru pursued his march towards the embouchure of

the Scheld and the Meuse, driving the duke of York and the English towards the sea, whilst Jourdan occupied the Meuse from Liége to Maestricht, in front of Clairfait and the Austrians. It was necessary for him to cross this river, in order to gain the bank of the Rhine; and, to succeed, he must force the lines of the Ourthe and the Roër, tributaries of the Meuse. Jourdan fought successively two battles upon these two rivers; he gained two victories, pursued Clairfait to the Rhine, got possession of Cologne, and besieged Maestricht. The army of the North also gained the bank of this river; Bois-le-Duc and Wenloo had succumbed before it. The duke of York, unskilful and unfortunate in all his operations, evacuated the ground comprised between the Meuse and the Wahal, one of the branches of the Rhine, and fell back towards Nimeguen on the Wahal, whither Pichegru soon followed him; on the 8th of November, this important place fell into the hands of the French. This last and brilliant success terminated the campaign in the north; the army entered into its cantonments: the approach of winter and the overflowing of the waters caused the invasion of Holland to be adjourned till the spring. The counterpart of these fortunate events was experienced by the armies of the Moselle and the Upper Rhine, commanded by General Michaud. The Prussians, being no longer supported by the Austrians on the north, did not venture to stand against them in the Vosges: they repassed the Rhine, and no place on the left bank of the river but Luxembourg and Mayence remained in the hands of the allies, of which the Committee of Safety ordered the immediate blockade. The French arms triumphed at the same time in the north, the east, and the south: Dugommier and Moncey quickly repaired the early reverses on the frontiers of Spain: they drove the Spaniards out of France, and penetrated into the Peninsula, where Moncey took possession of Saint Sebastian and Fontarabia.

Such was the prosperity of the republic on its frontiers, when, weary and disgusted with the atrocities which stained its home government, a certain number of Montagnards resolved to put an end to them and to avenge Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and their slaughtered friends; at their head were Tallien, Bourdon de l'Oise, and Legendre: their supporters in the Committee of Public Safety were Billaud Varennes and Collot d'Herbois, both jealous of the authority of the triumvirs; and in that of General Safety, Vadier, Voulant, and Amar, all belonging to the overthrown faction

of the Commune. Robespierre, irritated by their secret but persevering resistance, endeavoured to overcome them and sacrifice them ; they being quite aware that it was necessary to prevent his designs upon them, if they meant to avoid being his victims. They first accused him of tyranny in the committees, and designated him under the name of Pisistratus ; then they reproached him with the intention of making himself pass for a messenger from God, by favouring mysterious assemblies held by the ancient chartreux Dom Guerle and a ridiculous fanatic, named Catherine Théot, whom they doomed to death in spite of his efforts. Robespierre, from that time, rarely appeared in the committees, and established the centre of his empire at the Jacobins : it was thence he denounced those whom he called Dantonists. All-powerful in the club, master of the populace, supported by the mayor Fleuriot, by Henriot, commandant of the armed force, and by the revolutionary tribunal, all the members of which were his creatures, he fancied himself strong enough to undertake the attack, in the bosom even of the Convention, and, on the 8th Thermidor, he there denounced the committee : he was listened to in silence, for the first time he met with a check ; his speech was referred for examination to the very committees he accused. He repaired, in the evening, to the Jacobins, where he gave vent to his anger ; he was received with enthusiasm, and everything was, during the night, prepared for an insurrection, whilst a league was formed among the Conventionals, between the Dantonists, the Droite, and the Marais. The sitting of the 9th Thermidor was opened under threatening auspices : Saint Just ascended the tribune, Robespierre was seated opposite to him ; Tallien and Billaud interrupted Saint Just, and commenced the attack ; Robespierre sprang forward to reply to them : "*Down with the tyrant ! down with the tyrant !*" resounded from all sides. Tallien shook a poniard at him, and threatened to pierce the heart of him whom he styled the *new Cromwell* with it ; he obtained the arrest of Henriot and the permanence of the Assembly. Barrère placed it under the protection of the armed sections. "Now, let us give our attention to the tyrant," resumed Tallien ; a thousand menacing cries prevented Robespierre from being heard ; he at length made an extraordinary effort, and shrieked out : "President of the assassins, for the last time will you allow me to speak ?" They would not hear him ; he raved like a madman, flew about upon the benches of the Assembly,

addressing in a supplicating tone the members of the Droite, who spurned him with horror ; at length he sank down in his seat again, exhausted with fatigue, and his mouth foaming. "Wretch," cried a member, "the blood of Danton stifles you !" His arrest was immediately proposed : his brother and Lebas requested to share his fate : the Assembly unanimously agreed that they, with Robespierre, Couthon, and Saint Just, should be seized and given up to the gendarmes. "The republic is lost," cried Robespierre ; "the brigands triumph !"

The victory, however, remained undecided ; the Jacobins also had placed themselves in permanence, swearing to die, as they said, rather than live under crime. The municipal deputies assembled ; Henriot rushed through the streets, sword in hand, crying : "*To arms ! to arms !*" but he was arrested, together with Payan, the national agent, and loaded with irons. During the day, the Convention triumphed, and in the evening the insurgents recovered the advantage : they marched in a body to the prisons, and delivered Robespierre, Henriot, and their accomplices : Henriot immediately surrounded the Convention with soldiers, and pointed his cannon upon it : terror prevailed in the Assembly, but the imminence of the peril inspired it with energetic resolution : Henriot was outlawed, and his cannoneers refusing to fire, fell back with him towards the Hôtel de Ville : this refusal decided the affair. The Convention, in its turn, assumed the offensive ; it attacked the Commune and outlawed the rebel members. Barras was named commandant-in-chief of the armed force, the battalions of the sections swore to defend the Assembly, and defiled in the midst of it, animated by Fréron. "Go," said the president to them, "let not the day appear before the head of the conspirators shall have fallen." It was midnight : they marched towards the Commune, where Robespierre, though seated in triumph, shrunk into himself, motionless and paralyzed with terror. The proclamation of the Assembly, which *outlawed the Commune*, was read upon the Place de Grève : the groups immediately dispersed, and the Place was deserted. The Hôtel de Ville was surrounded, to the cries of *Vive la Convention !* The proscribed were seized with despair and rage : Robespierre fractured his jaw with a pistol-shot, Lebas killed himself, the younger Robespierre threw himself from a third story, but survived the fall ; Couthon stabbed himself with an unsteady hand ; Coffinhal loaded Henriot with imprecations, and

threw him out of a window into a common sewer: the conquerors then came up and seized their prisoners, who, on the morrow, were consigned to punishment. An immense crowd pressed round the cart in which Robespierre, with his head enveloped in a bloody cloth, was placed between Henriot and Couthon, both likewise mutilated. The people felicitated each other, they embraced before his eyes, they cursed him, and at the moment his head fell beneath the knife, long salvoes of applause were ringing in his ears. France breathed again: the Reign of Terror was over.

CHAPTER III.

From the fall of Robespierre to the establishment of the Executive Directory. 27th July, 1794 (9th Thermidor, an 3)—26th October, 1795 (4th Brumaire, an 4).

THE revolutionary movement arrived at its term on the 9th Thermidor, and that of the reaction commenced the same day. The committees conquered themselves whilst subduing Robespierre. Two fresh parties were formed: that of the Committees, and that of the Montagnards, who had contributed with Tallien to the victory of Thermidor, and which, receiving their name from it, were called *Thermidorians*. The first party depended upon the club of the Jacobins and the faubourgs; the second, upon the majority of the Convention and the armed sections.

A great number of prisoners were liberated in the days which immediately followed the 9th Thermidor: seventy-two members of the insurgent Commune perished on the scaffold; the members of the revolutionary tribunal were renewed, and the powers of the committees were diminished; the odious law of the 22nd Prairial was abolished; there was no longer more than one assembly of sections in a decade; the indemnity of forty sous per day, given to the poor citizens who assisted at it, was suppressed, and the affiliation of the mother society of the Jacobins of Paris with all those of the republic was forbidden. Fréron, at the same time, in his journal of *L'Orateur du Peuple*, summoned all the young men to arms against the Terrorists. His appeal was heard: a crowd of young men belonging to the richer and middle class, and to whom was given the name of *la jeunesse dorée*, perambulated the streets in numerous groups, armed with leaded sticks, and carried on a constant and inveterate war

against the Jacobins. This club was attacked and its members taken, after a very warm resistance; the young men closed the doors of it, and the whole of Paris was but one battle-field. The Convention seconded all these reactionary proceedings; it decreed the accusation of the atrocious Fouquier Tainville, the public accuser, as well as of Joseph Lebon and Carrier, who had fulfilled their mission, the one at Arras, the other at Nantes, like exterminating demons. They all paid for their crimes with their heads, and their atrocities, publicly unveiled, added still more to the horror which their ancient accomplices inspired. The Convention recalled into its bosom seventy-three deputies proscribed for having protested against the events of the 31st of May; it revoked the decrees of expulsion against priests and nobles, worship was re-established, the *maximum** was suppressed, and the bust of Marat was broken to pieces in the hall of the sittings. But other calamities were produced by this rapid reaction; eight milliards of assignats had been placed in circulation, and when there were no longer any violent laws to support them, they fell, all at once, to less than a fifteenth part of their original value; the metal currency disappeared; and this prodigious fall gave birth to a licentious stock-jobbing, which brought on the ruin of a multitude of families. Monopoly succeeded the terrible law of the *maximum*, and the farmers revenged themselves for their long and cruel oppression by monopolizing and engrossing provisions: famine appeared, the populace of the faubourgs regretted the government which gave them bread and power, and again had recourse to riots.

Several of the most famous terrorists, Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrère, and Vadier, had been condemned to deportation, and taken to Ham, with seventeen members of the *Crête*, who had shown themselves most favourable to a first insurrection got up to save them: a second insurrection had no greater success, on the 12th Germinal; but, at length, a third was organized, on the 1st Prairial, upon a formidable plan. The conspirators that day decreed, among other measures, *in the name of the people revolted to obtain bread and resume their rights*, the establishment of the democratic constitution of '93, the liberation of the patriots, and the suspension of all authority that did not emanate from

* The maximum was in some respects like the English assize upon bread: it fixed prices, above which provisions or merchandise could not be sold.—*Trans.*

the people. They decided upon creating a new municipality to serve them as a common centre, upon gaining possession of the barriers, the telegraph, and the tocsin, and upon not being satisfied till they had secured the subsistence, the repose, and the happiness of all Frenchmen. They invited all the troops to join their ranks, and marched rapidly upon the Convention, which, taken by surprise, hastened to call the sections to arms. The doors were driven in, and the multitude, with groups of furious women, surrounded the tribunes, crying, "*Bread and the constitution of '93!*" The interior of the assembly-chamber soon became a field of battle; the deputy Auguis, sabre in hand, at the head of the veterans and gendarmes, at first repulsed the assailants; but they returned in quick time to the charge; a ruffian was taking aim at the president Boissy d'Anglas, the deputy Feraud sprang forward and covered him with his body; he was himself wounded, dragged away by the crowd, and decapitated. Most of the Conventional deputies took to flight; Boissy d'Anglas remained in his chair, calm and with his head covered; he protested against these popular violences; the furious insurgents surrounded him, and, with their weapons at his breast, insisted upon his putting their propositions to the vote; he refused; they presented to him the bloody head of Feraud, on a pike; he uncovered, and bowed towards it, but he still persisted in his courageous refusal. The deputies of the *Crête*, favourable to the insurrection, terminated this terrible scene by gaining possession of the tribunes, and decreeing alone, amidst the applause of the multitude, the articles contained in the manifesto of the insurgents. But the battalions of the sections arrived, they carried the Carrousel, and entered the hall of the sittings with advanced bayonets; the people retreated before them, the members returned in a body; the Convention annulled the measures adopted during the tumult, and ordered fourteen of its members, favourable to the riot, to be arrested. The next day, the faubourgs in arms attempted a fresh but useless attack, and at length, on the 4th Prairial, at the end of a last movement, which had for aim the deliverance of the assassin of the deputy Feraud, the faubourgs were surrounded and disarmed, the Convention destroyed the revolutionary committees, and abolished the constitution of 1793. Thus ended the government of the multitude, and after that time the Girondin party prevailed in the Assembly.

The reaction which commenced in Thermidor did not at

all check the success of the French armies, whose courage was seconded by a severe winter. In the last days of 1794, the cold became excessive, and the ice rendered the passage across the Meuse and the Wahal, which had been defensive barriers for the allied armies, practicable at several points. The French soldiers had scarcely been a month in their winter cantonments : destitute of clothes and shoes, worn by the fatigues of so many brilliant feats of arms, they had never stood in greater need of repose, and yet, at the sight of the rivers enchained and hardened by the ice, their ardour, excited by the consternation of their enemy as well as by the wishes of the Batavian patriots, knew no obstacles. Pichegru led them on : they penetrated into Holland at several points. York and his army retreated in confusion upon Derventer ; the prince of Orange, struck with stupor, remained motionless at Gorcum ; the patriots, enemies of the stadtholder, seconded the efforts of the French, and in a short time the whole of Holland was conquered. The stadtholder took refuge in England, and the States-General governed the republic, which associated itself very closely with France. Prussia, terrified, made peace at Bâle ; and Spain, where the French were masters of a great number of places, soon followed the example of that power, by signing a treaty, the principal condition of which was the exchange of the French conquests in the Peninsula for the Spanish portion of St. Domingo.

France was less fortunate this year on the eastern frontier. Pichegru had quitted the command of the army of the North to take that of the army of the Rhine ; he occupied the left bank of that river, from Mayence to Strasbourg ; Jourdan, with the army of the Sambre and Meuse, was cantoned upon the Rhine, towards Cologne. The allies had lost all the left bank except Luxembourg and Mayence. The first of these places was taken by famine on the 24th of June, and from that time the French might think of crossing the river, the right bank of which was defended by the Austrians, under Clairfait and Wurmsér. But the French armies, destitute of necessaries, wanted material for bridges : they were obliged to wait several months ; and at length, on the 6th of September, Jourdan effected a passage on three points, in the environs of Dusseldorf ; Pichegru crossed the river, almost at the same time, opposite the strong place of Mannheim, which very shortly surrendered. The two armies, by combining their manœuvres and uniting in the valley of the

Maine, might have repulsed Clairfait and Wurmser, and have beaten them both successively ; but this plan was not followed. Pichegru had an understanding with the prince de Condé, chief of the emigrants : he already meditated betraying the republic, and compromised his army and that of Jourdan by the weakness of his manœuvres : he gave Clairfait time to come down upon him with superior forces, allowed himself to be shamefully beaten at Heidelberg, and shut himself up in Mannheim. Clairfait then turned his attention towards Jourdan, who, separated from Pichegru, inclosed between the Rhine and the neutral ground of Prussia, and in want of provisions, was obliged to retreat and recross the river. Thirty thousand French continued to invest Mayence ; Clairfait, by a bold and skilful manœuvre, forced their line, and drove back their armies to the foot of the Vosges, on the left bank of the Rhine. The places of Mannheim, Dusseldorf, and Neuwied were all that were left to the French on the right bank. An armistice followed this reverse, and the troops went into cantonments.

Brilliant successes in Piedmont balanced the check the French arms experienced on the Rhine. The important treaty concluded with Spain had permitted the two armies of the Pyrenees to unite with that of the maritime Alps, commanded by Kellermann. The junction of these forces authorized their assuming the offensive : the object was, by a brilliant victory, to force the passages of the Apennines and to constrain Piedmont to be neutral. Kellermann was replaced by Scherer, whose army, inclosed between the sea and the chain of the Apennines, had the Piedmontese army under Colli, and the Austrian army in front of it. The latter extended from the crest of the Apennine to the basin of Loano, and to the sea ; the former occupied the other side of the mountains, towards the Po, strongly intrenched in the camp of La Ceva. Scherer attempted a bold stroke : Massena, by his orders, crossed the crest of the Apennine, and separated the two armies of the enemy, whilst Serrurier deceived Colli by a false attack, and Augereau drove back the Austrians to the basin of Loano. A complete victory was the fruit of this skilful manœuvre ; the enemies were forced and put to flight, a tempest of wind and snow covered their precipitate retreat ; twenty pieces of cannon and immense magazines fell into the hands of the conquerors, and Italy was open to the French.

The arms of the republic were not less fortunate in La Vendée, where a misunderstanding between the two principal

leaders, Charette and Stofflet, weakened the forces of the insurgents. The marquis de Puisaye, who conducted the intrigues of the royalists in Brittany, demanded assistance from England, and obtained it; Admiral Bridport set sail with the two first divisions of emigrants, commanded, the one by the count d'Hervilly, the other by M. de Sombreuil; a third division followed, under the orders of the count d'Artois. An engagement took place off Belle Isle, between the fleet of Admiral Bridport and that of the republican admiral Villaret Joyeuse: Bridport, being conqueror, effected the landing of the two first divisions in the bay of Quiberon, one of which immediately took possession of Fort Penhièvre, which dominates the narrow peninsula of Quiberon, upon which they disembarked. The emigrants marched at once against the republican army, in the absence of Hoche, who commanded it. At the news of this sudden attack, he hastened to the spot, repulsed the royalists, and swept them down with his cannon: Sombreuil arrived too late with his division to be of service in the unequal contest: a tempest drove the fleet off the coast, and rendered retreat impossible; the republicans regained Fort Penhièvre, and it being night, a frightful massacre was commenced; D'Hervilly was killed, and Sombreuil and eight hundred of his followers capitulated with Hoche, after an heroic resistance. But the representative Tallien arrived on the field of battle and assumed the whole authority; he recognised no capitulation: the conquered emigrants were thrown into prison, and afterwards tried by martial law and shot. With them perished the better part of the ancient marine of France.

England made a fresh attempt to support the civil war in the west: an English fleet brought thither a French prince, the count d'Artois, and several regiments. At the voice of the intrepid Charette, the whole sea-board of Brittany flew to arms, in expectation of the landing of the prince; and this great movement might have changed the face of the war in that country. But, after a sojourn of some weeks at L'Isle de Dieu, the count d'Artois returned into England without touching the continent, and from that time all the fruit looked for from this expedition was lost. The English fleet, kept off by contrary winds, rendered no service to the Chouans, and Charette, who, by sacrificing everything to secure the landing, had drawn down upon himself all the republican forces, expressed loudly his just resentment against those who had abandoned him.

Thus then, with the exception of the check which its army had encountered in the east, the republic had met with nothing but success in the course of the year 1795. It had conquered all Holland in the north, and the passage of the Apennines in the south, which was the gate to Italy ; the hopes which Brittany and La Vendée had founded upon England had all been dissipated at Quiberon ; three powers, Prussia, Holland, and Spain, had laid down their arms. Abroad, the cause of the emigrants appeared to be lost, and all their hopes were directed towards the reactionary movement of the interior : this movement, at first directed by moderate republicans, soon became royalist, and entered the lists against the violence of the revolutionary principle. Too many crimes had been committed in the name of the Convention for this assembly, in spite of its late acts, not to have excited profound resentments, and not to be an object of indignation and hatred to a crowd of generous minds. The journalists formed a redoubtable confederation against it, the principal organs of which were Charles de Lacretelle, La Harpe, Richer de Sérisy, and Tronçon de Coudray. The *jeunesse dorée* abandoned the Convention, and the citizen class manifested equally hostile dispositions : parties assembled on the boulevards to the song of *le Réveil du Peuple*, the Jacobins were pursued with bitterness, to the cries of "*Haro sur les terroristes !**" and great excesses were committed. The Convention set bounds to these vengeance in the capital ; but in the provinces it had not the power to prevent them. In the south particularly, the reactionary party indulged in frightful violences : companies of *Jesus* and of *the Sun* were formed, and exercised terrible reprisals : the prisons were filled with men accused of having taken an active part in the Reign of Terror ; at Lyons, Aix, Tarascon, and Marseilles, they were slaughtered without mercy. This reactionary disposition of the public mind produced serious commotions, which placed the Convention in peril in the interior, even whilst it was triumphant on the frontiers. Emigration losing all hopes of overthrowing it by force of arms, had recourse to the sections of Paris, and attempted to bring about a counter-revolution by means of the new constitution of the year III.

This constitution was the best of those that had been established or projected since 1789. It placed the legislative power in two councils, that of the *Five Hundred*, and that of

* To cry *Haro* against any one is to exclaim with indignation against his words or deeds.—*Trans.*

the *Ancients* ; and the executive power, in a *Directory* of five members. It re-established the two degrees of election, and fixed certain conditions of property, as qualifying persons to become members of the primary assemblies or of the electoral assemblies. The initiative, in the presentation of projects of law and their discussion, belonged to the council of Five Hundred ; their admission or rejection was decided by the council of the *Ancients* ; the first was composed of five hundred members, at least thirty years of age ; and the second of two hundred and fifty, who had completed their fortieth year : the latter named the *five directors*, upon the presentation of the council of Five Hundred. Each of the directors was president during three months, and had then the signature and the seals ; every year the Directory was renewed by a fifth ; it had a guard appointed, and the palace of the Luxembourg for a residence. The frightful remembrances of the Reign of Terror, which inflamed the reactionary opinion of the middle class, and placed the Convention in the necessity of defending itself, became fatal to the new constitution, which perished, in particular, by the hatred and horror of which its authors were the object. These were quite aware of what would be the danger of their position, if the choice of the new councils were dictated by the prevailing opinion ; and in order to assure themselves the majority and the nomination of the directors, they decided, by the decrees of the 5th and 15th Fructidor, that two-thirds of the members of the Convention should be re-elected. These decrees, as well as the constitutional act, were submitted to the primary assemblies, and adopted by the departments : Paris, under the direct influence of the journalists, accepted the new constitution, and rejected the decrees, the adoption of which by the majority of the primary assemblies of the republic was proclaimed on the 1st of Vendémiaire. This was the signal for an alarming agitation ; the journalists and the royalist leaders of the sections were quickly in action, and cried *tyranny* ! The armed citizens named electors, and swore to defend them to the death : the latter assembled on the 11th Vendémiaire. The Convention, justly alarmed, voted itself in permanence ; it called around it the camp of the Sablons, armed eighteen hundred patriots, and annulled the college of electors. The section Lepelletier was the first to protest against these measures, and animated the others by threatening them with the return of terror. A first attack of the Conventionals was badly conducted by

General Menou, and the insurgents believed themselves conquerors : forty thousand citizens were soon under arms, and ready to march against the Convention. This body named Barras commandant-in-chief, and Barras demanded and obtained as a second a young general who had particularly distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon. This was Napoleon Bonaparte : it was he who, in Vendémiaire, prepared everything for the defence of the Convention. He extended his line of defence from the Pont Louis XV. to the Pont Neuf, directing cannon upon all the principal points of attack. The insurgents advanced in several columns, commanded by the generals Danican and Duhoux, and the ex-garde du corps Lafon. General Danican, introduced as delegate to the Assembly, summoned the Convention to withdraw its troops and to disarm the *Terrorists*. This demand was still being deliberated upon when the report of musketry and cannon was heard : all discussion was at an end ; seven hundred muskets were brought, and the Conventionals armed themselves as a body of reserve. The most murderous action took place on the Pont Royal and in the Rue St. Honoré ; the artillery, upon these two points, poured its thunders upon the insurgents and put them to flight ; at seven o'clock in the evening, the Conventional troops assumed the offensive ; they were everywhere victorious ; on the morrow they disarmed the Lepelletier section, and reduced the others to order.

Such was the battle of the 13th Vendémiaire, the whole success of which is to be attributed to Bonaparte. This victory permitted the Convention to employ itself immediately with the formation of a council, two-thirds of which it drew from its own body ; the first third, freely elected, had been named by reactionary opinion. The members of the Directory were then chosen, and the Conventionals thought, for the interests of the revolutionary cause and for their own security, it would only be safe to place regicides at the head of the government. They named Réveillère Lepeaux, Sieyès, Rewbel, Le Tourneur, and Barras, directors : Sieyès declined serving, and Carnot was elected in his place. Soon afterwards the Convention declared its session terminated : it had had three years of existence, from the 21st of September, 1792, to the 26th of October, 1795 (4th Brumaire, an 4). Its reign is the most bloody and most tyrannical of all that have stained the annals of France. It is in vain for men who seek to justify this Assembly to allege in its favour the dangers of the country and the imperative

necessity of the moment : when it opened its sittings, the campaign of L'Argonne and the cannonade of Valmy had saved the revolution, the Prussians were flying, and the French arms were victorious upon all the frontiers : the battle of Jemmapes preceded the 21st of January by two months. If we are compelled to confess that the Convention triumphed over innumerable enemies, it must also be admitted that it armed the greater part of them against itself ; and if it was obliged to have recourse to terror in order to subdue them, it was because the acts that it tolerated, or of which it permitted the execution, had paralyzed the enthusiasm of the citizens for its cause, had raised general indignation, and compromised the Revolution itself. One single trait will complete the character of its reign : the Convention boasted of having established the Republic of France in a durable manner, and forty years after the destruction of its work, it is still the remembrance it has left behind, it is its bloody image that is the most firm support of constitutional monarchy, and one of the most invincible obstacles to the re-establishment of the republic, and to the wishes that tend to recall the government which the Convention itself aspired to found.

CHAPTER IV.

From the establishment of the Executive Directory to the peace of Campo Formio. 27th October, 1795 (4th Brumaire, an 4)—17th October, 1797 (26th Vendémiaire, an 6).

THE directors were all, with the exception of Carnot, of a very moderate capacity ; but they possessed the resolution and courage necessary for their difficult situation. At that period there was no element of order and government in the republic ; anarchy and trouble prevailed everywhere ; famine prolonged its ravages ; the armies wanted clothes, provisions, and horses ; the Convention had consumed an immense capital represented by assignats, and had sold nearly half the territory of the republic, belonging to the proscribed, in order to provide for the support of the troops and the people : the paper money, fallen to the lowest degree of discredit, after the prodigious issue of thirty-eight milliards, destroyed all confidence and all trade : the treasury was empty ; couriers were frequently prevented from setting out for want of money ; indeed, such was the general penury, that, when the

directors entered the palace which had been assigned them as a dwelling, there was not one piece of furniture in it ; they borrowed of the *concierge* four rush chairs and a rickety table, upon which, after having seriously considered the extreme difficulties of their situation, they drew up the act by which they declared themselves constituted.

Their first care was to establish their power, and they succeeded by following at once with frankness the constitutional way. In a short time labour and trade revived ; the circulation of food was secured ; the clubs were abandoned for the workshops and the fields, and the people began to be sensible of the advantages of the abolition of privileges and the division of property. The Directory seconded the return towards agriculture, manufactures, and the arts, with all its power ; it re-established public expositions, created the National Institute, and the primary, central, and normal schools. One of its members, Le Réveillère Lepeaux, charged with the moral part of the government, wished to found the deistical worship, under the name of *theophilanthropy* ; but his efforts formed food for ridicule, and proved powerless. Licentiousness of morals distinguished this period : the rich classes, so long under the dominion of terror, abandoned themselves to pleasure without any restraint, and a boundless luxury appeared all at once in balls, festivities, costumes, and equipages. The voluptuous Barras was the first to favour this dangerous reaction ; charged with the representation of the Directory, his palace was the rendezvous of the most corrupt and frivolous society. The rich, however, were the victims, under the Directory, of violent and extortionary measures : the wants of the republic were so vast and so imperative, that, in order to provide for them, the government had recourse to a *forced loan* ; it afterwards created *territorial mandates*, which were to be employed in redeeming the assignats in circulation, at the rate of thirty for one, or about three per cent., and to serve instead of a metallic currency : they had the advantage of being exchangeable, when desired, for the national domains which represented them, and furnished the state a momentary resource ; then they fell into discredit, and their fall led to the prodigious bankruptcy of thirty-three milliards.*

The war in the west was only maintained by a few chiefs, the principal of whom, Charette and Stofflet, were much

* £1,375,000,000 sterling! Thirteen hundred and seventy-five millions.—*Trans.*

weakened by their divisions. Hoche displayed great ability in this new campaign ; he changed the system, separating the royalist cause from the religious cause : by this means he neutralized the influence of the priests, and the masses of the population no longer answered to the appeal of the military leaders. Hoche beat Charette and made him prisoner, and Stofflet was soon after betrayed and given up to the republicans. Neither of them was abandoned at the hour of execution by the heroic constancy and firmness which had distinguished their lives ; they were shot, Charette at Nantes, and Stofflet at Angers. Georges Cadoudal still maintained himself in Morbihan : Hoche directed all his strength against him, and soon stifled this new insurrection : most of the leaders quitted their arms, and sought a refuge in England.

At Paris, the Directory was exposed to the violent attacks of the democrats and royalists. Its members, after having participated in the excesses of the Convention and the events of Thermidor, were held equally in horror by the two parties, and were in direct opposition with the reactionary opinion which was gaining ground everywhere. They in the first place attacked the democrats, who had reopened their club at the Pantheon. A fanatic, emulating Robespierre, named Gracchus Babeuf, and who proclaimed himself tribune of the people, attempted to raise the populace by demanding the agrarian law, and promising to establish *common happiness*, by liberty, equality, and the constitution of 1793. The conspirators gained the police legion, opened communications with the troops in camp at Grenelle, and were about to march against the councils and the Directory, when they were betrayed and seized in their place of meeting : Gracchus Babeuf paid for his audacious attempt with his head. Another movement took place in the camp at Grenelle, but was detected and stopped by the commandant Malo ; his dragoons sabred the insurgents, and the leaders were brought by the Directory before the military commissions. A royalist conspiracy was at the same time attempted, conducted by the abbé Brothier and Lavillehernois ; it failed, and the guilty parties were condemned with mildness by the judges, elected under the influence of the insurrectional movement of Vendémiaire. The struggle was from that time carried on between the Directory and the authorities freely named by the sections : the first, seeing itself conquered by the electoral and reactionary power, had

recourse to the army, and set the dangerous example of provoking its intervention in affairs of state.

In this year, again, the glory of France belonged entirely to its armies. Carnot conceived a plan for the campaign, by which the armies of the Rhine, of the Sambre and Meuse, and of Italy, should march upon Vienna with one common accord by *echellonning** and supporting each other. The two first were commanded by the already celebrated generals Moreau and Jourdan ; the third was given to the young conqueror of Toulon, to the defender of the Convention in Vendémiaire, Napoleon Bonaparte. This army, destitute of *matériel*, clothes, and provisions, had not been able to profit by the victory of Loano, and found itself, in the spring of 1796, in face of the Austrians under Beaulieu, and of the Piedmontese under Colli, in a situation nearly resembling that in which it had been placed the preceding year before its victory. Colli occupied, in the intrenched camp of La Ceva, the reverse of the Apennine from the side of the Po ; Beaulieu extended from the valley of La Bormida and the col or passage of Montenotte to the sea, and intercepted the road to Genoa.

Bonaparte arrived at his head-quarters at Nice on the 27th of March ; he found the army destitute of every resource with respect to *matériel*, but well provided with courage and experience. His soldiers had become practised warriors in giant combats among the Alps and Pyrenees ; their leaders were Massena, Augereau, La Harpe, Serrurier, Murat, and Joubert. The first words of the young general promised victory : "Soldiers," said he, "you are ill fed and almost naked ; the government owes you much, but can do nothing for you. Your patience and courage do you honour, but procure you neither advantage nor glory. I will lead you to the most fertile plains of the world ; you will there find great cities and rich provinces, you will there find honour, glory, and wealth : Soldiers of Italy, can you want courage?" Bonaparte, who had but thirty-six thousand men against sixty thousand, perceived at once that it was necessary for him, as his predecessor had done, to separate the Piedmontese from the Austrians, and crush them one after the other. He moved his head-quarters to Savona, and directed La Harpe's division along the sea-coast, attracting the attention

* I know of no English word that can answer for this expressive one. It is, to dispose troops upon divers plans, so that they may successively support and replace each other (Nodier).—*Trans.*

and all the efforts of the enemy to that side ; but whilst the left of the Austrians advanced against La Harpe, its centre prepared to fall upon the French army by the passage of Montenotte : twelve hundred men only, under Colonel Rampon, occupied the passage : Rampon perceived the peril of the army if this point were forced ; he shut himself up with his brave followers in an old redoubt, made them swear to die there rather than surrender, repulsed the efforts of all the Austrian infantry three times, and gave the French divisions time to come up. Bonaparte immediately drew back his right, which he directed upon Montenotte in face of the enemy, whilst Massena's division, turning the crest of the Apennine, was to surprise them in the rear. His orders were executed ; the Austrians, attacked and surprised, fell back in disorder, and Bonaparte, master of the passage and the crest of the Apennine, saw before him the Austrians, who rallied at Dego and guarded the route to Lombardy, and on his left the Piedmontese, who occupied the redoubtable gorges of Millesimo, with the valley of the Bormida, and intercepted the road to Piedmont. Without a decisive blow upon both armies, the fruit of the victory of Montenotte would be lost : the action was commenced on the very next day. La Harpe and Massena dashed amongst the Austrians at Dego, whilst Augereau impetuously penetrated into the gorges of the Millesimo ; he separated the brave Provera, who defended them, from the Piedmontese army, drove him into a strong castle, where, after a furious assault of two days, he forced him to lay down his arms with fifteen hundred men : the defile was carried. The Austrian army was already in flight on the route to Milan, and the Piedmontese were retiring upon Mondovi.

Bonaparte, a conqueror upon three points, had already gained three victories in three days, and impressed his army with astonishment and admiration : from the summit of the Apennines he contemplated with emotion the rich plains of Piedmont and Italy, watered by so many fine rivers ; he pointed them out to his soldiers *as another land of promise*, and exclaimed : "Hannibal crossed the Alps, and we, we have turned them !" The whole plan of the campaign was in these words ; the conqueror decided upon pursuing the Piedmontese, and triumphed again at Mondovi ; he carried Cherasco, an important position at the confluence of the Tanaro and the Stura, and already menaced Turin, from which he was only eighteen leagues distant. by King Victor

Amadeus III. trembled for his capital and his crown ; he sued for peace, and Bonaparte signed an armistice, which gave him the places of Coni, Tortona, and Alessandria, with the immense magazines they contained, and opened, by Piedmont, his communications with France. Two standards, fifty-five pieces of cannon, five victories, fifteen thousand prisoners, ten thousand men killed or wounded, and peace with the Piedmontese, were the results of a campaign of fifteen days : Paris was in a state of enthusiasm, and the two councils voted by three times that the army of Italy deserved well of its country.

Bonaparte followed up his success : he deceived Beaulieu by false manœuvres, crossed the Po, and laid the dukedom of Parma under contribution : Lombardy was before him, and his intention was to subdue it ; but it was necessary first to complete the ruin of Beaulieu, and he attempted to cut off his army, a portion of which occupied Lodi, upon the Adda. He marched rapidly upon that place, and carried it ; the Austrians fell back upon the opposite bank ; twelve thousand infantry, four thousand horse, and a formidable artillery defended the bridge they had crossed : this obstacle appeared insurmountable, but the young general communicated his enthusiasm to the hearts of six thousand grenadiers, of whom he formed a column, which he precipitated upon the bridge amidst a perfect tempest of bullets and cannon-shot, whilst his cavalry forded the river above Lodi, and attacked the Austrians in the rear ; they fled in disorder, and from that time the army of Italy was invincible. Beaulieu effected his retreat, abandoning behind him Cremona, Milan, Pavia, Como, and Cassano ; the French took possession of these places, and Bonaparte immediately seized upon the line of the Adige, a river which, after a course of a short extent, falls from the Apennines into the Adriatic, and protects Lombardy from Austria. From this important line and the Venetian places of Verona and Porto-Legnago, which the terrified Venetian government permitted him to occupy, Bonaparte retraced his steps : the time was come wherein to make the governments of Italy sensible of the power of the republic : the conqueror received the submission of Genoa and of Hercules d'Este, duke of Modena ; this prince paid ten millions, and retired to Venice. General Vaubois gained possession of Leghorn, in which place six hundred Corsicans had taken refuge : Bonaparte sent them to their own island, to raise an insurrection against the English, whom they suc-

ceeded in driving out. The court of Naples, dominated over by Queen Caroline, sister of Marie Antoinette, and stimulated by a furious hatred against France, had announced a formidable armament; but it trembled at the fame of the victories of Bonaparte, it concluded an armistice, and submitted to a neutrality: the pope, who had left the murder of the French ambassador at Rome unpunished, and had preached a crusade against the republic, was reduced to submission: as conditions of peace, Bonaparte imposed upon him the payment of twenty-one millions and the surrender of a hundred of the masterpieces of art from his museums.

The Austrians, however, made a new effort, and the archduke Charles, brother of the emperor, advanced towards the Rhine at the head of seventy thousand men. Then, in execution of the plan of Carnot, the armies of the Rhine and the Sambre and Meuse, under Moreau and Jourdan, were put in motion at the same time, and led across the river, with the purpose of enveloping the enemy on their two wings, and afterwards to march, in concert with the army of Italy, upon the centre of the Austrian monarchy. The enormous space which separated the two armies, of which one effected its passage at Dusseldorf, and the other at Strasbourg, the distance at which each would be from their basis of operations, and the obstacles they must encounter in a difficult enemy's country, rendered this plan very hazardous; it promised, however, at first, to succeed. Moreau gave battle to the archduke Charles at Radstadt, between the Rhine and the Black Mountains: the victory was warmly disputed; but, at length, the French having succeeded in getting possession of the heights and the debouches into the valley of the Necker, the archduke feared being cut off from the hereditary states of the Austrian monarchy; and to cover them, he fell back rapidly upon the Danube, between Ulm and Ratisbon, leaving Moreau to advance upon him by the valley of the Necker, and Jourdan by that of the Maine. Thus, towards the middle of the year 1796, the French armies, mistresses of Italy and of one half of Germany, to the Danube, threatened to invade the other half.

In the mean time, the old Austrian marshal Wurmser re-entered the Tyrol at the head of a new and a formidable army of sixty thousand men, and prepared to force the lines of the Adige, to remove the blockade of Mantua, and to annihilate the French army of Italy, inferior in numbers to

his by at least half, and shut up in a narrow space between the Lake of Garda on the north, the Adige on the east, and the Po on the south. Three routes presented themselves to Wurmser: the first crossed the Adige at Roveredo, above the Lake of Garda, and turned behind this lake, following the western bank, where the only obstacle that he had to overcome was the military position of Salo; the second route passed between the lake and the Adige, running along the heights of Montebaldo, which separated them, and which was defended by the important positions of Corona and Rivoli; the third, following the left bank of the Adige, debouched in the plain towards Verona, and came out upon the front of the defensive line of the French. Never had the army of Italy found itself in such imminent peril, and already all the partisans of Venice and Austria, who beheld with pain the French flag triumphant in Lombardy, repeated that ancient and redoubtable adage, that *Italy was the tomb of the French*. Wurmser ordered twenty thousand men under Quasdanovitch to file off behind Lake Garda, whilst he himself advanced with forty thousand men, between the lake and the Adige. Bonaparte, whose head-quarters were at Castel Novo, at the southern point of the lake, soon learnt that the positions of Salo, of Corona, and Rivoli, which defended the two banks of it, were forced, and that he was about to be enveloped. All his generals, with the single exception of Augereau, advised a prompt retreat: Bonaparte resisted, he drew inspiration from his genius, and saw that one decisive blow might be struck before the two columns of the enemy could unite; but it was necessary to act at once, and with all his forces; he sacrificed Mantua, which, from want of provisions, was on the point of surrendering, and recalled in great haste the division Serrurier, employed in the blockade of that place: it was important, in the first place, to stop Quasdanovitch, who would quickly debouch in the plain to the west of the lake, and already cut off the retreat of the French towards Milan. It was to this side Bonaparte first directed his efforts: he crossed the Mincio, and passed rapidly to Lonato with the bulk of his forces: the Austrian columns were already debouching; a sanguinary contest ensued, the Austrians were repulsed, and the French recaptured the important position of Salo to the west of the lake. Quasdanovitch was stopped, and a single division was sufficient to keep him in check; Bonaparte immediately changed his front, and came back upon the divisions which

had turned the lake by the other bank : he poured down upon them like thunder, and dispersed them, but, though conqueror, his task was not completed ; Wurmser, who, with twenty thousand men, had removed the blockade of Mantua, rallied his troops and prepared to overwhelm him. The two armies had each one wing upon Lake Garda, and the other on the heights of Castiglione. It was on the celebrated plains of that name that the fate of Italy was about to be decided. Bonaparte foresaw that Wurmser, whose right touched the lake, would make an effort on that side to join Quasdanovitch, still held back at Salo, and he ordered the division Serrurier to make a detour, so as to commence the attack on the rear of the enemy. The action began on the 4th of August, at daybreak. Bonaparte left Wurmser to weaken his line by extending it on its right, and the first cannon of Serrurier's division was scarcely heard in the rear of the Austrians when he launched the divisions Augereau and Massena full upon their centre. The Austrians, taken between two fires, gave way, and Wurmser sounded a retreat ; he re-entered the Tyrol, after having lost twenty thousand men and all Italy.

Not satisfied with having conquered Wurmser, Bonaparte wished to destroy him, and was anxious to pursue him ; a repose of twenty days was sufficient for his army, which immediately afterwards entered the mountains of the Tyrol ; but Wurmser had received reinforcements, and resumed the offensive. The two armies met at Roveredo, and Bonaparte again triumphed ; all the Austrian artillery and four thousand prisoners fell into his hands. Wurmser stole away with thirty thousand men, and descended the valley of the Brenta to force the Adige, and throw himself between the French army engaged in the Tyrol and Mantua, again blockaded. Bonaparte divined his intention ; he left ten thousand men under Vaubois in guard of the Tyrol ; he took twenty thousand men with him, followed the enemy into the basin of the Brenta, attacked him unexpectedly, and gained a fresh victory at Bassano with the immortal divisions Augereau and Massena. Wurmser, whom he hoped to bring to bay between the Brenta and the Adige, crossed the latter river at Legnago, forced the blockading division before Mantua, and shut himself up in that place with fifteen thousand men. Bonaparte had again killed or taken twenty thousand Austrians in a few days ; this was the third army he had destroyed ; Colli, Beaulieu, and Wurmser had by

turns been beaten, conquered, by him during four months, an immense *matériel* had fallen into his hands, and his name, from one extremity of Italy to the other, was repeated with admiration and terror.

In Germany, however, events had taken place not less important, but adverse to the French arms; and it was to be feared that the reverses of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, and of the Rhine, would make France lose the beneficial results of her extraordinary successes in Italy.

Moreau had arrived on the banks of the Danube in the early days of the month of August, and Jourdan was already following the course of the Naab, a tributary of that river. The archduke Charles, after being beaten by Moreau at Neresheim, concentrated all his forces upon the Danube, and conceived a plan which assured him the advantage of the campaign. He resolved to prevent the junction of Jourdan and Moreau, and to overwhelm them, one after the other, by superior forces. The army of the Sambre and Meuse under Jourdan was the weaker of the two. The archduke, in the first place, marched to meet it, repulsed its van, commanded by Bernadotte, and compelled it to retreat; Jourdan halted and fought the battle of Wurtzburg, but he was conquered, and the archduke drove him back in disorder to the point from which he had started on the Rhine. All his strength was now directed against Moreau, who, instead of following him and taking him between two fires, had continued a skilfully-conducted march towards the Danube. This general was approaching Munich, and occupied an immense ground, when he heard of the reverses of Jourdan, who alone could have assisted him in maintaining his position. The archduke returned upon him with forced marches; the army of the Rhine, deprived of support, was in peril, and was forced to retreat in its turn: Moreau ordered a retreat, and covered himself with glory in executing it; he crossed more than a hundred leagues of country in presence of a formidable enemy, and re-entered France, after having won the battle of Biberach in the Black Mountains, and without having once allowed himself to be broken or disordered.

This retreat left the army of Italy to be exposed alone to the efforts of the Austrians, and placed it in great danger. Davidovitch had collected twenty thousand men in the Tyrol, and Alvinzi advanced from Friuli towards the Piave with about forty thousand. To resist this third army of sixty thousand men, Bonaparte had only thirty-six thousand, of

whom twelve thousand were in the Tyrol under Vaubois, ten thousand were upon the Brenta and the Adige under Massena, and the rest surrounding Mantua : all these corps, worn out with the fatigues of so laborious a campaign, were in some sort exhausted by their own victories. The reinforcements promised by the Directory, and impatiently expected, did not arrive, and Alvinzi was approaching. The plan of the Austrians was to attack in the mountains of the Tyrol and on the plain at the same time. Davidovitch had orders to drive Vaubois from his positions, and to descend along the two banks of the Adige as far as Verona : Alvinzi was, on his part, to cross the Piave and the Brenta, then to unite with Davidovitch at Verona, and to march in concert with him to the deliverance of Mantua and Wurmser. This plan at first succeeded ; Vaubois, beaten by Davidovitch, fell back as far as the positions of Corona and Rivoli, and his reverses forced Bonaparte, although conqueror of Alvinzi upon the Brenta, to fall back to Verona. Alvinzi hastened to occupy in front of this city the redoubtable position of Caldiero ; Bonaparte in vain endeavoured to carry it ; after the bloody and unfortunate battle of Caldiero, his army, reduced to fourteen thousand men, against forty thousand, was again led back into Verona. His brave soldiers murmured : what fruit had they derived from all their victories ? what prospect had they but to be driven as fugitives over the Alps ? Bonaparte shared their feelings, he wrote to the Directory : “ All our superior officers, all our best generals, are *hors de combat* ; the army of Italy, reduced to a handful of men, is exhausted. The heroes of Millesimo, Lodi, Castiglione, and Bassano have either died for their country or are in the hospital. The corps have nothing left but their reputation or their pride. Joubert, Lannes, Victor, Murat, and Rampon are wounded : we are abandoned in the depth of Italy ; all the brave men who are left see infallible death with such inferior forces. Perhaps the fatal hour of the brave Augereau, of the intrepid Massena, will soon come ; then, then, what will become of these brave men ? This idea renders me cautious, I do not dare to face the death which would be a discouragement for those who are the object of my solicitude. . . .” Bonaparte again demanded reinforcements, and terminated with these words : “ To-day the troops are resting, to-morrow we shall act.” And yet it was at the very moment when he considered his position as desperate that his genius all at once was roused, and inspired him with one of those great thoughts upon

which the issue of a whole campaign and the fate of states depend. Marshes surround Verona beyond the Adige, and are crossed by two causeways which lead to Ronco, at some leagues to the south of Verona, upon the positions occupied by the enemy. By fighting on these causeways, numbers had no advantage, courage and audacity might effect everything ; this battle-field was the only one upon which a handful of brave men might conquer a whole army : it was that which Bonaparte selected. He marched out from Verona on the 14th of November by the southern gate, crossed the Adige at Ronco, returned on the north by the causeways, and his columns prepared to debouch upon the rear of the enemy ; but they were stopped at the bridge of Arcola upon the Adige, and Bonaparte with great anxiety saw a part of the results of his skilful manœuvre escape him. The enemy, warned by a brisk fusillade, hastened from Caldiero ; a formidable artillery defended the opposite bank ; Augereau seized a flag and bore it forward on to the bridge at the head of his brave men ; but a terrible discharge drove him back again. Bonaparte saw all the enemy's line in motion ; the passage must be carried at any cost : he sprang forward at a gallop, threw himself from his horse, and, addressing the soldiers crouching on the edge of the causeway, cried : " Are you the conquerors of Lodi ? " Then, himself seizing a banner, he added : " Follow your general ! " And he precipitated himself upon the bridge amidst a torrent of balls and bullets ; his generals surrounded him, Lannes received his third wound whilst covering him with his body ; Muiro, Bonaparte's aide-de-camp, fell dead at his feet ; a fresh discharge swept the bridge, the soldiers bore back their general in their arms, and it appeared to be necessary to renounce the idea of surprising the enemy's army before it should be entirely in line on the plain. General Gueux, however, found a ford below Arcola ; he crossed the Alps, and carried the village on the other bank ; then the bridge became free, and a terrible battle of two days commenced : Massena, Augereau, and the immortal 32nd demi-brigade rivalled each other in courage and efforts ; the Austrians, half destroyed, were put to flight. Bonaparte ordered them to be pursued, and re-entered Verona in triumph. He immediately set forward to meet Quasdanovitch, who had carried the positions of Corona and Rivoli, and driven Vaubois as far as Castel Novo ; he attacked him on all sides, and drove him back in disorder into the gorges of the Tyrol. Paris, France, Italy, were

again struck with admiration and enthusiasm at the news of these almost fabulous exploits, and the two councils, whilst pronouncing, according to custom, that the army of Italy had once again deserved well of its country, decreed to Bonaparte and Augereau a recompense worthy of an heroic age : they gave them the flags borne by them on the bridge of Arcola, to be preserved in their families.

This immortal campaign, which already comprised four, if we count them by the number of the armies destroyed, was not yet terminated. Austria knew that Wurmser was reduced to extremity in Mantua, and that to abandon that place was to give up Lombardy to France. Emboldened by the successes of Prince Charles against the armies of the Rhine and the Sambre and Meuse, it resolved to dispute Italy once more with Bonaparte. Whilst Austria sent forward another army to the general Alvinzi, she pressed the pope to send him to the assistance of Mantua, and gave him Colli to command it. Bonaparte had then, towards the end of 1796, to defend himself at once against the army of the pope, against the ill-will of Venice, which preserved its neutrality with regret, and against sixty-five thousand men led by Alvinzi and Provera. But he himself had at length received the so long looked for reinforcements, and reckoned forty-five thousand men beneath his standard. He first went personally to Bologna, and took the necessary measures for stopping the troops of the Roman states ; then he reascended quickly towards the Adige, and entered upon the scene of an arduous struggle, which he was about to terminate by decisive blows. Twenty thousand men advanced under Provera by the lower Adige, with the purpose of communicating with the army of the pope and Mantua ; Alvinzi, with forty-five thousand soldiers, descended from the Tyrol by the route which passes the foot of Montebaldo, the chain of which separates Lake Garda from the Adige ; a not very numerous corps followed the opposite bank. The celebrated position of Rivoli was the only one that could stop the enemy between the lake and the river. This position, formed by a half-circular plateau which dominated the route, is itself dominated by the heights of Montebaldo, which extend around it like an amphitheatre, but to which it is impossible to bring artillery : the Adige bathes the foot of the plateau, and the route crosses it by rising by various turns which it makes upon itself.

Bonaparte had for a long time been aware of all the importance of this position, and placed Joubert there. Soon

threatened on all sides, he perceived that the principal effort of the Austrian army would be directed against Rivoli, where Joubert was making an heroic resistance, and that the field of battle would be the plateau itself, where the fight was begun ; he collected all the forces he could dispose of without weakening his other points of defence, and flew with Massena to the assistance of Joubert, who was contending with ten thousand men against forty-five thousand. The horizon was in a blaze ; clouds of the enemy had climbed the heights of Montebaldo, which dominate the plateau in a half-circle, and were descending from this amphitheatre in close columns : a formidable mass of cavalry and artillery was advancing upon the plateau by the route ; another body under Lusignan, was turning the plateau to fall upon the rear of the French army, and from the opposite shore Vukassovitch was pouring a shower of fire. But this plateau was the only point upon which Bonaparte could prevent the junction of the different bodies of the enemy's army. He reanimated by his presence Joubert's soldiers, almost exhausted by forty-eight hours' fighting, pointed his cannon upon the columns which were descending from Montebaldo, and routed them ; the French left wing gave way, but the 14th demi-brigade and the invincible 22nd, with Massena at their head, drove back the enemy. Le Clerc and La Salle precipitated themselves with their squadrons upon the formidable column of artillery and cavalry which was already debouching by the route upon the right of the plateau ; a light brigade of artillery fired chain-shot, crushed all that had debouched, and overthrew *pêle-mêle* both horses and cannon upon the rapid declivity. Bonaparte and Joubert then fell again upon the half-circle of Austrian infantry, whose rallied masses returned pouring upon the invaded plateau ; they charged them, shot them down, broke them ; and this infantry fled into the mountains. The Austrian corps under Lusignan, the appointed duty of which had been to cut off the French, was itself cut off, and laid down its arms. The battle was won. Bonaparte and Massena immediately turned to meet Provera, who with his twenty thousand men had passed the Adige, and was marching towards Mantua to deliver it ; a second battle was fought in face of the faubourg St. George, whilst Serrurier repulsed a furious attack made by Wurmser, who endeavoured to force his lines, and drove him back into Mantua. Provera, surrounded by Victor, Massena, and Augereau, laid down his arms with six thousand men. These battles, prodigious after

so many prodigies, decided the fate of Italy; Wurmser, reduced to extremity in Mantua, surrendered the city and his sword to the young conqueror.

Bonaparte, appearing from that time to have a presentiment of his unheard-of fortunes, neglected no means of obtaining success and renown : in the intervals of his battles he conversed with *savants* and poets ; he boasted of the republic, and already everything announced in him the future ruler ; affable with his lieutenants and soldiers, he displayed a haughty reserve towards the directors, and triumphed over their jealousy by proving himself indispensable at the head of his victorious army. He availed himself of the popular sympathies against the governments, and transformed Lombardy into the cisalpine republic, of which Milan became the capital. Numerous reinforcements arrived from France, and he marched again towards Vienna, having Prince Charles as his opponent : Massena commanded the van, and immortalized himself by the victories of Piave and Tagliamento. Carinthia, Styria, and Friuli were rapidly conquered, terror reigned in Vienna, and Bonaparte, to penetrate further, awaited the movements of the other armies. Hoche commanded that of the Sambre and Meuse, Moreau kept the army of the Rhine : their march was slow, and Joubert, left behind by Bonaparte, with three divisions to defend the Tyrol, was beaten by Prince Charles, and compelled to retreat. Bonaparte, when informed of this reverse, sent to Vienna to treat for peace, and an armistice was concluded at Leoben. The French general yielded to Austria Mantua and a part of Venetian Lombardy that he had conquered, in exchange for the cisalpine republic that he had founded. The Directory rejected these preliminaries, and Bonaparte pointed out Venice to Austria as an amends for Mantua. The fate of this republic was decided. French emissaries in all parts endeavoured to raise the people against the senate ; but at Verona, a city dependent upon Venice, the French garrison was slaughtered in a popular revolt ; Bonaparte, who only sought for a pretext to legitimize an act of spoliation, broke into furious complaints against the Venetian republic, and demanded vengeance for the massacre of Verona : nothing could appease him. General Baraguay d'Hilliers marched upon Venice ; the senate, terrified at his approach, voted a constitution to conciliate France, and dissolved itself ; the French entered the city, and by the definitive treaty of Campo Formio gave it up to Austria, in exchange for the Belgian and Lombard

states : Mantua was joined to the cisalpine republic, as well as the Bolognese and Romagna. The congress of Radstadt was opened at the same time to treat for peace with the empire. The deliverance of General La Fayette and his three companions in misfortune, insisted upon by Bonaparte, was one of the articles of the glorious peace of Campo Formio.

All the confederated powers, except England, laid down their arms, and France extended her system through Europe ; a great part of her frontiers was covered with republican states, from the North Sea to the Gulf of Genoa.

But previously to the signing of this advantageous treaty, the inevitable disagreement between the executive power and the electoral power broke out with violence at the termination of the elections of the year V. They were made, for the most part, under the influence of the reactionary party. Pichegru was enthusiastically voted to the presidency of the council of Five Hundred, and Barbé-Marbois to that of the Ancients. It was the chance of Letourneur to be the member that was to go out from the Directory ; Barthélemy, ambassador to Switzerland, was to take his place. The councils, as soon as constituted, entered into a struggle with the government. Letters of pardon, in favour of the proscribed, were voted precipitately ; Camille Jordan, the Lyonnese deputy, possessed of both eloquence and courage, came forward as the most ardent panegyrist of the clergy, and demanded the abolition of the civic oath ; but which was maintained in spite of him. Priests and emigrants returned in crowds, all the interests born of the revolution were compromised, and the directors found themselves in a state which rendered them perfectly incapable of defending them. The constitution not having invested them with the useful right of appealing to public opinion by dissolving the councils, they resolved to break them up by force. The constitutionals of 1791 joined them, and opposed the republican club of *Salm* to the club *Clichy*, founded by the royalists : the first depended upon the army for its support, the second upon the councils. The directors ordered several regiments to draw near to the capital, in contempt of the constitution, which decreed that troops should not be brought into Paris, or within twelve leagues of Paris, without a special law ; the councils broke out into furious threats ; the directors produced in reply violent addresses from each army to the councils ; the contest became more violent ; in vain Carnot and Barthélemy attempted to act as

pacificators ; the majority of the Directory, composed of Barras, Rewbel, and Réveillère, judged that their own cause, as well as that of the revolution, could no longer be defended by lawful means ; they were threatened by a violent and illegal attack, and they resolved to be beforehand with their enemies. The 18th Fructidor was fixed upon for the execution of the *coup d'état*. During the night twelve hundred men entered Paris under the command of Augereau, and in the morning, these troops and forty pieces of cannon were placed round the Tuileries. The grenadiers of the legislative guard joined Augereau, who arrested the generals Pichegru, Willot, and the commandant Ramel, with his own hand, in the hall of the sittings ; a great number of the members of the councils were seized by an armed force, on their arrival at the Tuileries. The directors fixed upon the Odéon and the School of Medicine as the new places for the meetings of the councils. They published at the same time a letter from Moreau, which revealed the treachery of Pichegru ; and after having rendered an account of their conduct, they caused a commission to be nominated charged with preparing a law of public safety. By this law, forty-two members of the council of Five Hundred, eleven members of that of the Ancients, and two directors, Carnot and Barthélemy, were condemned to be transported to Cayenne. Among those who were struck by this odious measure were Pichegru, Boissy d'Anglas, Camille Jordan, Pastoret, Siméon, Barbé-Marbois, Lafon-Ladebat, Portalis, and Tronçon du Coudray. The directors carried their rigours still further, and sacrificed the authors of thirty-five journals to their resentment ; caused the laws in favour of priests and emigrants to be reported, and annulled the elections of forty-eight departments. The contest of the 18th Fructidor ruined the royalist party, raised the republican party, put the army in possession of the dangerous secret of its power in the government of the state, and substituted the dictatorship for legitimate rule. Merlin de Douay and François de Neufchâteau replaced Carnot and Barthélemy. The treaty of Campo Formio, which followed this revolution, had been signed by Bonaparte, in opposition to the formally expressed will of the directors. They could not see without alarm a young general, elevated to the highest rank by a single campaign, decide arbitrarily upon peace or war ; but public opinion exalted his triumphs, and the Directory, not daring to find fault with him, wished to appear to associate itself

with his glory, by according to him in Paris greater honours than had hitherto been rendered to any general.

The Directory caused a triumphal festival to be prepared for the ceremony of delivering the treaty of Campo Formio. This imposing scene took place in the court of the palace of the Luxembourg. The directors, dressed in Roman costume, were seated at the extremity of the court, upon an estrade, at the foot of the altar of the country. Around them sat the ministers, the ambassadors, the members of the two councils, the leaders of the administrations ; and over their heads floated the innumerable colours taken from the enemy. All hearts were in expectation, when, to the sound of warlike music, amidst the roar of cannon and the acclamations of the crowd, advanced he who had signed this glorious peace after having conquered it. Bonaparte appeared, accompanied by Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs. The slender, delicate person of the young conqueror presented a contrast with the idea which his gigantic exploits had caused to be conceived of him ; but his ardent eye, his pale Roman countenance, every feature of which bore the impress of strong will and genius, produced, it is said, an indescribable sensation upon the assembly. At sight of him, mingled cries of *Vive la république ! Vive Bonaparte !* resounded from all sides. Talleyrand, in a concise speech, praised the modesty of the conqueror, and referred all his glory, not to him, but to the revolution, to the armies, to the great nation. Bonaparte then spoke : "Citizens," said he, "the French people, to be free, had kings to combat with ; to obtain a constitution founded upon reason, they had eighteen centuries of prejudices to overcome. The Constitution of the year III. and you have triumphed over all these obstacles. You have succeeded in organizing the great nation, whose vast territory is only circumscribed because nature itself has placed limits to it. . . I have the honour to deliver to you the treaty signed at Campo Formio, and ratified by his majesty the emperor. The peace assures the liberty, the prosperity, and the glory of the republic. When the happiness of the French people shall be based upon better organic laws, the whole of Europe will become free." Unanimous acclamations followed this speech ; Barras replied to it : he pointed out England to the young hero, as a field abounding in new laurels. A patriotic hymn by the poet Chénier was afterwards sung in chorus, with the accompaniment of a magnificent orchestra and cannon ; then Joubert and Andréossy

advanced, bearing a flag, the homage of the republic to the army of Italy. Its exploits, its conquests, were enumerated upon it. Upon it were inscribed in letters of gold the hundred and fifty thousand prisoners, the sixty-six flags, the eleven hundred pieces of artillery, taken from the enemy ; the numerous treaties imposed upon the sovereigns of Italy, the tribute of the works of its great masters, with the sixty-seven glorious fights and eighteen victories in pitched battle.

CHAPTER V.

From the peace of Campo Formio to the establishment of the Consulate.
17th October, 1797 (26th Vendémiaire, an 6)—10th November, 1799
(19th Brumaire, an 8).

THE treaty of Campo Formio and the *coup d'état* of Fructidor for a time raised the directorial government, in which Treilhard shortly succeeded Neufchâteau, to the highest degree of its power ; but its strength, more apparent than real, reposed entirely upon the army ; and this false and dangerous position imposed upon the Directory the obligation of keeping the troops under their standards and continuing the war. Barras, when haranguing Bonaparte, had pointed out England to him as a new conquest worthy of his arms ; a project for a descent was meditated, but it was soon abandoned, and an invasion of Egypt resolved upon, notwithstanding the neutrality observed by the Ottoman Porte. Bonaparte had the command of this adventurous expedition, which reassured the Directory by removing to a distance the man they most dreaded, whilst it equally gratified the young conqueror of Italy, by offering him an opportunity of increasing his fame, and of adding still more to the immense idea France had conceived of his talents. He left Toulon with a fleet of four hundred sail, accompanied by a society of celebrated *savants*, and a portion of the army of Italy ; he first obtained possession of the isle of Malta, and then directed his course towards Egypt.

France had already, in consequence of the appeal of the Vaudois, who were tired of the government of the Bernese aristocracy, invaded the neutral territory of Switzerland : Berne was the head-quarters of the emigrants, which was the ostensible motive for this violent aggression. Most of the cantons opposed an heroic but a vain resistance ; they all

at last succumbed ; Geneva was united to France, and the Helvetian republic changed its ancient constitution for that of the year III. This revolution was followed by that of Rome, where the French general Duphot had been killed in a riot. To avenge this crime, General Berthier occupied Rome, made the pope, Pius VI., prisoner, and orders were given for his being transported to France. This pontiff, eighty years of age, expired on the road, at Valence ; Rome was changed into a republic, and the Directory thus saw itself at the head of the Helvetian, Batavian, Ligurian, Cisalpine, and Roman republics, all constituted upon the model of the French republic.

These successes abroad did not at all appease the agitation of the parties at home. From the 18th Fructidor, fear again depressed the royalists, and the democrats resumed the ascendancy : the elections of the year VI. were made under their influence, in a manner contrary to those of the preceding year, and not less hostile to the Directory, which annulled them in a great part, aspiring to maintain the balance between the two factions. But it had placed itself without the bounds of the law on the 18th Fructidor, and being powerless to repress violences by any means than other violences, it rapidly lost all hold upon public opinion. It had already alienated the numerous class of the fundholders by the last bankruptcy, which reduced the interests of the national debt to the *tiers consolidé*,* and soon, as often happens in a weak and unpopular government, it was made responsible for all the disgraces and all the misfortunes of the state.

The English minister Pitt, persevering in his active hatred for France, succeeded in forming a new coalition, into which all the powers entered, with the exception of Prussia and Spain ; British subsidies determined Russia to join it, whilst the unjust aggression of France against Egypt caused the Porte and the Barbary states to adhere to it. The French armies took the offensive : the kings of Naples and Sardinia formed the van-guard of the coalition ; they were conquered and deposed. General Championnet entered Naples, after having made a great slaughter of the *lazzaroni*, and proclaimed the Parthenopean republic : Joubert occupied Turin ; all Italy was conquered before the coalition had had time to put any of its formidable armies in motion. Nevertheless, in spite of the almost miraculous successes of the three last

* The capital of the funds of the state which has been reduced to a third.

years, the situation of the Directory was difficult and perilous, and if the resources of the government appeared immense, the obstacles against which it had to contend were still greater. In addition to France, it had to govern Holland, Switzerland, and all Italy, divided into so many republics ; and, from want of organization, it was almost unable to derive any assistance from them, either in men or money. It was necessary, however, to defend them, and in doing that to fight along a line which extended without interruption from the Texel to the Adriatic, and which, whilst attacked in front by Austria and Russia, was taken in the rear by the English fleets. It was from France alone that it was possible to draw forces necessary for the defence of such a line. Forty thousand of the best French soldiers with their greatest captain were in Egypt, and the other armies were diminished by a half, from the effects of diseases and desertions : the conscription, then employed for the first time, had not by any means filled up the voids or completed the regiments ; the returns to the treasury were tardy, and the deficiency increased constantly ; selfish struggles and deplorable conflicts between the civil and military authorities of the conquered countries rendered the execution of the orders of the government difficult and slow ; the insubordination of the troops, who knew their own importance, the rapacity of a multitude of agents, the incendiary principles of a crowd of democrats disseminated in the new republics, everything gave cause to fear, in case of a check or a reverse, the insurrection of their irritated populations : nevertheless to preserve peace was impossible ; Austria and England dreaded the new doctrines of France still more than her arms, and although the negotiations commenced at Rastadt, after the peace, for the partitions between the powers of the continent and the republic were not yet broken, there was very little doubt that Russian and Austrian battalions would soon make their appearance in Holland, Switzerland, and Italy.

The Directory resolved to be beforehand with them. It was necessary to spread the French armies from the Rhine to the Gulf of Taranto, but, instead of concentrating imposing masses upon one principal point, the government endeavoured to assume the offensive upon all the points at once, with two hundred thousand men against three hundred thousand ; and it was unable to act efficiently anywhere. Ten thousand men guarded Holland, under General Brune ; the army of the Rhine was given to Bernadotte, and that of the Danube,

forty thousand strong, to Jourdan ; Massena occupied Switzerland with thirty thousand soldiers ; Schérer received the army of Italy, amounting to fifty thousand ; Macdonald had that of Naples. It was to the Danube and the Adige that the principal efforts of the Austrians were likely to be directed, for it was their interest, if possible, to wrest the chain of the Alps from the French. The Directory did not wait for the enemy, and Jourdan received orders to proceed forward, to cross the Rhine, and advance by the Black Forest to the sources of the Danube ; Schérer was, at the same time, commanded to cross the Adige and the defiles of the Tyrol. Both obeyed in presence of an enemy greatly superior in numbers, and very shortly the disasters of their armies laid bare the vices of the plan of the campaign. The archduke Charles, with sixty thousand men, stopped Jourdan, at the moment he was advancing between the Danube and the Lake of Constance, and made him undergo a check ; a few days afterwards, Jourdan gave battle at Stockach, near to the river of that name, and to the military point at which the routes of Swabia and Switzerland cross. Prince Charles was the conqueror, and the French army fell back upon the Rhine at the entrance to the Black Forest.

Schérer then commenced his movement upon the Adige ; he manœuvred with about fifty thousand men against sixty thousand Austrians ; a reinforcement of twenty-five thousand were about to join the enemy, and the fierce Souvarrow was approaching with sixty thousand Russians. The baron de Kray, an excellent general, commanded the Austrian army in Upper Italy, in expectation of Melas and Souvarrow. Schérer, with the army of Italy, succeeding the conqueror of Arcola and Rivoli, had a doubly difficult task to fulfil, and exhibited, in the command, faults which strongly contrasted with the brilliant qualities of his predecessor : he knew not the art of winning either the affection or the confidence of the soldier ; and the sentiment of his own unpopularity added much to the natural irresolution of his mind. After having hesitated a long time, he attempted to cross the Adige without being master of Verona ; but he was beaten in the fields of Magnano, lost successively, in a multitude of unsuccessful combats, the lines of the Adige, the Mincio, and the Adda, and at length, pursued by the maledictions of his army, reduced to twenty thousand men, he gave up the command to Moreau. This illustrious general, in disgrace with the Directory, had been named a simple general of division in Schérer's army, and

had several times alone, in the course of this fatal campaign, preserved the army from total destruction. He gave a strong proof of devotedness and patriotism by accepting the command when it was reduced to a handful of men, and the Russians, joined with the Austrians, appeared to have but one blow to strike to annihilate it entirely. Never did Moreau display more talent, more coolness, more presence of mind, or more strength of will, than in the terrible situation in which the incapacity of Schérer had plunged the army. With twenty thousand men only against ninety thousand, he did not give way for an instant, and, as a celebrated historian of our days has said, "this calm collectedness was very much otherwise meritorious than that which he displayed when he returned from Germany with an army of sixty thousand victorious men, and yet, so strongly are contemporary judgments influenced by passions, it has been much less celebrated!" Moreau in the first place covered Milan, then set forward on his march, in two columns, to recross the Po, maintaining at each station an imposing attitude. He led his forces below Alessandria, to the confluence of the Po and the Tanaro; there, at the foot of the mountains of Genoa, he halted in an admirable position. He occupied the places of Casal, Valenza, and Alessandria, and had a chain of posts upon both rivers: on the one side he kept his communications with France free, on the other, he was contiguous to Tuscany, by which route he had to expect the French army of Rome and Naples, which Macdonald was bringing towards the Alps by forced marches. The junction of the two armies, under two such leaders as Macdonald and Moreau, would allow them to face the enemy, and might change the colour of the campaign.

The very day on which Moreau commenced his fine retreat was marked by a frightful violation of the rights of nations in the persons of the French plenipotentiaries at Rastadt. The congress assembled in that city was not dissolved, for France, then at war with the emperor, was still at peace with the princes of the Germanic empire; nevertheless, a great number of the latter yielded to the influence of Austria, and had recalled their deputies, when the Directory thought proper to recall theirs, and gave orders to the plenipotentiaries, Roberjot, Bonnier, and Jean Debry, to quit Rastadt: on leaving the city, they were followed by some Austrian hussars and massacred. Jean Debry alone, covered with wounds, escaped death. This crime remained unpunished, and the Directory threatened vengeance. But it was doomed to be

for a long time adjourned, and the campaign in Italy finished as it had begun, by sanguinary reverses. Macdonald, so long expected, at length arrived on the 18th of June in face of Souvarrow, in the basin of the Trebia, and, unfortunately, did not delay fighting till he had completed his junction with Moreau. The banks of this river were the scene of a terrible battle, disputed during three days by the forces of Macdonald alone against the army of Souvarrow. The French, after performing prodigies of valour, were driven back across the Apennine upon the Nova, at the moment when Moreau, forcing all the obstacles that had retarded his march, debouched from Novi; he hastened to support his unfortunate colleague, but could only cover his retreat. The two battles of Magnano and Trebia made the French lose Italy, as that of Stockach had cost them Germany. The confederates, under the archduke Charles, then attempted to pass the barrier of Switzerland, defended by Massena, whilst the duke of York landed in Holland with forty thousand men.

Such was, at the period of the elections of Floreal, in the year VII., the situation of France abroad: these elections were democratic, and at the same time Sieyès, the greatest antagonist of the Directory, entered into the government as the successor of Rewbel. The councils placed themselves in permanence, and demanded of the directors an account of the state of the republic; they were particularly acrimonious against Treilhard, Merlin de Douay, and La Réveillère. Treilhard was turned out upon a frivolous pretext, and Gohier, the ex-minister of justice, succeeded him: Merlin and La Réveillère remained exposed to the attacks of the councils. Barras abandoned them, and, on the 30th Prairial, they were constrained to lay down their directorial authority; General Moulins and Roger Ducos replaced them. This day completed the disorganization of the government of the year III. Sieyès from that time laboured to destroy the remains of it, supporting himself, in the Directory, upon Roger Ducos; in the legislature, upon the council of the Ancients; and without, upon the army and the middle class. The constitutional party was sustained by the directors Moulins and Gohier, by the council of Five Hundred, and the club of the Manège, formed of the wrecks of the clubs of Salm, the Pantheon, and the Jacobins. It was by the army only, and by a military leader of great name, that the plans of Sieyès could succeed; Bonaparte seemed to him to be the man to execute them.

The expedition to Egypt had been brilliant : the Mamelukes, a cavalry militia, independent of the Porte, and sovereign in Egypt, oppressed that unfortunate country at the time of Bonaparte's landing. They alone resisted the French intrepidly. The first conflict took place in the valley of Chebreisse. Before the battle began, Bonaparte, pointing to the Pyramids, pronounced these immortal words : "Soldiers, from the height of these monuments forty centuries behold you." He was conqueror, and this first victory was soon followed by a second at the very foot of the Pyramids : Cairo opened its gates the next day, and Rosetta and Damietta quickly submitted. Mourad Bey, chief of the Mamelukes, retired into Upper Egypt, where Desaix, charged with the pursuit of him, displayed the greatest talents, and gained much credit for his justice and moderation. The English admiral Nelson at this period inflicted a mortal blow upon the French navy. Admiral Brueys had imprudently moored the French fleet in the Road of Aboukir ; Nelson fell upon it, and almost entirely destroyed it. Bonaparte, notwithstanding, completed the subjection of Egypt, and employed every means to gain the good-will of the inhabitants, by conforming to their usages, and by citing the Alcoran in support of his decrees : he at the same time relieved from an hereditary oppression the Christians named *Cophites*, said to be descendants of the ancient Egyptians. The sciences occupied his attention in the interval of battles, and he founded the Institute of Cairo ; then, after having stifled a formidable revolt excited against his army in that city by the Ottoman Porte, he left his conquest behind him, and undertook that of Syria, in the hope of penetrating to India, and there assailing the English at the source of their power. His army crossed sixty leagues of an arid desert, and marched upon Gaza, which opened its gates to him. Jaffa and Caïfa were carried, and St. Jean d'Acre invested ; but Bonaparte was deficient in siege artillery, and made in vain seventeen furious assaults upon this place, defended by the talents of the French engineer Philippeaux and the English commodore Sir Sidney Smith. The Turks surrounded his army ; Junot triumphed over them at Nazareth, and Bonaparte, seconded by Kleber and Murat, gained the celebrated victory of Mount Tabor, after which he raised the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, and returned to Cairo, where he learnt, by the journals, the events of the 30th Prairial, and the unsettled state of the republic.

Anarchy reigned in France, a second forced loan had roused the indignation of the opulent classes, whilst the odious law of the hostages, which rendered the relations of emigrants responsible for the violences committed by the Chouans, again armed the royalists of the east and west against the Directory : Italy, with the exception of Genoa, was lost : Joubert was killed in the sanguinary battle of Novi, gained by Souvarrow, and the allies were advancing towards the French frontiers across Holland and Switzerland, where they were stopped by Brune and by Massena. Bonaparte, upon being informed of the state of things and of the public mind, resolved to return to France, and overthrow the directorial government : he was preceded by the fame of another brilliant victory. Eighteen thousand Turks had landed in the Road of Aboukir : Bonaparte, supported by Murat, Lannes, and Bessières, fell upon this army and annihilated it : he immediately set out, leaving Kleber the command of the army of Egypt ; he crossed the Mediterranean in the frigate *Le Muiron*, escaped the English fleet as if by a miracle, and landed in the Gulf of Fréjus, on the 9th of October, 1799, a few days after the celebrated victories of Zurich and Berghen, the first gained over the Austrians by Massena, and the second, by General Brune over the duke of York.

Bonaparte crossed France in triumph, and the moderate party welcomed him to Paris with enthusiasm. He did not give his adhesion to any system : affecting great simplicity, lodged in a modest apartment of the Rue Chantierine, he saw the leaders of all parties come to him, and deceived them all with regard to his projects. Sieyès dreaded him ; but he stood in need of a military leader for the execution of his designs : Bonaparte was the man to second him, and Sieyès came to an understanding with him. The business was to overthrow the constitution : the generals, with the exception of Bernadotte, were gained, as was the garrison of Paris, and on the 18th Brumaire, upon the demand of Regnier (de la Meurthe), one of the conspirators, the council of the Ancients decided that in virtue of the right which it held from the constitution, it should remove the legislative body to St. Cloud, in order, he said, that its deliberations might be more free. Bonaparte was charged with the execution of this measure, and obtained the military command of the division of Paris. He immediately attacked the Directory in

his proclamations and by his words : " What have you done," said he, " with that France which I left you so brilliant ? I left you peace ; I find war : I left you victories ; I find reverses. What have you done with the hundred thousand Frenchmen, my companions in arms, all of whom were known to me ?—They are dead ! " It was thus, by accusing his adversaries, he attributed to himself an excessive importance. Sieyès and Roger Ducos repaired to the Tuileries on the same day and laid down their authority. Their three colleagues wished to resist, but their guard refused to obey them ; Barras, losing all hope, sent in his resignation ; Moulins and Gohier were detained prisoners ;—the contest was now to be carried out between Bonaparte and the council of Five Hundred.

On the 19th of Brumaire, the legislative body proceeded to St. Cloud, whither an imposing armed force accompanied them. Bonaparte presented himself in the first place to the Ancients ; when summoned to swear to the constitution, he declared it to be vicious ; that the Directory was incompetent, for which he appealed to his companions in arms ; he next proceeded to the council of Five Hundred, which was seated in the Orangery, and where agitation was already at its height : his presence excited a furious tempest, and on all sides threatening cries arose of *Hors la loi ! à bas le dictateur !* Bonaparte, more accustomed to brave an enemy's fire than the menaces of a deliberative assembly, grew pale, became much agitated, and was borne out by the grenadiers who served him as an escort. The tumult continued in the hall ; Lucien, the brother of Bonaparte, presided over the assembly, which demanded from all parts that the tyrant should be outlawed, and required Lucien to put it to the vote. Lucien endeavoured to defend his brother, but finding his efforts useless, he quitted the chair, and threw off the ensigns of his magistracy. Bonaparte caused him to be borne out of the hall ; both mounted on horseback and harangued the soldiers, the one as the conqueror of Italy and Egypt, the other as the president of a factious assembly ;—the enthusiasm of the troops was excited : " Soldiers," cried Bonaparte, " may I depend upon you ? "—" Yes ! Yes ! " they answered, with one unanimous shout. Bonaparte then gave orders to compel the council of Five Hundred to evacuate their place of sitting : a troop of grenadiers entered the hall, Murat commanded it, and said : " In the name of the General Bonaparte, the legislative body is dissolved ; let all good citizens

retire : grenadiers, forward !” The drums smothered the cries of just indignation which arose from all parts ; the grenadiers advanced, and all the deputies made their escape before them out at the windows, to the cry of *Vive la république !* There was no longer a free representation, and there remained nothing of the French republic but the name.

BOOK THE THIRD.

CONSULAR AND IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

Establishment of the Consulate.—Campaign of 1800 in Italy and in Germany.—Victories.—Peace of Amiens.—Conspiracies.—Elevation of Napoleon Bonaparte to the Empire.—Third and fourth coalition.—Campaigns of 1805, 1806, 1807, in Germany, in Prussia, in Poland.—Military triumphs.—Conquests.—Fatal war in Spain.—Fifth coalition.—Campaign of 1809 in Austria.—Fresh victories.—Continental system.—Sixth coalition.—War in Russia.—Disasters.—Campaigns of 1813 and 1814, in Germany and in France.—Abdication of Napoleon.

10th November, 1799—20th April, 1814.

CHAPTER I.

Consulate. 10th November, 1799—18th May, 1804.

THE revolution of Brumaire was a crime against the laws ; and the assent which it obtained from the greater part of the nation is a proof of the state of degradation into which it had fallen. After such strong shocks and such cruel renderings, exhausted France, without credit and a prey to anarchy, felt the want of a strongly constituted central power, exercised by a skilful hand ; she pardoned much in him from whom she expected everything : every one, besides, expected to find in Bonaparte the man of his own party : the royalists exalted him as a new Monk, as the future restorer of the monarchy ; the moderate republicans loved in him the hero born of the revolution, and flattered themselves that by him liberty would be established upon solid and durable foundations. All these causes blinded people's minds, and although Bonaparte had made it very apparent what his ambition was able to undertake, the nation was but little on its guard against it ; license was then more terrific than despotism, and no one yet entertained a suspicion of to what point he would render the interests of liberty subordinate to those of his own greatness. This illusion was of very short duration.

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Those of the members of the two councils who had been accomplices of Bonaparte, or favourable to the revolution of Brumaire, hastened to establish the new government. Three consuls were chosen for ten years,—Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Roger Ducos ; at the same time two legislative commissions were named, charged with preparing the constitution and a definitive order of things. The first acts of the consular government were the abolition of the law of hostages and of the forced loan ; priests had liberty to return to France, and arbitrary and rigorous measures were taken against fifty-eight ardent republicans. The arbitrary character of Bonaparte revealed itself in the discussion of the new constitution. Sieyès drew up the plan of it, which Bonaparte rejected, reserving, however, as much of this project as would serve his absolute and ambitious views : the great powers of the state created by him were a consulate, which had the executive and initiative power of laws ; a tribunalship, which could discuss or examine them ; a legislative body, destined to decree them ; and a parliamentary senate, charged with the conservation of them.

Bonaparte, first consul, took as his second and third consuls Cambacérès, an ancient member of the *Plaine*, in the Convention, and Lebrun, formerly a co-operator with the chancellor Maupeou. The consuls immediately named sixty senators, without waiting for the list of eligibility : these sixty then named a hundred tribunes and three hundred legislators. The constitution of the year VIII. was submitted to the acceptance of the people, and obtained more than three millions of suffrages.

In accordance with the general wish, Bonaparte offered peace to England ; but that power refused it : it was particularly and almost solely for the interests of her commerce that she thought proper to prolong the struggle : she desired to have a monopoly of the whole world for her products ; she saw with fear and jealousy France mistress of Belgium, and dreaded the competition of the manufactures and trade of that country. Abusing the superiority she enjoyed in her fleets, England exercised an absolute tyranny over the ocean, and violated with impunity all the maritime laws of nations ; in her eyes, the flag of neutral powers did not at all protect the merchandise issuing from an enemy's port, and she took possession of it by force, exercising, without limits, and against neutrals even, the right of blockade and confiscation. It was thus that, reigning over the seas by the right of the

strongest, and suppressing by means of terror the commerce of rival powers, she thought to find in the extension of her own an ample amends for the immense expenses of a war the subsidies for which to the sovereigns inimical to the French republic, she was obliged to furnish. Pitt, who carried all the energy of an inflexible will into his animosity against France, persevered with inveteracy in this violent policy; he skilfully kept up the hatred and the fear which the first consul inspired in the sovereigns of the continent; he made them forget the depredations and the tyranny of the English fleets, and pointed out to them a perpetual danger for their crowns in a republic which every day increased in force and extent upon their frontiers, and he seduced them by the bait of the enormous subsidies with which he repaid their devotion to his exterminating system against France. It was thus that he secured for a long time the support of Russia and Austria. The first of these powers, however, indignant at seeing England recognise no other right upon the ocean but that of strength, abandoned her in the campaign of 1800, and, towards the end of the same year, Paul I., touched by a generous proceeding on the part of Bonaparte, who sent him back his prisoners without ransom, and likewise attracted by his chivalric* admiration for the warlike talents of the first consul, declared himself his ally against England. Deeply irritated at the numerous acts of piracy committed by the English fleets, he made himself chief of a *maritime confederation*, into which all the powers of the North,—Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia—entered; the object of which was to act in concert with France and the United States, to defend the liberty of commerce, and free the ocean from the tyranny of England. Austria alone, on the continent, persisted in the struggle against France, and the gold of England supported its armies.

Bonaparte directed all the strength of the republic to the Rhine and the Alps. Moreau had the army of the Rhine, the first consul reserved that of Italy for himself. The object of the campaign was to conquer the two basins of the Danube and the Po, and instead of endeavouring to overwhelm the enemy by taking the offensive on all the points at once, Bonaparte concentrated the movements of his armies. His first efforts tended to the separating of the

* To an English reader, what transparent nonsense is this tirade about the chivalric feelings of Paul I. and the generosity of Bonaparte!—
Trans.

Baron Kray, leader of the Austrian army of Germany, from Field-marshal Melas, who commanded a hundred and thirty thousand men in Italy, against whom the intrepid Massena defended Genoa and the maritime Alps with a mere handful of brave followers. Moreau received orders to invade the defiles of the Black Forest ; he carried the important position of Stockach, recently lost by Jourdan, and gained several victories successively. Baron Kray, deceived by the vigour and the scientific tactics of the first consul's manœuvres, was persuaded that the principal point of attack would be the Danube, that it was there the decisive blows would be struck, and, uniting all his forces, rendered himself incapable of assisting the Austrian army in Italy. Then Bonaparte, who had employed every means to deceive the enemy, by appointing Dijon as the place of meeting for an army of reserve, executed a gigantic project : he quitted Paris and hastened to take the command of the troops assembled at Geneva, and to carry the war unexpectedly upon the Po, between Milan, Genoa, and Turin : the base of his operations would be on the other side of the Simplon and Mount St. Gothard ; he wished to surprise the defiles of the Alps, in order to fall upon the rear of Melas, whose forces were spread from Genoa to the banks of the Var : the passage of the army and of its formidable artillery was to be effected over the crest of the Alps, at more than twelve hundred toises above the level of the sea. The cartouches, the munitions of all sorts, were conveyed on the backs of mules ; the gun-carriages were dismounted, trunks of trees were hollowed to receive the cannon, a hundred men were harnessed to each piece, and the signal for departure was given. On the 17th of May, thirty-five thousand French, led by Bonaparte, ascended the St. Bernard. Moncey marched towards St. Gothard with five thousand men, to descend at Bellinzona ; two other bodies were directed, one upon the Simplon and the other upon Mount Cenis. Lannes led the van. The French soldiers displayed on the edges of precipices, amidst glaciers and eternal snows, an heroic constancy worthy of the warriors of Hannibal or Cæsar ; they encouraged each other by war-like songs, and when an almost insurmountable object presented itself, the charge was sounded and the obstacle was conquered. At length, after unheard-of efforts, the infantry, the cavalry, the baggage, and the cannon attained the summits of the Alps, and very quickly the army was united at the foot of Mount St. Bernard, upon the other side, whilst

Melas, without suspicion, occupied the line of the Po with a part of his forces. Seventeen thousand Austrians were upon the Var, in France, and General Ott, with twenty-five thousand men, pressed on the siege of Genoa, which still held out, intrepidly defended by the feeble army of the maritime Alps, under Massena, Soult, and Suchet.

The pass of Susa was soon cleared, and Bonaparte directed his rapid march towards the Po, between the embouchure of the Tesin and the double confluence of the Tanaro and the Bormida. He destroyed several bodies of the enemy which he met with on his way, took possession of Bergamo and Cremona, and crossed the Adda. Informed, at length, by the reverses of his generals, of the storm that was about to pour down upon him, Melas recalled his lieutenants in haste to the Tanaro, at the very moment when famine obliged Genoa to capitulate. But Bonaparte pursued his march, and, without waiting till the whole of his army had crossed the Po, he attacked General Ott at Montebello, and gained the first victory. Lannes covered himself with glory in this battle, and might claim the greater part of the victory.

On the 13th of June, the French traversed the plains of San-Giuliano, and took a position between the Bormida and the village of Marengo, which they were about to render so celebrated. On the morrow, at break of day, the Austrians debouched by the bridge of the Bormida, and fell upon the two wings of the French army, commanded by Lannes and Victor; they were already both giving way under the impetuous shock of forty thousand men, when the first consul launched into the plain, towards the right, eight hundred grenadiers of the consular guard: they formed in square, and alone stopped the enemy's columns, which *broke* against them, and merited the glorious name of *redoubt of granite*, which the conqueror bestowed upon them. Their admirable resistance gave time for the other divisions to enter into line. Desaix, recently returned from Egypt, and who had been detached the previous evening to another point, was recalled in all haste to the field of battle: he at length appeared, with his division and fifteen pieces of cannon, and a fresh action, with renewed fury, was commenced along the whole line. In the meanwhile five thousand Austrians were detached in a square column to crush the left of the French, and deprive it of means of retreat: Desaix rushed forward to oppose them; he fell, struck by a ball: his soldiers, to

avenge him, precipitated themselves upon this terrible column and shook it, whilst General Kellermann took it in rear with his cavalry, broke it, and dispersed it. Electrified by this success, the whole French line moved forward, and drove back the enemy to the other side of the Bormida; in vain Melas attempted to defend Marengo; the village was carried, and gave its name to this celebrated victory, which restored Italy to France. Melas, terrified, proposed to treat, and soon the convention of Alessandria restored to France all that she had lost in Italy during the last fifteen months, with the exception of Mantua.

This treaty was nothing but a military convention; it became necessary for the army of the Danube, to constrain Austria by its triumphs, to ratify it. Moreau forced the passage of the Lech, got possession of Augsburg, re-established, after a century, the glory of the French arms in the celebrated plains of Hochstedt, and gained a new victory at Neuburg.* Austria summoned her whole male population to arms, England found the subsidies, and forbade her to sign the convention of Alessandria. Several armies were set on foot, the Archduke John marched with a hundred and twenty thousand men to meet the triumphant army of Moreau, and fell in with it between the Inn and the Iser. He advanced upon Hohenlinden, and endeavoured to stop the French in the vast plains of Anzing, where his army, very superior in numbers, might envelop them. Moreau penetrated his plan, and by a series of admirable manœuvres, got the enemy on to a more limited stage, between the defiles of the Tyrol and the village and forest of Hohenlinden; then he assured himself the victory by making the division of Richepanse turn the Austrians in such a manner as to take them between two fires in the defiles, without their having a possibility of extending and taking advantage of their numbers. The battle commenced on the 6th of December; in the heat of the action, Richepanse rushed from the forest with the forty-eighth brigade, and carried disorder and terror into the rear of the enemy; three Hungarian battalions rallied and endeavoured to stop him: "Grenadiers of the forty-eighth," cried Richepanse, pointing to the Hungarians, "what do you say of these men yonder?" "They are dead!" shouted the

* *La Tour d'Auvergne*, proclaimed by Bonaparte the first grenadier of the republic, fell in the battle of Neuburg. Until 1814, *La Tour d'Auvergne* was daily called in the roll-call of his regiment, and a voice replied: *Dead in the field of honour!*

grenadiers, and in an instant the effect followed the word ; the brave Ney attacked and penetrated into Hohenlinden ; the centre of the Austrians and a part of their left were destroyed ; eleven thousand prisoners and a hundred pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the French.

This brilliant victory and the taking of Salzburg opened the route of Vienna to Moreau ; the conqueror pursued his march, and gained a fresh victory at Schwanstadt ; the lines of the Inn, the Salsa, and the Traun were passed ; the place of Linz was carried ; the French were within a few days' march of Vienna. In such an extreme peril, the Archduke Charles, who had been in disgrace since the treaty of Campo Formio, was recalled to the head of the imperial armies ; but it was too late ; already the line of the Ens, the last rampart of the capital, was menaced ; the prince demanded a truce, and only obtained it upon the condition of Austria separating her cause from that of England. Such was this memorable campaign of 1800, in which the glory of Moreau almost outshone that of the conqueror of Marengo : in twenty-five days he subdued ninety leagues of territory, forced four formidable lines, beat a hundred thousand men twice, took a hundred pieces of cannon, and made twenty-five thousand prisoners ; he compelled the emperor to ask for mercy in his threatened capital, and Austria was constrained to repudiate the alliance of England. The peace of Luneville was the result of the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden.

Whilst Italy and Germany were again the glorious theatres of the French victories, the influence of the republic experienced severe blows in Egypt. Kleber and Desaix had at first maintained themselves there as masters, and the second, as much esteemed for his justice as for his courage, had completed the conquest of Upper Egypt ; but the army, decimated by sickness, received neither provisions nor reinforcements from France : Kleber addressed energetic remonstrances to the government, and painted his own situation and that of his soldiers in the most dismal colours ; he concluded by expressing an intention of evacuating Egypt. This letter fell into the hands of the English, and they believed the situation of the French army to be desperate. Sir Sidney Smith employed himself actively in bringing about a treaty between Kleber and the grand vizier ; on the side of France, Desaix, surnamed in Egypt *the Just Sultan*, was the negotiator. By the convention of *El-Arish*, he subscribed to the evacuation of Egypt, but only upon conditions

honourable for France and for the army : the army was to return to France with its arms, baggage, and effects ; the places and positions which the French troops occupied were to be given up successively at fixed periods. The army abandoned its conquest with regret ; but Kleber, faithful to his promise, caused the convention to be executed : he disarmed several forts, and placed the others in the hands of the enemy.

A report began to prevail that an English fleet blockaded the ports of Egypt, and very soon Admiral Keith wrote to Kleber that England refused to recognise the convention of El-Arish, concluded under her auspices, and that she would not consent to any capitulation unless the French army laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. At receiving this letter, Kleber recovered his fiery energy and became a hero again ; his order of the day was the letter itself of the admiral, to which he added : " Soldiers, the only reply to such letters is victory ; prepare to fight." The grand vizier, Joussef Pacha, advanced, in contempt of the treaty, at the head of eighty thousand men ; Kleber could scarcely muster ten thousand ; but they were enough : he knew how to conquer. He met the enemy upon the ruins of Heliopolis : the battle lasted twenty-four hours ; the Turkish army was routed and pursued to the limits of the desert. Cairo revolted ; a numerous body of Mamelukes roused the fanaticism of a furious populace ; the city was the scene of fresh exploits : Kleber obtained possession of it after a frightful carnage. He soon recovered in Egypt all the territory and influence he had lost, displayed wonderful activity in the organization of the reconquered country, and created for himself new resources. Mourad-Bey admired his conqueror and treated with him ; and Kleber made his government and love of justice respected throughout the country. If he had lived, Egypt might have become a stable establishment for France ; by his death all the fruit of the victory of Heliopolis was lost ; Kleber fell under the poniard of a fanatic, the same day that Desaix, his rival in glory, expired at Marengo. General Menou inherited the command in chief ; but, destitute of talent or strength of character, he was only capable of committing faults, without ever having the good sense to repair one of them ; and the following year, after the undecisive battle of Canope, the evacuation of Egypt and the return of the French army to Europe were stipulated on the 2nd of September, by the convention of Alexandria. The

savants who had accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt, preserved, notwithstanding the wishes of the English to the contrary, their manuscripts and their valuable collections, and the expedition to Egypt was only productive of fortunate results for science.

The peace of Luneville, concluded on the 8th of January, 1801, between France, Austria, and the empire, secured to the republic the possession of Belgium and the German provinces on the left bank of the Rhine. Particular treaties were made with Rome, Naples, Sardinia, Portugal, and Bavaria, as well as with Russia, recently fallen into an alliance with England, in consequence of the assassination of Paul I. This tragic event produced disastrous consequences for France : Paul I. was her most firm and formidable ally ; after his death, the maritime confederation, abandoned by Russia, was dissolved, and with it disappeared the most serious motive that could lead England to wish for peace or to maintain it ; nevertheless, at the end of the campaign of 1800, this last-named power was itself constrained to suspend hostilities. Pitt, the irreconcilable enemy of the revolution, the head of the English cabinet, quitted the ministry, in which the opposition took the place of him and his party, and the treaty of Amiens, signed on the 25th March, 1802, by England, Spain, and the Batavian republic, achieved the pacification of Europe. Released from any other foreign care, Bonaparte endeavoured to subdue the island of St. Domingo, which had revolted against the whites, and was governed by the blacks, at the head of whom was the celebrated Toussaint-Louverture. Forty thousand men, under General Leclerc, were sent to effect this conquest. After some early successes, the yellow fever decimated them, and St. Domingo was lost for France beyond recovery.

The first consul gave his most earnest endeavours to stifle the factions in the interior ; by a decree of amnesty he caused the revocation of the law which excluded a hundred and fifty thousand emigrants from France ; he won over several of the royalist leaders, and confided important functions to Simeon, Portalis, Barbé Marbois, and many other of the proscribed of Fructidor. Some Vendean leaders, Châtillon, D'Autichamp, Suzannet, and the famous Bernier, curé of St. Lo, had already signed their submission by the treaty of Montluçon. La Prévalaye and Bourmont followed their example ; Frotté was taken and shot ; George Cadoudal capitulated, and the war of the west was at an end.

But to war succeeded conspiracies : Bonaparte escaped death, as if by a miracle, the 3rd Nivose, in the Rue St. Nicaise, from the explosion of an infernal machine, of which the royalists ~~were~~ the fabricators, but of which Fouché, the minister of police, at first attributed the invention to the democrats. He proposed to transport a hundred and thirty-two of them in an arbitrary manner ; recourse was had, to authorize this measure, to a dangerous expedient, borrowed from the Roman senate at the period of the decline of that empire, and a simple *senatus consultum* ordered, without any preliminary trial, the deportation of a hundred and thirty-two suspected persons.* After this act of violence, several of the true conspirators were discovered ; special military tribunals were created to try them, and the despotism of Bonaparte thus announced itself by a series of illegal measures. The Constitutional party separated itself from him on this occasion, and commenced an energetic struggle : this party had at its head, Lanjuinais, Grégoire, Garat, and Cabanis, in the senate ; and Isnard, Daunou, Chénier, and Benjamin Constant, in the tribunate : all these were loud in their protestations against arbitrary proscription and special courts.

The difficult circumstances, however, amidst which the tutelary authority of the first consul was raised, rendered, for a time, the exercise of the dictatorship less reprehensible in his hands ; and perhaps we may be permitted to say that at this period the immense advantages of his government expiated the wrongs committed by it : anarchy had reigned everywhere, and everywhere he re-established order, applying his strong will, his active and abundant intelligence to everything. He re-established regularity in the civil and military administration : the civil code, of which he then conceived the project, was a monument of genius, and became a model of legislation for Europe. Bonaparte reconstituted the judicial order upon new bases ; he replaced the four hundred and seventeen correctional tribunals and the ninety-eight civil tribunals by a tribunal of *première instance*† for each arrondissement : this tribunal was to take cognizance of both matters of correctional police and civil affairs ; access

* It is remarkable that the violation of legal forms by a *senatus consultum*, to which Bonaparte then had recourse to strengthen his power, was repeated, fourteen years later, to decree his fall.—Bignon, *Hist. de France*.

† An inferior tribunal, which takes cognizance of all disputes in civil matters, above a certain sum.—*Trans.*

to justice then became more easy for all citizens. Above the tribunals of *première instance* were created nineteen *cours d'appel*; each department had a criminal tribunal, and the tribunal of *cassation* received some new faculties. The *préfectures* and *sous-préfectures* were reorganized after a better method: a single magistrate, a prefect, replaced the five administrators of each department; and this change gave strength and unity to the civil and local power. Public instruction, the Institute, commerce, manufactures, roads, ports, arsenals, occupied the attention and the cares of the first consul; seconded by Monge and Berthollet, he gave a better organization to the Polytechnic School, created during the reign of the Convention; he divided the French Prytaneum into four colleges, keeping one at Paris, and transferring the other three to Fontainebleau, St. Germain, and Versailles; in each of them he reserved a hundred gratuitous places for the children of men who had merited well of their country, whether in the career of arms or in civil functions. Assisted by the skilful minister Gaudin, he re-established order in the finances; he created a mortmain fund and one for bails, which were confided to the intelligent direction of M. Mollien: this creation has a happy influence over public credit. Considering the clergy as an indispensable auxiliary of power, Bonaparte endeavoured to win them over to his cause, and signed with Pope Pius VII. a concordat, which established nine archbishoprics and forty-one bishoprics in France; he founded the hierarchical order of the Legion of Honour, of which he declared himself the head: this creation, which was offensive to the sentiment of equality, met with a warm opposition in the legislative body and the tribunate, both of which, however, adopted it. The first consul, whilst occupying himself in so active a manner with the national interests, neglected nothing to strengthen his own authority: we have seen by what arbitrary acts he thought it necessary to crush and prevent conspiracies; he did more: he enchained the press; by means of the senate, caused the most energetic tribunes to be expelled, and after having obtained ten years' prolongation of his consulship, he had himself named, on the 2nd of August, 1802, consul for life, with the consent of the people, obtained by means of public registers. Two days later, the constitution of the year X. was decreed by an organic *senatus consultum*; he completed the taking away of all power from the people; the electors were for life; the first consul had the power of

augmenting their number ; the senate had that of changing the institutions, suspending the functions of the jury, of placing the departments without the benefits of the constitution, of annulling the judgments of the tribunals, and of dissolving the legislative body and the tribunate : the number of the tribunes, already lessened a first time, was reduced to fifty, and the Council of State, reconstituted by Bonaparte, received a more vigorous organization and more extensive faculties.

Such was the work of two years, and every day the government of the first consul deviated more widely from the spirit in which the revolution had been made ; but the nation was so tired of anarchy, such a want of order and security was felt, the remembrance of the days of *terror* acted so powerfully upon all minds, that the people, always ready to throw themselves into extremes, seconded all the ambitious views of the first consul, and sacrificed the interests of liberty, acquired by so much blood, to those of power.

The peace between Great Britain and France was nothing but a suspension of hostilities ; fresh differences soon armed these powers against each other : Bonaparte united the island of Elba and Piedmont to the French territories, and occupied the states of Parma, whilst Great Britain persisted in holding Malta and the Cape of Good Hope : on both sides they prepared for war, and the peace was definitively broken in June, 1803. The coasts of the two seas were bristling with batteries ; England displayed all her naval strength, and seven French armies occupied Italy and the camps of Bayonne, St. Malo, St. Omer, Bruges, Boulogne, and Holland.

A second and redoubtable conspiracy was got up at the same time, against the first consul, by some Chouan and royalist leaders : at the head of these were Pichegru and George Cadoudal ; Moreau was their confidant, but not their accomplice. The plot was discovered in February, 1804 ; Pichegru, Moreau, and afterwards Cadoudal, were arrested. This event was agitating the public mind, when all at once a sinister report was spread throughout Paris : the blood of a Bourbon had been spilt ; a French prince, the duke d'Eng-hien, had been juridically assassinated. Abused by false reports regarding the nature of the relations of the prince with Pichegru, informed besides that a gathering of emigrants was forming on the Rhine frontier, in the Pays de Bade, the first consul resolved to terrify his enemies by an

awful blow, and caused the prince to be carried off by a detachment, from a foreign territory. The duke d'Enghien arrived at Paris on the 20th of March, was conducted to Vincennes, where, in the night, a military commission tried him and condemned him to death: the sentence was instantly executed. The first consul had decreed his death when he chose his judges; he dug the grave of the last of the Condés in the ditch of Vincennes, and all his glory cannot efface the stain left by that crime upon his name. Paris, France, Europe, were still agitated by this sanguinary act, when the trial of Pichegru and Moreau began. The conqueror of Holland, unfaithful to his own renown, had descended, through jealousy and ambition, to play the part of a vulgar conspirator; the proofs were overwhelming, he foresaw his fate; his great spirit, said Bonaparte himself, could not face the infamy of execution; Pichegru despaired of the clemency of the first consul, or rather, despised it; he strangled himself in his prison. George Cadoudal appeared intrepidly before his judges, and astonished them by the concise energy of his replies: "Where does the prisoner lodge?—Nowhere. What was his design in coming to Paris?—To attack the first consul. By what means?—By open force. Was it not with the poniard?—No, with equal arms with the escort of the first consul. Where would he expect to find supporters?—In the whole of France. Whom has he seen in Paris?—I will name no one." His heroic constancy, worthy of a better cause, never forsook him for a moment. But he who then attracted all thoughts and inspired the most lively interest, was the rival in glory of the first consul, the conqueror of Hohenlinden, the illustrious Moreau. There was no decisive evidence against him, and it was said that, after having stained himself with the blood of a Bourbon, Bonaparte further desired to be delivered from the only man whose soldierly reputation could be compared with his. Nevertheless, Moreau had, from either hatred or jealousy, been induced to lend an ear to the projects of the conspirators: he confessed that he knew them, but honour, he said, did not permit him to reveal them. Moreau, often, in private life, guilty of a deplorable weakness of character, before the tribunal recovered that strength of mind which never forsook him in the field of battle. There is no doubt the first consul was desirous of a capital condemnation, in order to afford him the opportunity of lowering Moreau by his clemency; and care was taken to insinuate to

the judges that they might make the sentence severe without any danger for the accused, as the first consul intended to pardon him : " And who will pardon us ? " asked one of his judges. This noble reply was made by the learned Clavier. Moreau was condemned to two years' imprisonment. Bonaparte commuted the punishment to that of exile to the United States. Of forty-five accused persons, seventeen were condemned to death ; and among them George Cadoudal, Charles de Rivière, and Armand de Polignac : the punishment of the last two was commuted ; the first died as he had lived, without the least sign of weakness.

The war against Great Britain and Pichegru's conspiracy assisted Bonaparte in elevating himself from the consulship to the empire. But, previously, he added to the attributes of the senate, which were already so extensive : this body was nothing but a docile instrument in his hands, and all the authority that it would in appearance acquire was a real gain to the power of the first consul. At this period, nevertheless, as in the early days of his government, Bonaparte neglected nothing that might make the people forget his yoke by his attention to national interests and wants : he recompensed all useful discoveries, all services, all talents ; his vast mind embraced at once objects the most varied ; the same day on which he distributed pensions to old workmen, he instituted decennial prizes as an encouragement to all kinds of knowledge, to all the arts which embellish and enrich states. He favoured with all his power the propagation of vaccination, recently introduced into France by the respectable duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, one of the benefactors of the human race ;* and there is scarcely any branch of civil or military administration in which his genius did not develop some happy germ of amelioration. France opposed no resistance to Bonaparte, because in him, for a length of time, personal greatness allied itself with the national interests of greatness, glory, and prosperity ; and he obtained the suffrages of his fellow-citizens by his pacific labours as much as by his exploits.

When he had thus triumphed over all resistance, he caused

* It is painful for the translator of so good a work as this to observe the spirit which governs the author with respect to England. Readers of our own history cannot fail to observe the numerous injustices and omissions where our honour is concerned. We can pardon the softening down of a British victory, even the omission of a naval fight glorious to the British flag ; but we cannot pardon this—in any part of the world where vaccination is acknowledged as a blessing, the name of JENNER ought to be inseparable from it.—*Trans.*

himself to be entreated by the senate to govern the republic under the name of *Napoleon Bonaparte*, and with the title of *hereditary emperor*. Carnot, faithful to the cause of liberty, in vain opposed the wishes of the senate and his colleagues : the empire was proclaimed on the 2nd Floréal, year XII. The constitution underwent fresh modifications ; the sittings of the tribunate became secret, and all free publicity was interdicted. Napoleon, on his accession to the imperial throne, caused his brothers Joseph and Louis to be named French princes, and created eighteen marshals of the empire : these were Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellermann, Lefebvre, Perignon, and Serrurier. He was desirous that his reign should have, together with the consent of the people, that of the clergy : he obtained both ; the French nation, by an immense majority, accepted the new emperor, and the clergy chanted the praises of him in whom they beheld a new Cyrus. Pope Pius VII. came to Paris, and on the 2nd of December, 1804, in the church of Notre-Dame, Napoleon, accompanied by his wife Josephine, and surrounded by the great bodies of the state and the dignitaries of the church, was consecrated emperor of the French by the sovereign pontiff ; but he did not receive the crown from his hands, he took it from the altar, and crowned himself, pronouncing this solemn oath : “ I swear to maintain the integrity of the territory of the republic ; to respect and cause to be respected the laws of the concordat and freedom of worship ; to respect and cause to be respected equality of rights, political and civil liberty, and the irrevocability of the sales of national property ; to impose no tax, to levy no impost but by virtue of the law ; to maintain the institution of the Legion of Honour, and to govern with a sole view to the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people.”

Whilst in France a new prince thought to found, for his dynasty, an imperishable throne, a fugitive prince, the heir of the ancient kings, neglected by the sovereigns of Europe, and forgotten by his most faithful servants, protested, in the face of heaven and the world, against the decrees of fortune. The following is the oath which was then pronounced, in an obscure village in Sweden, by him who was destined to reign, at a later period, under the name of Louis XVIII :—“ In the bosom of the Baltic, in the face of and under the protection of Heaven, strong in the presence of our brother, in that of the duke d’Angoulême, our nephew, and in the approbation of the other princes of our blood, attesting, both the royal

victims, and those whom fidelity, honour, piety, innocence, patriotism, and devotion, presented to revolutionary fury, or to the thirst and jealousy of tyrants, invoking the manes of the young hero whom impious hands have just ravished from his country and from glory ; presenting to our peoples, as a pledge of reconciliation, the virtues of the consoling angel to whom Providence, to give us a great example, has pleased to assign fresh adversities, by extricating her from the hands of executioners and from chains : we swear, Frenchmen, that the sacred tie shall never be broken by us which inseparably unites our destinies with yours, which binds us to your families, your hearts, and your consciences : never will we give up our claim to the heritage of our fathers, never will we abandon our rights. Frenchmen, as a witness to this oath, we call upon the God of St. Louis, upon him who sits in judgment upon judgments."

This oath of a right royal mind was then scarcely heard, and the weak echo which carried it into France expired in the midst of the noisy pomps and the thousand adulating clamours of the coronation. The long-empty throne was not only filled, but he who was seated upon it wished to fill up in appearance, around him, the immense interval which separated the new times from those of the ancient monarchy : he wished, from a poorly vain ambition, to resuscitate in France the ancient customs of the other courts of the continent ; he surrounded himself with their ostentatious pomps, he appointed dignitaries of the crown, he had his chamberlains and his pages ; but whilst seeking to revive around the throne the worn-out forms of the ancient régime, and whilst suspending the liberties of the people, he respected the real conquests of the revolution, which were, the division of property, the uniform payment of the taxes by all the citizens without distinction of classes, equality in the eyes of the law, the eligibility of all to all public employments, and the separation of church and state. He had likewise caused to be recognised, in a great number of states subdued by his arms, in Germany and Italy, many of those principles which are the bases upon which, in our days, liberal constitutions are founded. It is from the maintenance of them that at a later period were destined to be born the liberties of the French people, at a period when despotism could no longer be imposed upon them in the name of military glory.*

* Alas for historical presciences ! Dec. 2, 1851—Dec. 2, 1852.—*Trans.*

CHAPTER II.

From the accession of Napoleon to the taking possession of Spain.
1804—1808.

IF Napoleon, after the peace of Amiens, had preferred the interests of France to those of his own ambition, he might have secured to her the fruits of twelve years of convulsions and war, and made her the moderator of Europe ; but he preferred being the sovereign of it ; and, keeping his eye fixed upon the great image of Charlemagne, he believed himself called to the same destinies. In the first place he wished to join to the title of emperor of the French, that of king of Italy, and the representatives of the Cisalpine republic decided that that country should be erected into a kingdom in his favour. Napoleon set out immediately for Milan, where he encircled his brow with the iron crown of the Lombard kings, and named Eugène Beauharnais, his son-in-law, viceroy of Italy. The establishment of this kingdom, the union of the empire with the territories of Genoa and Piedmont, and the efforts of the English cabinet, again directed by the minister Pitt, aroused Austria, and produced a coalition against France, of England, Austria, and Russia, where the emperor Alexander had succeeded to his assassinated father. Napoleon, in the camp at Boulogne, meditated a descent upon England, and was preparing a formidable armament for that purpose, when he learnt that two hundred and twenty thousand Austrians were advancing in three bodies under the archdukes Ferdinand, John, and Charles, towards the Rhine and the Adige, and that two Russian armies were on the march to join them. He immediately quitted Boulogne, crossed the Rhine on the 1st of October, 1805, at the head of a hundred and sixty thousand men, and advanced into Germany, whilst Massena stopped Prince Charles in Italy. The Danube was crossed, and Bavaria occupied ; Napoleon and his lieutenants rivalled each other in courage and success. Murat triumphed at Vertingen, Dupont at Hasslach, and Ney at Elchingen. Astonished by so many and such rapid reverses, the Austrian general Mack allowed himself to be invested in Ulm, and laid down his arms with thirty thousand men. This capitulation opened the gates of Vienna to the French, into which city Napoleon with his army made his entry on the 13th of November. From thence he marched into Moravia to meet

the Russians, and encountered them with the remains of the Austrian armies in the plains of Austerlitz.

On the 1st of December, Napoleon placed his line of battle between Austerlitz and Brunn ; he supported his right on the Lake of Menitz, and his left on the mountains, between the basins of Schwartza and Marcheck ; before this line was the hill of Santon, from which Napoleon watched all the movements of his army. The Russians and the Austrians debouched by Wischnaw, and established themselves between the French line and the village of Austerlitz. Napoleon saw them with joy weaken their right, which crowned the heights, and crowd all their forces to the left, for the purpose of covering the plain, and falling upon his right flank ; he had combined everything to crush them, if they abandoned the heights, upon which each of the two armies supported one of its wings ; and when he saw their first movements towards the left, he exclaimed : " Before to-morrow night all that army will be mine." At nightfall, the emperor visited, unannounced, the bivouacks of his soldiers ; they recognised him, they saluted him with their acclamations, the whole line sparkled with fires ; it was the anniversary of his coronation that his soldiers were celebrating, and this great day presaged victory. Napoleon re-entered his tent and completed his plans for the next day. Bernadotte was to command the centre ; Soult, the right, where the effort was to be decisive ; Lannes was to defend the left and the strong position of Santon, armed with a battery of eighteen pieces ; and Davoust was to keep in check the left wing of the allies at Ruygern. All the cavalry was under the command of Murat ; twenty of the best battalions formed the reserve. On the 2nd of December, at the moment the sun rose over this famous plain, three hundred thousand men were ready to enter upon their dreadful conflict, and the fate of the Austrian monarchy was the stake. Napoleon passed along the front of his regiments, and cried : " Soldiers, this campaign must be finished by a thunder-clap." Shouts of enthusiasm replied to him, and the battle commenced. The enemy, still fixed upon turning the right of the French army, abandoned, on the centre of their new line, the heights of Pratzen. Soult received orders to seize upon them, which he immediately did. Kutusoff, the general of the Russian army, saw his error and wished to repair it, but all his efforts were powerless ; the French occupied these heights, which divided the enemy's line, and whilst Davoust held the allies in check on

the right in the plain, Murat, Lannes, and Bernadotte carried their principal positions on the right. But, at this moment, the cavalry of the imperial Russian guard came sweeping down upon the field of battle, carried confusion into some of the bravest battalions, and restored the fight : Napoleon saw the danger, and detached the intrepid Rapp at the head of the cavalry of his guard ; after a terrible conflict, the Russians were broken and dispersed, and Rapp, with his sabre broken, and his horse covered with blood, galloped back to announce the victory : the remains of the enemy's army were driven into a shallow of the lake, surrounded by a circle of fire ; mowed down by the grape-shot, they endeavoured to fly over the ice, but it broke under them and engulfed them : fifteen thousand Austrians and Russians perished, twenty thousand were made prisoners, and forty colours and two hundred pieces of cannon were the trophies of this memorable victory. On the day after the morrow, the emperor Francis II. came to the conqueror in his tent, and sued for peace, which was signed on the 26th of December, at Presburg. By this treaty the house of Austria ceded the provinces of Dalmatia and Albania to the kingdom of Italy, and a great number of her possessions to the electorates of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, which were transformed into kingdoms. The Russian army obtained permission to return into Russia without being molested, and the battle of Austerlitz, the most glorious perhaps of the military career of Bonaparte, put an end to the third coalition.

The year 1805, so abundant in triumphs for France on the continent, witnessed the complete destruction of her navy. The combined fleets of France and Spain, under the command of Admiral Villeneuve, beaten on the 22nd of July, lost, on the 21st of October, the celebrated battle of Trafalgar. Thirty-two French and Spanish ships were defeated by twenty-eight English ships, commanded by Nelson : only thirteen ships of the combined fleet escaped from this disaster. This immense victory cost England the life of her great admiral, but it secured her the sovereignty of the seas, and Napoleon never after attempted to shake her power on that element.

The trophies of Ulm and Austerlitz mitigated the regrets which France naturally gave to her naval losses. Napoleon returned to Paris after his brilliant campaign of three months, and was received with universal enthusiasm. He

became intoxicated with his fortune, and seemed determined to destroy the last vestiges of the revolutionary institutions. The republican calendar was definitively replaced by the Gregorian calendar, upon which a decree bestowed a new saint, by ordering that, on the 15th of August, the festival of Saint Napoleon should be celebrated throughout the empire ; another decree destined the basilic of St. Denis to be the place of sepulture of the emperors ; the Pantheon was restored to the Catholic worship, and the tribunate ceased to exist. Napoleon, who had by the peace of Presburg, created the kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, declared that the house of Naples had lost the crown, as a chastisement for the part it had taken in the last coalition, and he transferred the Neapolitan sceptre to his brother Joseph : he erected the United Provinces into a kingdom, in favour of his brother Louis, and named Prince Murat, his brother-in-law, grand duke of Clèves and Berg. One single republic still remained of all those which, under the Directory, surrounded France,—which was Switzerland, and Napoleon declared himself the mediator of that country. He endeavoured to re-establish the military hierarchical government of the feudal times, and transformed several provinces and principalities into great fiefs of the empire, which he bestowed as rewards upon his ministers and most illustrious generals : thus Dalmatia, Istria, Friouli, Codore, Belluno, Conegliano, Treviso, Feltrino, Bassano, Vicenza, Padua, and Rovigo were erected into duchies, and Neufchâtel, Benevento, and Guastalla into principalities. Two years later, Napoleon inflicted the last blow upon the republican institutions, by creating a new hereditary nobility, in which ancient illustrations took rank, for the most part, after the celebrities of the day. A Montmorency was made a count at the same time that Fouché, the minister of police, became a duke. This was trifling with the good sense of the public, and misconceiving the characteristic differences between past and modern times ; it was being desirous to commence a new era, by representing himself as the principle and source of a new order of things, and at the same time giving to the institutions of an advanced civilization, the forms adopted by those of the middle ages. But the press was then compelled to be adulatory or silent,* and the laurels of Napoleon, by shading his faults, procured their pardon.

* At the present day it is difficult to conceive the violence with which all liberty of thought was suppressed under the empire. To satisfy his

Everything smiled upon his wishes in the year 1806 ; Pitt, his irreconcilable enemy, was dead, and Fox, the leader of the parliamentary opposition, succeeded him. Pacific negotiations were immediately opened between the two powers, and actively followed up by the minister Talleyrand. But pride already blinded Napoleon ; an ill-directed ambition for the greatness of his family, made him commit, from this period of his reign, great and injurious errors : he was determined to drive the house of Bourbon entirely from the Neapolitan throne ; expelled from the continent, this family still continuing to reign in Sicily, he required that that island should be reunited to the states of his brother Joseph ; and in order that England might not oppose this new conquest, he offered her in exchange the restitution of Hanover, which had been ceded to Prussia. This proposal, which nothing could justify, was too much opposed to the commercial interests and honour of England to be accepted. Fox himself, notwithstanding his desire for peace, could not, when signing it at this price, have reckoned upon the consent of parliament, and the negotiations were very soon suspended. Napoleon, however, following up his unbounded projects of domination in Europe, completed the organization of his military empire, by placing the ancient Germanic body under his dependence. On the 12th of July, 1806, fourteen princes of the south and west of Germany united together in the Confederation of the Rhine, and recognised Napoleon as their *protector*. The act of confederation established that there should be between the French empire and the confederated states an alliance, in virtue of which, every continental war which one of the contracting parties should have to sustain, should immediately become common to all the others : it conferred upon the princes signing it the rights of

vengeance on this head, Napoleon did not wait for the sentences of the tribunals ; judicial forms were too slow for him, and he inflicted, by his own personal authority, imprisonment or exile upon the writers who dared to displease him : the most celebrated were the most exposed to his vindictiveness, and many, in order to escape it, were obliged to fly into Russia. Among this number was Madame de Staël, the illustrious author of *Corinna* ; as was the witty writer who at this period obtained such brilliant success upon the French stage, M. Alexander Duval.—*De Bonnechose*.—[Years of historical studies will scarcely find anything more curious and instructive than the above note, *written* by the author in the reign of Louis Philippe, when he flattered himself all such tyranny was at an end, and *read* when Louis Napoleon has not only had recourse to similar, but even worse means to obtain and preserve the ill-got throne of his uncle.—*Trans.*]

sovereignty over the multitude of princes and counts which existed in the Germanic territory, and who, in quality of members of the *immediate noblesse*, only held before of the emperor of Germany and of the empire. This act thus accomplished for Germany that which the kings of France had, long before, done with respect to the great vassals and their fiefs. The confederation weakened Prussia and Austria as much as it added to the power of Napoleon : it strengthened his empire, by covering it, on the right bank of the Rhine, by a girdle of states the more devoted to his interests, from his being alone able to guarantee to their princes the conservation of that which he had given them. The peace of Presburg had rendered the voice of Napoleon all-powerful in Germany ; and he who had most to lose by the Confederation of the Rhine, the emperor Francis II., had not the power to oppose any obstacle to it : he submitted to the destiny which had been pronounced at Austerlitz : he abdicated the title of emperor of Germany, and preserved, under the name of Francis I., the title of emperor of Austria, which he had taken in 1804. Thus ended the German empire, after an existence of a thousand years.

Frederick William, king of Prussia, however, justly irritated against Napoleon, who, after having guaranteed to him the possession of Hanover, had offered, as a condition of peace with England, to restore to her that electorate, was still further, and with reason, alarmed at the invasions of France and its constantly growing ascendancy in Europe ; he resolved to form in Germany a *Confederation of the States of the North*, in order to oppose the Confederation of the Rhine, and he sent the emperor an ultimatum, in which he laid down, as the first condition for the maintenance of peace, the retreat beyond the Rhine of all the French troops cantoned in Germany. Napoleon was indignant at a condition in which he saw nothing but an insult ; he would not permit Hesse, Saxony, or the Hanseatic cities to enter into the league of the North, he rejected the ultimatum of Prussia, and Frederick William prepared for war. This prince invaded Saxony, the French ambassador was insulted at Berlin, and the young and beautiful queen of Prussia rode about that city on horseback, in a military costume, in order to awaken the warlike enthusiasm of the people : "It appears," said Napoleon, when speaking of her, "as if one saw Armida in her distraction setting fire to her own palace." These words were prophetic. France crushed this fourth coalition

formed by Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and England. The death of Fox, which happened shortly after that of Pitt, destroyed all hopes of conciliation between the last-named power and the French empire.

Napoleon opened the campaign on the 28th of September, and on the 14th of October the fate of Prussia was decided by two glorious victories; the emperor triumphed at Jena, and his lieutenant Davoust was a conqueror, on the same day, at Auerstadt; Lubeck was taken, all the Prussian fortresses capitulated, and in a few days this despotic and military monarchy was annihilated. Napoleon traversed the field of battle of Rosbach, where his presence effaced the disgrace the arms of France had undergone in the preceding century;* he visited at Potsdam the tomb of the great Frederick, and carried away his glorious sword; then he exercised his right of a conqueror, and his decrees disposed of crowns. The elector of Hesse, before the war, had refused to disarm at his command, and without declaring war openly against Napoleon, he had only waited for a reverse of the imperial arms to unite his troops with those of Prussia: Napoleon punished him by deposing him. The elector of Saxony, a prince worthy of the highest esteem, and whose states, since 1756, formed a province of Prussia, had been compelled to follow the fortunes of that monarch: it was with regret that he had taken up arms against France, and after the war he adhered to the Confederation of the Rhine: the emperor declared his states independent of Prussia, and erected them into a kingdom. But it was not enough to subdue the continent to his power; victory, however glorious it might be, could have no durable result if England were not constrained to make peace: this power might have accepted it, if Napoleon had been sincerely willing to impose some sacrifices upon himself or the princes of his family, and to cede territories, the possession of which, without being of any real advantage to France, was, in his hands, a perpetual cause of humiliation and insult for the sovereigns of Europe; but he preferred having recourse to a new despotism, to an unheard-of conception for reducing England to peace. On the 21st of November appeared at Berlin the famous decree for the blockade of the British isles. This decree, in the

* What nonsense; what worse than nonsense is this! How can nations expect peace and happiness, if animosities are to be kept up in this silly manner by historians? What had the two periods, or the two quarrels to do with each other?—*Trans.*

first place, stated the violation of the rights of nations by England, the abuse of the right of conquest which she extended upon the seas to the vessels and merchandise of commerce, and of the right of blockade, by which this power prevented at its pleasure maritime communications between nations; then, in its principal dispositions, it declared the British isles to be in a state of blockade; it interdicted all commerce, all correspondence with them; it ordered the seizure of English persons or merchandise that should be found in the countries occupied by France or her allies. Every nation that would not adhere to the system established by the decree of blockade was considered as an enemy to the French empire. Thus was established the system called continental, because the obligations which it imposed were to be observed by the whole continent. It was injurious to the interests of all nations, and concealed a deeply-seated vice, which Napoleon could not or would not perceive: to pretend, in fact, to exclude English merchandise from all the ports of Europe, was to oblige the English to close, in retaliation, the sea, of which they were the masters, against the vessels of all nations; it was to devote to misery the populations of the North and the South, to whom trade with England was a vital necessity, and was sowing the germs of an obstinate resistance and an implacable hatred. This system, there is no doubt, did immense injury to England, and brought upon her expenses which increased beyond measure her already prodigious debt; but it did not at all place this power at the discretion of her rival, as Napoleon hoped it would; and it led him, on the contrary, to a series of violent measures and gigantic operations, which precipitated his fall.

Frederick William, although conquered and deposed, had not lost all hope: the Russian army would have attacked the French in concert with him, if the rapid movements of the emperor had not prevented them. Napoleon, the conqueror of the Prussians on the field of Jena and Auerstadt, met the Russians on the plains of Poland, and on the 2nd of December, the anniversary of his coronation, he addressed these words to his army: "Soldiers, a year ago to-day, and at this very hour, you were on the memorable field of Austerlitz. The terrified Russian battalions fled in disorder before you, or, surrounded, laid down their arms to their conquerors. The next day they uttered words of peace; but they were deceitful. Scarcely escaped from the disasters of the third coalition, they have formed a fourth; but the ally upon

whose tactics they founded their principal hopes is no more. His strong places, his capitals, his magazines, his arsenals, two hundred and eighty colours, seven hundred pieces of cannon, five great fortified places, are all in our power. . . . All have fled at your approach. In vain the Russians have endeavoured to defend the capitals of this ancient and illustrious Poland : the French eagle hovers over the Vistula. We have conquered upon the Elbe and the Oder, in Pondicherry, our India establishments, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. Who would give the Russians the right to reverse such just destinies? They and we, are we not the soldiers of Austerlitz?" This haughty proclamation announced that between England and Napoleon no peace could possibly exist.

The Russians advanced in two bodies, under the orders of Benigsen and Buxhofden : a multitude of partial combats, almost all glorious for the French arms, marked the early days of the campaign, and at length the two armies, the one under Benigsen, the other under Napoleon, came in contact *en masse* on the plains of Eylau : the conflict was bloody, was awful ; a thick snow misleading the French divisions, added to the horrors of the day, and for a long time rendered the victory uncertain. Soult, Angereau, and Davoust rivalled the Russian generals in heroism ; at length Davoust succeeded in breaking the left of the enemy, and the rout was about to be complete, when the Prussian corps of General Lestocq arrived upon the field of battle, in spite of the skilful manœuvres of Marshal Ney, who was charged to keep him in check. Lestocq did not snatch the victory from the hands of Napoleon, but he saved the Russian army, and protected its retreat. The war was not finished, and Napoleon took up his winter quarters in Poland.

One of the strongest places of the Prussian monarchy, and that which its position renders the most important—Dantzic, had not yet succumbed : Marshal Lefebvre, who had the duty of pressing the siege of it, redoubled his efforts, and, in spite of all the Russians could do to save it, it capitulated on the 24th of March, 1807. General Benigsen then collected all his forces and opened a new campaign at the head of a hundred and thirty thousand men ; Napoleon marched to meet him ; his generals triumphed in the combats of Spanden and Gustadt, and, after the undecisive battle of Heilsberg, the fate of the war was decided on the plains of Friedland.

On the 14th of June, the anniversary of Marengo, the Russian army debouched by the bridge of Friedland over the

Alle, and offered battle. Napoleon accepted it, and assigned their places to his lieutenants and the different corps of his army : on the right was Marshal Ney, supported by the cavalry of Latour-Maubourg ; in the centre Marshal Lannes, on the left Mortier and the cavalry of Grouchy ; the imperial guard and Victor's corps formed the reserve. The Russians supported their left upon Friedland, and their right extended far into the plain. Napoleon ordered the city to be carried : this being accomplished, would allow the Russians to be attacked in front and flank ; the taking of Friedland would be winning the battle. A triple salvo gave the signal for action ; Ney's division on the right moved rapidly forward, whilst the others confined their efforts to keeping the enemy in check ; Latour-Maubourg's dragoons charged and dispersed the enemy's cavalry ; Ney advanced in spite of a desperate resistance ; he entered Friedland behind the Russians ; the conflagration of the place announced his success ; Lannes, Mortier, Victor, then charged with vigour ; the enemy, attacked by them in front, were at the same time enveloped on their left by the victorious division of Marshal Ney, and fell into complete disorder : driven back upon the banks of the Alle, a multitude of men perished in the waters ; ten thousand killed, and thirteen thousand prisoners, were the principal results of this great battle, which put an end to the war. Alexander sued for peace. A conference took place upon a raft on the Niemen, between Napoleon, the czar, and the king of Prussia, and on the 7th of July peace was signed at Tilsit. Alexander sacrificed every other interest to the desire of obtaining Napoleon's sanction for the incorporating of Russia with Finland, a Swedish province, and with Moldavia and Walachia, provinces of the Turkish empire ; he very feebly defended the cause of his unfortunate ally, King Frederick William, and Napoleon was harsh with this prince, whom he considered the instigator of this sanguinary war ; he only restored half his states to him, and levied an enormous war-contribution upon that half. Alexander and the king of Prussia subscribed a decree which erected Saxony and Westphalia into kingdoms, the one increased by a large portion of the Prussian territories, the other by Hanover. They recognised the elector of Saxony, already crowned king by the emperor, as grand duke of Warsaw, and Napoleon's brothers, Joseph, Louis, and Jerome, as kings of Naples, Holland, and Westphalia. The Confederation of the Rhine

was extended to the Elbe, and Alexander, after having obtained from the mouth of Napoleon some words favourable to his ambitious projects, fully adhered to the continental system laid down by the decree of the 21st of November.

England saw Russia escape from her influence with great regret. Willing to keep, at any price, a footing in the Baltic, she required Denmark to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance, and, as a guarantee, the giving up of her capital and fleet : the king refused, and Copenhagen underwent, on the 2nd of September, 1807, a terrible bombardment, which reduced three hundred houses to ashes : the Danish fleet, composed of fifty-three ships of war, fell into the hands of the English. The victim of this act of iniquitous violence, Denmark, avenged herself by immediately adhering to the continental system, after the example of Russia. Sweden alone, in the north, continued in arms after the treaty of Tilsit ; its feeble king, Gustavus IV., declared himself the avenger of Europe against Napoleon ; but, abandoned by England, plundered by Russia, lately his ally, he saw Stralsund and the isle of Rugen taken from him, lost Pomerania beyond redemption, and alienated, by his silly pride the affections of his subjects : all the sea-board of the Baltic yielded to the yoke of France. England had in vain endeavoured, some months before, to subdue the Ottoman Porte, then at war with Russia, and the ally of France ; an English fleet, after having passed the Dardanelles for that purpose, was repulsed by some formidable batteries, got ready in haste by Sebastiani, the French ambassador. At the end of 1807 there only remained one state on the continent subjected to the direct influence of Great Britain : that was Portugal, and Napoleon, who, by the decree of the continental blockade, arrogated to himself the right of disposing at his pleasure of the fate of all nations, signed, on the 27th of September, 1807, at Fontainebleau, an iniquitous treaty with Spain, by which Portugal, as a chastisement for its alliance with England, was to be partitioned almost entirely between the king of Etruria and Godoï, prince of Peace, who governed the Spanish monarchy : this treaty recognised Charles IV., king of Spain, as suzerain of the two states formed by the dismemberment of Portugal. A proclamation, issued on the 13th of December, 1807, announced that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign. Twenty-eight thousand French, under the command of Junot, were charged with the execution of this sentence, and before their

arrival at Lisbon, the prince regent of Portugal embarked for Brazil, abandoning his capital and fleet to the invading army.

This rapid success and the scandalous divisions of the members of the royal family of Spain inflamed the ambition of Napoleon, and led him to consider the Peninsula partly or wholly his conquest. The feeble Charles IV., entirely under the subjection of Godoï, prince of Peace, the favourite of the queen, had rendered himself contemptible in the eyes of all his subjects, of whom Ferdinand, prince of the Asturias, had become the idol, by declaring himself the adversary of the odious favourite. Napoleon, at the height of his fortune, the object of the admiration and respect of Charles and his son, had already been chosen as the arbitrator of their differences, and the prince of the Asturias had solicited the honour of allying himself with his family: the emperor might have exercised over Spain, by pacific ways, a sovereign influence, and might have profited, advantageously for his system, by the hatred which numerous naval defeats had inspired in the Spaniards against the English; but he wished for more than this, and whilst the looks of all the Spanish royal family were turned towards him with hope, a French army crossed the Pyrenees, under Murat, grand duke of Berg, and, all at once, the report was spread at Madrid that the places of Barcelona, Figueres, Pampeluna, and St. Sebastian were militarily occupied by the French. Soon afterwards, Napoleon, in contempt of the treaty of Fontainebleau, demanded the reunion of the provinces on the left bank of the Ebro with the empire. Charles IV. and his queen were struck with stupor; Godoï advised them to imitate the prince regent of Portugal, and to embark to go and reign over their dominions in America. His advice was listened to, and everything was prepared for departure; but Ferdinand put a stop to this; he called the population of Aranjuez to arms, and denounced the base counsels of Godoï as fresh perfidies; a rising ensued, the troops participated in it, and Ferdinand directed it; he caused Godoï to be arrested, held his father captive, forced him to abdicate, and then made his triumphal entrance into Madrid, in quality of king of the Spaniards; but on the morrow, the 23rd of March, Murat, without waiting for the orders of the emperor, entered that capital with his army. Charles IV. protested against his forced abdication, and Murat refused to acknowledge the royalty of Ferdinand, Napoleon alone being able to pronounce between them. The emperor came to Bayonne, where he

invited the king and his son to meet him, in order that he might decide as supreme arbitrator of their differences and their destinies ; they arrived, and Napoleon, master of their persons, pronounced in favour of the king ; he constrained Ferdinand to renounce the throne, to restore the crown to his father, and then prevailed upon the latter to yield it to him himself. Charles IV. received as a habitation the castle of Compiègne, and his son was detained captive in that of Valençay. Thus was consummated, by means of a perfidious trick, an odious act of usurpation, the results of which became fatal to its author, and gave the first blow to his fortunes. Murat in the meanwhile held Madrid in his power, and, dominated over by French influence, the council of Castille demanded Joseph, the elder brother of Napoleon, for king of Spain.

An assembly of notables was immediately convoked at Bayonne, where the emperor organized a j unto charged with the provisional government. Joseph gave up to Joachim Murat the crown of Naples, immediately quitted that capital, arrived at Bayonne on the 7th of June, and was recognised king of Spain by the duke de l'Infantado and a deputation from the nobles and various bodies of the state. The assembly at Bayonne voted a constitution, to which Joseph swore, and on the 9th of July, he was on his march for Spain. But already the indignant and furious Spaniards had taken up arms, the clergy set the example of revolt, declaring Heaven to be interested in the cause of Ferdinand, and designating Napoleon as the Antichrist : the whole army rose, and a provisional j unto of government, assembled at Seville, contested and annulled the acts of the j unto of Bayonne. On the day of St. Ferdinand, new Sicilian Vespers were sounded against the French throughout Spain ; their squadron was taken at Cadiz, and the crews were slaughtered ; the Spaniards signalized their vengeance in a great number of places by massacres and atrocities ; they declared war against the French, and the Portuguese followed their example. Bessières, however, conquered Rio-Secco at Medina : his victory opened the gates of Madrid to King Joseph, who made his entrance into that capital on the 20th of July, but almost at the same moment General Dupont capitulated shamefully at Baylen, and laid down his arms with twenty-six thousand soldiers. This terrible check shook the authority of the French in the Peninsula, and redoubled the courage of the Spaniards ; Joseph was obliged to quit Madrid, eight days after his solemn entry. Portugal was in arms, and an

English army landed in that country, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards duke of Wellington. Junot, with ten thousand men only, risked the battle of Vimeiro against twenty-six thousand English and Portuguese ; he was conquered, and soon after signed the capitulation of Cintra, which at least permitted him to return to France with honour. Portugal was evacuated ; Joseph had already no place left in Spain but Barcelona, Navarre, and Biscay ; the English, so lately the enemies of the Spaniards, were welcomed with open arms. Napoleon was enraged at learning the reverses of his arms in the Peninsula ; he was indignant and grieved at this first disgrace his eagles had met with ; he determined that his best lieutenants, that his legions of Germany and Italy, should cross the Pyrenees to efface the shame of Baylen, to stifle in its cradle so threatening and unexpected an insurrection ; he recalled them from the banks of the Niemen, the Spree, the Elbe, and the Danube, and in a proclamation addressed to his brave soldiers, he gave vent to his feelings in this cry for war and vengeance : "Soldiers, I want you . . . Let us carry our triumphant eagles to the Columns of Hercules : there also we have insults to avenge. You have surpassed the renown of modern armies, but have you equalled the glory of the armies of Rome, which in one campaign triumphed upon the Rhine and the Euphrates, in Illyria and upon the Tagus ? A long peace, a durable prosperity, will be the reward of your labours. A true Frenchman cannot, ought not to think of repose till the seas shall be open and free. Soldiers, all that you have done, all that you still will do, for the happiness of the French people and for my glory, will be eternally in my heart."

Although an aim of general interest may be invoked in these haughty words as the only pretext for this war, it is too evident that another motive gave birth to it, and that it derived its origin entirely from personal ambition. If Napoleon, in fact, had only wished to close Spain against English commerce, he could have done so either by leaving Ferdinand to reign under his tutelage, or by placing the sceptre more firmly in the hands of Charles IV. : by despoiling them both, he aroused the ardent passions of an enthusiastic people ; he revived the animosity of the European cabinets, which were alarmed, and with reason, at so unheard-of an usurpation, and saw no end to his invasions. Napoleon was about to launch at hazard into a career without limits, in which he bewildered himself, and met with a precipice : even

at the point of his history at which we have now arrived, his star began to pale, and the prestige of the invincibility of his arms was destroyed.

CHAPTER III.

From the interview at Erfurt to the abdication of Napoleon at Fontainebleau. 1808—1814.

NAPOLÉON, resolved to subdue Spain, in September and October, 1808, strengthened his alliance with Alexander, and the two emperors appeared at this interview to be the more anxious to come to a good understanding, from their having to obtain from each other a high and mutual guarantee for recent usurpations, impatiently endured by the rest of Europe. The troops of Alexander had conquered Finland, in the north, from Sweden, and had, in the south, invaded the Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Walachia, whilst the French troops covered Spain. The two sovereigns concluded a treaty, by which Napoleon acknowledged the three provinces invaded by Russia as an integral part of that empire; Alexander, in return, acknowledged the Napoleonic dynasty in Spain, and, in case of war on the part of Austria, they engaged to take up arms against that power in concert. This treaty, to the drawing up of which every moral consideration was foreign, was built upon nothing but the interests of the ambition of the signing monarchs, and could only exist as long as these interests should remain unchanged; it was, by its nature, little likely to be durable. Nevertheless, as soon as he was assured of the pacific disposition of Alexander, Napoleon himself joined his legions in Spain.

Palafox, Castaños, and Blake, commanded the enemy's army of a hundred and eighty thousand men, which extended from the coasts of Biscay to Saragossa; but Napoleon marched, accompanied by his great captains, at the head of his veterans, and victory was certain. Soult triumphed, on the 10th of November, at Burgos, where he broke the Spanish centre; the next day Victor gained a great advantage over their left at Espinosa, under General Blake, and their right was put to flight by Marshal Lannes, at Tudela. The narrow passage of the Sommo-Sierra was now the only obstacle between the French army and Madrid; six pieces of artillery defended this defile, which appeared impregnable;

Napoleon ordered his Polish lancers to charge, and the battery was carried at the gallop : on the 3rd of December, the French army made its entrance into Madrid. The English army of Portugal, under Sir John Moore, was on its march to cover this capital ; but on learning the disasters of the Spanish armies, it retreated before Napoleon, towards Astorga and Corunna. Soult had orders to pursue it to the place of its embarkation, and, according to the words of Napoleon, "to cast it into the sea with the sword in its reins." He drove it before him to Corunna ; there, Sir John Moore, occupying a good position, gave battle, was conquered,* and died like a hero : his army embarked the next day. Spain, with the exception of some cities, the principal centres of insurrection, appeared to be subdued ; Napoleon brought back his brother, King Joseph, to Madrid, and he thought to win the Spaniards by abolishing the Inquisition, by speaking to them of franchises, and promising them the abolition of feudalism ; but he addressed a people who did not understand him or his views, who only listened to the voices of their priests and to the proud heroism which could not endure a foreign yoke : this people soon replied to the liberal promises of the usurper by cries of rage, and by a new and a more formidable insurrection.

Austria, in the meanwhile, was emboldened by the absence of Napoleon, by the withdrawing of the veteran troops, and by the insurrection of the Tyrolese against the Bavarians, the new masters France had given them, and formed a fifth coalition with England : the archduke Charles accepted the command of the troops, which amounted to five hundred thousand men, divided into eight bodies : one of them, under the archduke Ferdinand, was to invade Poland ; three others, under the archduke John, marched into Italy and into the Tyrol, the insurrection of which they kept up : the other bodies, assembled on the frontiers of Bohemia, directed their course towards the Rhine, raising all Germany, in which several secret societies,—and among them the most celebrated, the *Tungenbund* of Prussia,—only waited for a signal to fly to arms and liberate their country. The French troops in these countries at that time did not amount to

* So far from being conquered, he secured the embarkation of his army, and Soult did not execute the vulgar and brutal command of his master. Sir John Moore made an admirable retreat before overwhelming numbers ; a piece of generalship Bonaparte never performed in the course of his career—when conquered, he was in all instances a craven.—*Trans.*

more than a hundred and thirty thousand men, and these were spread from the Baltic to the Danube, under the commands of Bernadotte, Davoust, and Oudinot : Eugène, with some divisions, occupied Piedmont and Italy. At the first report of the projects of Austria and the movement of its armies, Napoleon quitted Spain and arrived in Paris : from thence he despatched numerous forces into Germany and Italy. The vast field of his operations extended from Poland, where Poniatowski commanded, to Italy, where Eugène had sixty thousand soldiers under his orders. Napoleon quitted Paris on the 10th of April, and was on the Danube on the 17th ; but his orders for the concentration of his forces, ill understood by Marshal Berthier, his major-general, had not been executed : the emperor, on his arrival, found his army divided into several masses, of which the two principal were thirty leagues from each other ; the first, under Davoust, was at Ratisbon ; the second was at Augsburg, under Massena ; between these two points, in the centre, were stationed the Bavarians, the Wurtembergians, and the rest of the army of the Confederation of the Rhine ; but these auxiliary troops were feeble, insufficient and incapable of resisting the shock of the enemy, who was about to fall upon them, after having debouched by Landshut, on the right of the Danube : the intention of the archduke was to force the centre of the French army by passing between the divisions of Davoust and Massena. Napoleon saw the peril, and employed all the resources of his genius ; he took advantage of the hesitation which the enemy showed on their arrival, and held them two days almost motionless, concealing the weakness of the forces at his disposal in the centre, in face of them ; he ordered Davoust and Massena to come up as quickly as possible and join the army of the confederation, in the environs of Neustadt, so as to menace the front and left flank of the archduke Charles, who, astonished by these rapid and skilful manœuvres, did not dare to venture further forward, and drew nearer to the right bank of the Danube, towards Ratisbon, which Davoust had just abandoned, and of which the Austrians took possession. A conqueror in the battle of Thann, Davoust effected his junction with the centre, and on the 19th of April Napoleon saw all his army assembled under his hand. The four following days were marked by four fresh victories ; at the battle of Abensberg, the emperor broke the archduke's line ; at Landshut, he occupied his basis of operations, put

his left to flight, and carried his parks and his magazines ; at Eckmühl, on the 22nd of April, he beat the whole army of the enemy, and drove it back between the Iser and the Danube ; the Austrians escaped by Ratisbon, which Napoleon carried the next day, after a sanguinary conflict, in which he received a slight wound in the heel. Prince Charles retired to the frontiers of Bohemia, and the French directed their course towards Vienna.

One day, during this rapid march, whilst Napoleon was conversing with Lannes and Berthier, a guide pointed out to them the castle of Dirsteim, in which Richard Cœur de Lion had been imprisoned on his return from the Holy Land : the emperor stopped, he contemplated these celebrated ruins for a considerable time, and on pursuing his route, said : " He also went to make war in Palestine and Syria ; he was more fortunate than we were at St. Jean d'Acre, but not more valiant than thou, my brave Lannes ! . . . He beat the great Saladin . . . and yet, scarcely had he regained the shores of Europe, when he fell into the hands of men in no wise his equals, and was sold by a duke of Austria to an emperor of Germany. . . One of the humblest of his courtiers, Blondel, alone remained faithful to him ; but his nation made many sacrifices for his deliverance." Napoleon again turned his eyes upon those Gothic towers, and remembering his own generous behaviour towards the kings he had conquered, he added that a sovereign in modern times would escape the fate of King Richard : then he fell all at once into a profound and silent melancholy. Perhaps, reflecting on the hatred of his enemies, he doubted that which he had just asserted ; perhaps he had a presentiment that the fate of Richard might one day be his own, and that no new Blondel would deliver him from it. But his hour was yet far distant, fresh triumphs were reserved for him, and on the 13th of May, one month after the opening of this brilliant campaign, he entered for the second time into the capital of Austria. The war, however, was not yet ended, the emperor Francis retired to Znaim with imposing forces, and the archduke Charles drew near the capital along the left bank of the Danube : he soon took up his position in face of Vienna, in the famous plains of Wagram. In order to terminate this war and dictate a peace, it was necessary for Napoleon to conquer this army ; but the bridges of the Danube had been destroyed ; the river, divided into several branches, rolled its vast waters between the two armies, and to reach the

Austrians immense labour and great and perilous efforts were required.

Numerous isles divide the Danube in the neighbourhood of Vienna; the largest is the island of Lobau, four leagues in circumference, almost in front of the city, from which two branches of the river separate it; the first is three hundred mètres wide, the second about five hundred. In face of this island, on the other bank, are the villages of Aspern and Essling: the Danube between them and the island of Lobau is not more than a hundred mètres in width. It was across this great island that Napoleon determined to effect his passage. On the 19th the bridges were thrown over to Ebersdorf; on the 20th the island was carried: when there, Napoleon collected his troops and overlooked the last works of the bridges. Scarcely had thirty thousand men, under Lannes and Massena, passed to the left bank of the river, than they took possession of the villages of Essling and Aspern, where they withstood, during two days, the shock of a hundred thousand Austrians; the villages were five times taken and retaken, and gave their names to these terrible battles. At length another portion of the French army crossed the river and joined the intrepid troops of Lannes and Massena; that of Davoust was to follow them: Napoleon could not wait for them, and, in his impetuous ardour, assumed the offensive against an enemy twice as numerous as his own army. His words and his example electrified his brave followers; as formerly at Arcola and Lodi, he precipitated himself upon the Austrians, who gave way and fell back; the intrepid Lannes penetrated their centre; the archduke was in full retreat, and Napoleon was following up his victory, when, all at once, he learnt that the division under Davoust, which ought to have assured it, had not been able to effect its passage, and that the bridges over the Danube were broken: he found himself, with one-third of his forces, compromised by victory itself, which had carried him too far and separated him from the main body of his army: he halted, and commanded a retreat. The Austrians rallied, and poured down upon the French in formidable masses, endeavouring to inclose them in a half-circle of fire and drive them into the river; but the French communications with the island of Lobau were not broken, and it was thither Napoleon directed his retreat. He beheld thousands of his brave followers fall around him, he lost the heroic D'Espagne, the brave St. Hilaire, and Lannes, his

friend, the duke of Montebello, who fell with his two knees broken by a ball, and expired in his arms. Massena, however, firm as a rock, made face against the archduke, kept him back, and covered this perilous retreat: Napoleon and all the troops that had crossed the river re-entered the great isle of Lobau, which became the head-quarters of the French.

Eugène, commanding-in-chief the army of Italy, was in march to join Napoleon on the Danube. Macdonald, Grenier, and Baraguay d'Hilliers commanded with glory under him: this army was victorious at the battle of the Piave, and in the fights of the San-Daniel, Tarwitz, and Goritz: it drove before it, in these various contests, eighty thousand Austrians under the archduke John, and prevented his junction with the archduke Charles; at length, on the 14th of June, the anniversary of Marengo and Friedland, it completed its victory over them at the battle of Raab, took that place, and joined the emperor in the island of Lobau. This victory allowed Napoleon to resume the offensive.

After forty days' labour, three great parallel bridges, thrown across the Danube, united the isles, to which the emperor gave the names of Lannes, D'Espagne, and St. Hilaire, killed at Essling, and opened a passage for a hundred and fifty thousand combatants and five hundred pieces of cannon. The army crossed the river in the stormy night between the 4th and 5th of July, in which thunder and lightning were confounded with the thunder of a hundred fiery mouths that protected the passage. The army crossed the river on the west of the isle of Lobau; on the morrow it presented itself in battle-array on the left of the enemy, and carried, by attacking them in the rear, the formidable intrenchments raised in face of the isle, between Ebersdorf, Essling, and Aspern. A vast plain extended beyond these places, before the French army; the hills which surrounded it on the west and the east were occupied by the Austrian army, which defended a formidable position on the left bank of the Russbach: Wagram was in the centre of the Austrian army. An attack upon the heights was uselessly attempted the first day by Davoust, Lamarque, and Oudinot: the two armies slept upon the field of battle in which, on the next day, the destinies of Europe were to be contended for.

At daybreak three hundred thousand men were drawn up in a line of two leagues in length. Napoleon rode along it at a gallop, and pointed out with a silent gesture to his army,

the hills of Wagram and the tower of Neusiedel on the steep banks of the Russbach: there lies the greatest peril, but there, as certainly, will be the victory. Davoust and Oudinot, on the right, had orders to carry them; Eugène, with the army of Italy, and Bernadotte with the Saxons, were in the centre; Massena commanded the left towards the Danube. The right of the archduke moved, preceded by sixty pieces; it took the rear of the French army, and separated it from the Danube: Bernadotte's Saxons were put to flight. Napoleon ordered a change of front on the left, and launched against the Austrian columns the divisions of Massena and Macdonald, with the cavalry of his guard under the brave Bessières; a hundred pieces of cannon thundered upon it, but the Austrian artillery replied well to this terrible fire, and the formidable column still kept advancing: an aide-de-camp announced to Napoleon that the enemy was already close on the rear of his army: but he remained silent, his eagle glance was fixed upon the right,—upon the heights of Russbach; all at once, Davoust's fire, in front of the tower of Neusiedel, announced to him the success of his right wing and the danger of the enemy: "Fly," said he to the aide-de-camp; "tell Massena that he must attack with spirit, and the battle is won." He at the same time gave orders to Macdonald to precipitate himself upon the centre of the Austrians, to Oudinot to carry the position of Russbach, and to Davoust to press on his attacks. The heroic Macdonald poured down like a torrent upon the centre of the enemy's line and broke it, whilst Massena, along the river, kept the Austrian column in check, and drove it, at length, back upon its rear. The Austrians were in flight along their whole line: Davoust carried Wagram, Macdonald pressed forward as far as Brunn, and Napoleon pitched his victorious tents on the field of battle. He embraced Macdonald, and created him, Oudinot, and Marmont, marshals. The victory was dearly disputed; twenty-five thousand men on the two sides were either killed or disabled.* This sanguinary battle decided the fate of Austria, the archdukes John and Ferdinand having both failed, the one in Lombardy, the other in Poland and Galicia. Francis I., being conquered, signed, on the 14th of October, the peace of Vienna, by which he ceded several provinces, and adhered to the continental system. Pope Pius VII.,

* I have followed, in the rapid sketch of the campaign of 1809, the excellent work of General Pelet, who has described these great battles after having taken a glorious part in them.

lamenting the privation of part of his territories, had seconded this last coalition, and refused to close his ports against the English ; in addition to which, he eluded one of the principal clauses of the Concordat, by constantly deferring the sending of pontifical bulls to newly-made French bishops. After having exhausted every means of conciliation to overcome this obstinate resistance, Napoleon dethroned Pius VII. as a temporal sovereign, and was excommunicated. The effervescence of the multitude, excited by the presence of the pontiff, placed the French troops at Rome in the greatest peril. General Miollis, governor of the city, judged the sending away of the pope necessary, and Pius VII., violently dragged from the pontifical palace, was taken first to Savona, and thence to Fontainebleau : he there underwent, with Christian fortitude, a captivity of four years ; and the ancient capital of the world was transformed into the *chef-lieu* of a French department.

A hundred thousand English had, during this campaign, attempted a descent upon Holland ; Flushing fell into their power, and they threatened Antwerp ; but the good state of the defences of that place and a levy of the national guards in the departments of the North, rendered their efforts fruitless ; sickness thinned their ranks in the marshes of Zealand, and they evacuated Flushing, after having experienced great losses.

The Spanish insurrection had become more serious immediately after the departure of the emperor ; a report was spread that Napoleon again required the union of the left bank of the Ebro with France ; and this too well-founded report redoubled the popular indignation and fury : the insurgents organized themselves as guerillas, and made the French soldiers find a second Vendée in Spain ; the people rose and flew to arms in all parts, and the oath of union and national independence was the tie which united all parties against France. In vain the lieutenants of Napoleon gained numerous victories in the Peninsula : Sebastiani triumphed at Ciudad-Réal ; Victor, at Medelin ; Soult, at Oporto, where twenty thousand Portuguese were left upon the field of battle ; but the example of Palafox, the defender of Saragossa, and the heroism of the inhabitants of that city, who buried themselves under its ruins rather than submit to the conqueror, excited the enthusiasm and patriotism of the Spaniards : the English, who were warmly welcomed by them, successfully seconded their efforts. On the 28th of

July, Joseph fought with Sir Arthur Wellesley the undecided battle of Talavera, which England celebrates as a victory : Sebastiani was conqueror on the 21st of August, at Almonacid, and Mortier, with twenty-five thousand men beat fifty thousand, at Ocana, on the 19th November ; Andalusia was open to the French, but yet Spain was not subdued. Soult in the south, and Suchet in the north, began the campaign of 1810. Granada, Malaga, and Seville were occupied by the French, and the provisional Junta of Seville transported itself to Cadiz, which Marshal Victor fruitlessly besieged. It was at this period that South America shook off the Spanish yoke, and proclaimed the federal government of Venezuela. Massena, prince of Essling, maintained the war in Portugal against the army of Wellington, much superior to his own. A serious misunderstanding which took place between him and Marshal Ney compromised the success of the campaign ; he marched towards the capital, was beaten at Busaco, and was stopped in the month of December, by Wellington, before the formidable lines of Torres Vedras, which covered Lisbon.*

Whilst the Peninsula was devouring the best soldiers of the French armies, Napoleon attained the highest point of his wonderful destinies. Equally seduced by the desire of obtaining an heir as by the ambition of allying himself to the ancient dynasties of Europe, he repudiated Josephine de Beauharnais, his first wife, and married, on the 30th of March, 1810, Maria Louisa, archduchess of Austria, daughter of the emperor Francis.

Holland was, in the course of this year, united to France ; Napoleon dethroned his brother Louis, whose kingdom had become an entrepôt for English merchandise. The *Moniteur*, on this occasion, published the policy of the emperor with regard to those he crowned : "Learn," said he to the kings, his brothers, "that your first duties are due to me and France." This policy, when thus revealed to Europe, contributed powerfully to raise it against him. One of his lieutenants was called, at the same period, to the succession of the throne of Sweden : the imprudent and choleric Gustavus IV. had been dethroned in 1809, and his uncle, the

* Our readers must look to such an involuntary admission as this for the best refutation of the French claims to the battle of Talavera and other contests—they lost Spain and Portugal, together with their best men, this they cannot deny : posterity will judge who won the battles.
—*Trans.*

duke of Sudermania, had succeeded him under the name of Charles XIII. : this prince, having no issue, adopted as son, in 1810, Bernadotte, prince of Ponte-Corvo, elected, by the States-General, prince royal of Sweden. Napoleon saw in this election an event that would complete the subjection of the North to his system ; it did not occur to him that his lieutenant, formerly his enemy, might some day prefer the interests of the people he reigned over to those of his native country, and he permitted him to accept his royal destinies. Sweden, after the accession of Charles XIII., adhered to the continental system, and the blockade was for a moment observed throughout Europe.

It becomes necessary to stop here for a moment to take a glance at the immense achievements of Napoleon, and to measure his colossal power by examining some of the causes of his elevation and of his fall. He was borne to the very summit of human greatness by his genius, his victories, and by the wishes of a nation which, dazzled by the prestige of a new name decorated with a glorious halo, sighed for order and repose after long tempests ; he was borne thither, above all, by that concealed Providence which produces upon the stage of the world the men that are wanted when their time is come, and which, too frequently unacknowledged by themselves, elevates, directs, and supports them till their work be accomplished. France applauded the high fortunes of Napoleon, because she stood in need of him, because, after having secured her power abroad, and done much for her glory, he, still further, perceived her wants and contributed to her internal prosperity. We have described his exploits, his conquests, his administrative and legislative labours ; we have not room to expose those of a particular and special interest : his vast intelligence embraced all things ; he passed, without effort, with wonderful facility, from one subject to another ; and no detail was beyond the reach of his vigilant solicitude : sometimes combining the wants of a numerous youth with the interests of his warlike empire, he created schools for the army and navy, gave a military organization to Prytaneums and Lyceums, opened these establishments gratuitously to the sons of the brave men who fell in the field of battle, and founded several houses purposely for their daughters : sometimes occupied with the commercial and manufacturing interests of the country, he created the general council for fabrics and manufactures, granted honourable rewards to the authors of useful discoveries, proposed prizes

for various inventions or improvements of high importance, gave 100,000 francs to the chemist Proust for his discovery of the sugar of the grape, decorated Ternaux with the Legion of Honour for his superior fabrication of cloths, and promised a million to the inventor of a machine to spin flax. The manufactures of woollens and silks received immense encouragement from him, and the cultivation of cotton was, by his orders, attempted in both Italy and Corsica. Other important cares engaged his attention in turn—such as the provisioning of the cities and the armies, the clothing of the troops, sanitary measures for the capital, and the destruction of mendicity. Besides an understanding of the material interests of the country, Napoleon had a feeling for what was great, and France owes to him the execution, the embellishment, or the first idea of as many imperishable monuments as of useful establishments. Wherever the necessity for them was felt, he opened roads, dug canals, erected bridges, raised fountains, not only in France, but in the foreign countries united to his vast empire: the admirable road of the Simplon, the canal of St. Quentin, the basins of Antwerp and Cherbourg attest what he undertook of this kind. The Exchange, the Madeleine, the column of the Place Vendôme, the triumphal arch of the Etoile, and the bridges of Austerlitz and Jena, were, in Paris, executed or conceived under his reign. Napoleon enriched the national library, caused the works of the Pantheon to be continued, commanded, to decorate the bridge of Concord, the statues of his greatest generals who had died in the field of honour, and formed the idea of consecrating at St. Denis three expiatory altars for the three royal races which succeeded each other on the throne of France. Embracing at once foreign policy, government, finances, and war, he still, amidst his immense labours, found time for all the details; he required an exact account of everything, and demanded of his ministers faithful and minute reports upon the immense detail of their respective offices. He possessed in an eminent degree the gift of judging of the character and the capacity of those who served him; it was to this invaluable faculty that he was indebted for the good fortune of seeing almost all his ideas well understood and well executed, and for seldom having occasion to change either his ministers or his counsellors. The men who, out of the ranks of the army, had the most honourable part in the great things accomplished under his direction, were for foreign affairs, Talleyrand and

Champagny, duke de Cadore ; for the finances, Gaudin, duke of Gaète, Mollien and Barbé-Marbois, whose integrity equalled their talents ; for the interior, the count de Montalivet, at first director-general of the ports and roads, then minister, who evinced, in the exercise of his office, the superiority of sound sense and an elevated mind ; for public instruction, Fontanes, grand master of the University, a distinguished poet, brought up in the ancient school of letters and morals, and prodigal towards the representative of new times of ingenious but too often adulatory homage : there were, still further, in high dignities or great employments, Le Brun, duke de Plaisance, Regnier, duke de Massa, Maret, duke de Bassano, and Daru, who united to a marvellous aptitude for labour, a courage proof against every test. The Council of State, to which Napoleon gave a justly admired organization, illustrated itself, under his reign, by great talents : in it shone the juriconsults Portalis and Tronchet, compilers of the civil code ; Joubert, Allant, Regnault de Saint Jean d'Angely, and the learned Cuvier. Most of these men have left durable monuments of their labours. Napoleon, by the vigour of his genius, by the aggregation of his eminent faculties, was able to preserve his superiority over all ; and it was by relying upon their talents, it was by gathering around him all the illustrious of France, that he had gained, in 1810, the highest degree of splendour that any sovereign had attained in Europe. His empire, after the last additions, counted a population of fifty millions, spread over a hundred and thirty departments.

Nevertheless, a deep evil was gradually digging an abyss under all these grandeurs and prosperities ; and this evil was the boundless ambition of the emperor : if he had never separated his own personal interests from those of France, it is to be believed that he would have triumphed over all resistances ; but, in latter periods, his perpetual invasions, either for himself or his family, redoubled the alarms and jealousies of foreign princes, without any other result for France but a constant sacrifice of men and money. Party hatreds were roused with great strength in the interior, and found an echo in the classes which had assisted in the elevation and the maintenance of the imperial throne. The resentments, likewise, of the aristocracy, or the friends of liberty, were not without pretexts or veritable causes : the noblesse always beheld in Napoleon an upstart, born of a revolution which they held in horror, and they forgot that

he had in part stifled it ; the democrats cursed in him the man who had rejected all their principles, after having drawn all his strength from the order of things which they had founded. The creation of a new nobility was equally odious to the ancient noblesse and to the patriots ; the destruction of the liberty of the press rendered the irritation more lively, by driving it back to men's hearts unuttered ; and although Napoleon might not have ceased to conquer, his victories could not impose silence upon his enemies, for their very number weakened the effect of them. His foreign power was even less firm still ; his brothers themselves, though crowned by his hand, were indignant at being considered by him as nothing more than his lieutenants ; they felt that whilst granting them the title of king without giving them the powers of one, he had rendered their reign impossible : one of them abdicated, the others hesitated between abdication and revolt. The peoples of the countries united to France were oppressed by the burdens of the conscriptions, war taxes, and the lodgings of troops. In vain the emperor reckoned the greatest sovereigns among his allies ; they never forgot that he had forced the connection upon them by victories, and their wounded honour made vengeance desirable ; Austria and Prussia had numerous insults to efface, numerous provinces to reconquer. A great fermentation agitated, in Germany, all the universities and all the secret societies, from which arose cries of independence and rage against the oppressor of Europe, and Napoleon, during his abode at Schœnbrunn, in 1809, was very near perishing under the poniard of the student Stabs. Spain, from which he wished to wrest the left bank of the Ebro, to unite it with France, and Portugal, which he pretended to share out according to his will or his caprice, both rejected his yoke. These two states, supported by England, offered Napoleon an invincible resistance, and consumed his armies. The fatal continental system raised all commercial interests against him, and blinded himself, by furnishing him with an apparent pretext for his continual usurpations. He was aware that this gigantic system imposed so heavy a burden, so cruel a restraint upon both nations and sovereigns, that he could only depend upon himself for the care of its execution anywhere. After having, for this purpose, joined Holland and the Roman states to France, and made implacable enemies of the pope and the clergy, he ventured still further, and on the 13th of December, 1810, neglecting as superfluous all preliminary notice, he united to

his empire, by a *senatus-consultum*, the Valais, the Hanseatic cities, and the coasts of the Baltic from the Ems to the Elbe. "*Circumstances*," said the emperor, "command such a measure;" and he vaguely promised indemnification to the princes plundered by this new usurpation. With such a policy as this there was no longer security for any prince in Europe, or a guarantee for any treaty; Napoleon precipitated himself down a fatal declivity; it became necessary that France should be conquered by Europe, or that Europe should become entirely France. A boundless ambition condemned the emperor to an endless contest with the league of the dynasties, with nations, with the priesthood, and with commerce; and when he thought he had won over everything to his views, because he had subdued everything, he found that he had sown everywhere the germs of an opposition which was certain to burst forth, in a terrible manner, at the moment of the first reverse.

Among all the sovereigns of Europe, it was Alexander whose alliance was of the greatest importance to Napoleon: this prince, in fact, was at once the most powerful by his armies and the most difficult to subdue, on account of the geographical situation of his empire. For a long time, to preserve a good understanding between him and Napoleon, Alexander had had to contend against the solicitations of the English government and his ancient allies on the continent, and to combat the Russian aristocracy, who, since the adhesion of the czar to the continental system, could no longer find a vent for the produce of their estates. Alexander had obtained Finland, Moldavia, and Wallachia, which he had so long coveted: he would have further wished that the emperor of the French would have spoken out more clearly against all eventuality of a future re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland; he was already complaining of Napoleon's refusal, when the *senatus-consultum* of the 13th of December, 1810, added a serious grief to former subjects of complaint. Among the dispossessed princes was the duke of Oldenburg, his brother-in-law. Alexander beheld in a decree which violently despoiled a member of his own family, an affront to himself; he lent an ear to those of his neighbours and his courtiers who excited him the most warmly against France, and replied on the 31st of December, to the *senatus-consultum* of the 13th, by a commercial *ukase*, which closed Russia against a number of French products, and opened its ports to the colonial products of England under neutral flags: new levies were

ordered in his states, his armies drew near to the Niemen, and Europe was in expectation of fresh and sinister events.

Destiny, however, reserved one last and brilliant favour for Napoleon ; he had a son in March, 1811 ; and the birth of this child, who was proclaimed king of Rome in his cradle, appeared, in securing him a successor, to have consolidated his fortune. But already the storm, of which the *ukase* of the 31st of December was the precursive signal, began to growl in the west. Napoleon in vain pressed Alexander to recall his decree : he saw with inquietude the Russian frontier covered with troops ; and, faithful to his custom of always being beforehand with the hostile designs of his rivals, he prepared for fight, concentrated his legions in Poland, and repaired to Dresden, under the pretence of meeting the other sovereigns in congress there, but, in reality, the better to watch military movements, and to be nearer his armies. The emperors of Russia and Austria, the king of Prussia, and a great number of the sovereign princes of Europe, met Napoleon at Dresden, and there, at the height of his power, he tasted once more the triumph most dear to his pride, he saw kings among his courtiers, and many crowned heads bow before him ; but he failed in all his efforts to bring Alexander into his system, which was equally rejected by Sweden.

Soon England, Russia, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal formed a sixth confederation against France : Napoleon, to combat it, relied upon Italy, Poland, Germany, Austria, and Prussia : the two first of these nations, particularly Poland, which looked to him for its re-establishment, followed his eagles with enthusiasm ; the three others were dragged after them very much against their will. "These Russians," said Napoleon, "these Russians, whom we have always beaten, assume the tone of conquerors ; they provoke us. . . . Let us accept as a favour the opportunity which does us violence, and let us cross the Niemen." On the 22nd of June, in a proclamation to his army, he reproduced the name of a state effaced from the map of Europe, for he had proof of the bravery of the people of that country, and he wanted them as a future vanguard and as a barrier against the Russian colossus. "Soldiers," said he, "the second war of Poland is begun. The first was terminated at Friedland and at Tilsit ; at Tilsit, Russia swore an eternal alliance with France and war against England : she is violating her oaths. Russia is ruled by fatality ;—her destinies must be accomplished." It is to Napoleon, rather than to the Russians, that these last

words must be applied ; fatality blinded him, and it was him it led to the accomplishment of his destinies.

On the 25th of June, the emperor opened the campaign at the head of four hundred thousand soldiers ; he crossed the Niemen with half his forces, and on the 28th entered Wilna ; there, by a last letter, Alexander offered him peace, promising to maintain their alliance, if the French troops evacuated the Russian territory ; but a retrograde step would have been an humiliation in the eyes of Napoleon ; he refused, and halted seventeen days at Wilna, a delay fatal to his arms. In the mean time the diet of the duchy of Warsaw proclaimed the re-establishment of Poland and the enfranchisement of the nation. A deputation sent to the emperor supplicated him to declare that Poland existed : Napoleon hesitated ; a part of the ancient Polish provinces was incorporated with Austria and Prussia, and now Prussia and Austria were making common cause with France. To acknowledge the existence and the independence of the Polish nation, would be to light the flames of insurrection in the incorporated provinces ; perhaps he would yield at a later period to the wishes of the deputies, then it was his duty to abstain, and he answered in such a manner as not to give umbrage to his allies. The emperor pursued his march, and arrived at Witepsk, after a glorious combat ; the enemy's army, under Barclay de Tolly, retired before him ; a bloody battle took place at Smolensko, which was given to the flames ; the Russians still receded and Napoleon pressed forward ; Valoutina was witness of a murderous action ; but the disobedience of one of Napoleon's lieutenants saved the Russian army from total destruction ; it still retreated, and the emperor followed it.

The grand army at length arrived, on the 5th of September, in the fields of Borodino, at some leagues from Moscoo, near the banks of the Moskowa, and discovered, in face of it, the entire Russian army, of which the old general Kutusof had taken the command. A general battle was resolved upon for the next day but one, and on the morning of that memorable day, Napoleon, on leaving his tent, said to his officers, "*There is a beautiful sun, it is the sun of Austerlitz ;*" then, in a proclamation to his soldiers, he said to them, "Here is the battle you have so much wished for ; conduct yourselves as at Austerlitz, Friedland, Witepsk, and Smolensko, and let the most distant posterity speak with

pride of your behaviour on this day : let it be said of you : He was at that great battle on the plains of Moscow." The action began almost immediately ; it was terrible ; Ney, Murat, Eugène, Davoust, Gerard, and Poniatowski performed prodigies of heroism ; Auguste Caulaincourt was struck dead at the head of his cuirassiers, whilst taking possession at the gallop of a formidable redoubt ; after a most determined contest, the Russians at length gave way ; Napoleon restrained his guards, and allowed the enemy to escape, he might have entirely destroyed. Twenty-two thousand French and fifty thousand Russians were killed or wounded in this awful battle. A great number of French generals lost their lives, but the victory was theirs : Marshal Ney was proclaimed prince of Moskowa on the field of battle. A fresh fight took place at Mojaïsk, within half a league of Moscow ; the Russians were again conquered, and their army only entered the ancient capital of their empire to abandon it. From the heights of Mount Salut, which overlooks Moscow, the French first beheld that famous city, half Asiatic, half European, with its eight hundred churches, its thousand belfries, its gilded cupolas, sparkling in the sun : at this sight, the soldiers were seized with astonishment and admiration : " Moscow ! Moscow !" cried they, and Napoleon even gave way for a moment to this enthusiasm ; a smile of joy illumined his brow, and a cry of satisfaction escaped him : " Moscow ! there is the reward of so many glorious labours, the termination of so many fatigues !" They at length arrived : the French penetrated into the silent streets of the immense city, and were astonished at the solitude they met with ; the streets were deserted, their inhabitants had evacuated them. Napoleon entered the citadel of the Kremlin without resistance : Moscow, he thought, would be the end of the fatigues and sufferings of his army ; he found in it an immense quantity of stores and resources of all kinds ; he established his winter quarters, and hoped to enjoy the fruit of his victory whilst preparing for fresh ones. But, during the night, a frightful conflagration broke out. Rostopchin, the governor of the city, when evacuating it, had determined, at an immense sacrifice, to save his country : Russia was lost, if the French found a refuge for the winter in Moscow : at a signal agreed upon by Rostopchin, troops of men, with engines of combustion in their hands, entered the city silently, spread through its streets, and set fire to it

in all parts. Moscow sunk beneath the devouring element, and soon became no more than a vast heap of ashes and ruins.

Winter approached, and the French had no longer an asylum against its rigours. Napoleon still flattered himself with the hopes of peace.* Alexander designedly prolonged the negotiations, to lull his enemy to sleep in the ruins of Moscow, whilst he signed a treaty, at Bucharest, with the Sultan Mahmoud, successor to Selim, who had been slaughtered by his janissaries: this treaty rendered all the forces of Russia available against France. Everything was at length broken off, Napoleon ordered a retreat, and quitted the ruins of the city, at the head of a hundred thousand soldiers, after forty days of fruitless expectation. "Your war is ended, ours is going to begin," said old Kutusof to the French. Winter set in suddenly, with a severity uncommon even in the heart of Russia. The French soldiers, whom the cold paralyzed, were pursued and harassed in their retreat by numberless enemies, and covered the road with their frozen carcases; and yet the army marched in pretty good order as far as the Beresina, which it had to cross in presence of Kutusof, Wittgenstein, Tchitchagof, and their three armies, which occupied and defended all the passages. The river was thawed, the stream flowed; it became necessary to construct bridges under the fire of the enemy, and to fight without intermission. Victor and Reggio protected the passage: at this point were still performed prodigies of heroism; but the French forces, too inferior in numbers, gave way upon the right bank before the army of Wittgenstein; a Russian battery poured its fire upon the bridges, and made hideous breaches in the living wall formed of a compact mass of stragglers and unarmed wretches who encumbered the passage. Victor at length succeeded in silencing this terrible battery; but he himself, enveloped on all sides, was upon the point of being destroyed; then Fournier and the brave Latour-Maubourg dashed forward at the head of the cavalry, penetrated to the centre of the Russians, and disengaged Victor. The bridges, however, were obstructed by an innumerable multitude of all kinds, and an immense *matériel*; they gave way under the weight, and thousands of men were swallowed up in the waters of the Beresina. At

* What can the historian mean by this? He has told us that, only three months before, Napoleon had scornfully rejected Alexander's overtures. Napoleon never wished for peace till he was losing.—*Trans.*

length, after incredible efforts, the army passed this redoubtable barrier ; but the moral energy of most of the French soldiers had sunk with their physical strength ; the cold again attacked them with fearful severity, and the retreat became nothing but a vast, sanguinary rout.

Paris remained twenty-one days without any news of the emperor or the grand army, and a prisoner, the general Mallet, imagining the emperor to be dead, was about to suspend his government in the capital. The emperor, feeling that his presence was indispensable in Paris, to defeat plots and create new military resources, on the 5th of December quitted his sinking army, of which he gave the command to the king of Naples, and which arrived at Wilna, destitute of everything. Ney endeavoured to reanimate it by his heroic example ; he fearlessly exposed his life on all occasions, he retreated the last, facing the enemy by turns as a soldier and as a general.

But with the French reverses, defections commenced. The Prussians, who covered the right of the French army in its retreat, abandoned Macdonald at Tilsit ; the Austrians, commanded by Schwartzenberg, followed this example, treated with the enemy, and left the left of the French exposed ; Murat himself, the head of the army, abandoned his post and deserted : Eugène took the command, and re-established something like order. France made another effort ; it gave Napoleon another army, at the head of which he marched to join Eugène. Austria, seized with fright, renewed its protestations of fidelity, whilst Prussia treated with Russia at Kalish, and England, by promising Norway to Sweden, obtained the active co-operation of Bernadotte against France. Napoleon, threatened from all quarters, on the 30th of April, 1813, joined Eugène and the wreck of his grand army : with conscripts, he gained over the veteran troops of Europe the brilliant victories of Lutzen, Bautzen, and Wurschen, and then he again negotiated for peace. A congress was opened at Prague on the 4th of June, and Napoleon accepted the mediation of Austria, which required that the French empire should be bounded by the Rhine, the Alps, and the Meuse. The emperor hesitated, the congress was suddenly dissolved without any results, and Austria declared war against France. The allies had five hundred thousand men under Schwartzenberg, Blucher, and Bernadotte, the prince royal of Sweden ; Napoleon had but three hundred thousand soldiers, forming eleven *corps d'armée*,

which obeyed Vandamme, Victor, Bertrand, Ney, Lauriston, Marmont, Regnier, Poniatowski, Macdonald, Oudinot, and Saint Cyr; the cavalry was commanded by the king of Naples, Latour-Maubourg, Sebastiani, and Kellermann; Mortier and Nansouty led the guards: these forces constituted the last hopes of France. Wherever Napoleon fought in person, he was a conqueror; he gave battle under the walls of Dresden and triumphed; General Moreau, his ancient rival in glory, was wounded to death in the Prussian ranks. But Vandamme experienced a terrible check at Kulm, where he was made prisoner, and lost ten thousand men. The three sovereigns, Alexander, Francis, and Frederick William, negotiated a triple alliance at Toplitz, and the emperor of Austria himself appointed a *rendezvous* in the camp of his son-in-law, whom he styled the common enemy. The allied armies increased every day; several unfortunate battles were fought with unequal forces: Oudinot was beaten at Grosberen; Ney at Dennewitz; Macdonald at Katzbach; the king of Bavaria declared war against Napoleon, and the French, surrounded on all sides, retreated upon Leipzig. The emperor then experienced the fatal consequences of his oppressive system: when victorious, Europe, under the influence of fear, had for a time been silent before him; but when conquered, all whose prejudices or interests he had wounded, revolted *en masse*, and prepared to crush him.

A murderous battle was commenced under the walls of Leipzig; a hundred and thirty thousand French contended against three hundred thousand enemies; they were abandoned and betrayed by the Saxons, whose old king alone remained faithful to France: this defection compromised the safety of the army, and Napoleon commanded a retreat, which was to be effected over the only bridge of the Elster. All at once, an order, ill understood and too soon executed, blew up the bridge, before the army had completed its passage: this disaster decided the fate of the campaign. Twenty thousand men were made prisoners; two hundred pieces of cannon and an immense *matériel* fell into the hands of the allies; a multitude of brave men, among whom was the heroic Poniatowski, met with death in the waters of the Elster. Napoleon, pursued by his enemies, stopped once more, and beat them in the glorious combat of Hanau; then he established his army on the Rhine, whilst the allies took up their cantonments in face of him, choosing Frankfurt for their head-quarters.

Spain, at this period, had escaped from the hands of the French past recovery. Two great battles lost,—that of the Arapyles by Marmont, in 1812, and that of Vittoria, by King Joseph, in 1813,—carried Wellington to the Pyrenees ; Soult, from that time named commander-in-chief in the Peninsula, carried on the war at the head of sixty thousand men against very superior forces, and the emperor, at the end of 1813, possessed nothing in Spain but the little port of Santona. Eugène maintained himself with difficulty in Italy, whilst Murat even turned against Napoleon.

France found herself again menaced in her ancient limits as she had been in 1789 ; but her population had no longer that energy, that enthusiasm, which had then sufficed to free her territory ; all those who had applauded or consented to the elevation of Napoleon, deserted him : the conscriptions, the blockades, the *droits-réunis* had become intolerable to the people. Bonaparte loved France ; but, in the days of his highest prosperity, he had abused her love for him, and had misunderstood her wishes ; in the hour of disgrace, France withdrew from him. At the end of 1813, he made preparations for a fresh campaign ; the ever docile senate had granted him 300,000 men, the legislative body ventured, for the first time, to resist. M. Lainé made, in the name of the commission chosen by this body, a report very hostile to the measure of the government, and demanded the abandonment of conquests, and the re-establishment of liberty. An address to the emperor was voted, in conformity with this report, by a great majority. Napoleon, irritated by this unexpected and dangerous opposition in the face of the enemy, caused the doors of the legislative body to be closed, ordered its dissolution, and dismissed the members himself with haughty and angry words. From that time interior defections commenced, and Europe learned, by this imprudent outbreak of Napoleon, that France no longer made, in an indissoluble manner, common cause with him.

The whole male adult population of the east was summoned to arms ; thirty thousand men of the national guard of Paris were placed in active service ; the last resources of the nation were called upon. Maria Louisa was declared regent, and Napoleon opened the campaign on the 25th of January, after having confided the command of the capital to his brother Joseph. The English advanced on the south ; a hundred and fifty thousand men, under Schwartzberg, debouched into France by Switzerland ; a hundred and

thirty thousand Prussians, commanded by Blucher, arrived from Frankfort; and a hundred thousand Swedes and Germans penetrated into Belgium, under Bernadotte. General Maison in the north, Augereau at Lyons, and Soult in the Pyrenees, were ordered to stop the enemies, whilst the emperor marched into Champagne to meet Schwartzemberg and Blucher, whilst Eugène struggled still in Italy, and a conference for peace was opened at Chatillon. Napoleon, in the face of so many perils, was again inspired with his brilliant genius, and redoubled his activity and courage: never was he more profound in his strategic combinations, or more skilful in executing them; he was very near destroying the two most formidable armies of his enemies, by isolating them, and attacking them by turns: he beat Blucher at Champ-Aubert, at Montmirail, and at Château-Thierry; then he fell upon the Austrians of Schwartzemberg, and conquered them at Nangis and Montereau. These were repetitions of the prodigies of the campaign of Italy; but the glory and splendour of these new triumphs were the bright but deceitful flashes of the lamp about to be extinguished. These wonderful successes became fatal to Napoleon, by the confidence they gave him; he could not resolve to accept the proposals of the allies, or consent that France should return within its ancient limits: he revoked the full powers he had given the duke of Vicenza to conclude a peace at Chatillon. But the allies triumphed everywhere where Napoleon did not command in person: the English entered Bordeaux, which declared for the Bourbons; the Austrians occupied Lyons, and the united enemies marched towards Paris. Napoleon then subscribed to the demands of the congress: but it was too late; the conferences were broken up. Joseph received orders to defend Paris to the last extremity; the emperor depended upon him, and conceived the almost wildly brave project of cutting off the retreat of the allies, by marching rapidly behind them to St. Dizier. This march caused him to lose precious time; but by it, Napoleon, if he had been seconded, might have saved his crown. The two grand armies of the enemy had effected their junction, and drew near to the capital: to secure the success of the emperor's skilful manœuvres, it ought to have been defended till his arrival: timid counselors besieged the regent, Maria Louisa, and persuaded her to retire to the Loire; in vain Talleyrand and Montalivet expressed a courageous opinion, and represented to the

empress that the safety of France was in Paris ; in vain the king of Rome, only three years of age, united his childish voice with that of these wise counsellors, and cried with tears, as if inspired by a painful presentiment, that he wished to remain in Paris. Fear alone was listened to : Maria Louisa quitted the capital, and transported the regency to Blois. In the mean time Napoleon approached Paris by forced marches ; but it was no longer time ; marshals Marmont and Mortier fought, on the 30th March, a glorious but desperate battle, under the walls of the city, with twenty thousand men, against all the forces of the enemy ; they were ignorant that the emperor was within a few marches. Joseph gave orders for a capitulation ; he abandoned his post, set out for Orleans, and, on the 31st of March the allies were received in Paris. Napoleon was hastening to the succour of his capital, when, on the 1st of April, he received this terrible news : he immediately fell back upon Fontainebleau, where his army took up a position. There he learnt that the senate, hitherto guilty of so much adulation and servility towards him, had proclaimed him a tyrant, and that, guided by Talleyrand, it had declared Napoleon "deposed from the throne, the hereditary right of his family abolished, and the French people and the army liberated from their oath of fidelity towards him."

The emperor, at the head of fifty thousand men whom the coalition had not been able to conquer, and occupying a formidable position in the rear of the enemy, was still in a condition to resist ; he might have joined the armies of the viceroy, Augereau, and Soult : he thought, sometimes of manœuvring round Paris, sometimes of marching to the Loire ; but a silence, the precursor of defections, reigned around him ; either tired of war, or tainted by treachery, a great number of his generals had deserted him, even some whom he had loaded with honours and wealth ; they wished to enjoy, after so many fatigues, the destiny he had created for them. Napoleon penetrated their thoughts, and resolved to abdicate ; but he wished to dictate the conditions of his surrender—his son must inherit his crown. He sent as plenipotentiaries to the allied sovereigns three men of undoubted fidelity, Ney, Macdonald, and Caulaincourt, duke of Vicenza ; he added to them Marmont, duke of Ragusa, his old aide-de-camp, of whom he said : "*He is my child, brought up under my tent,*" and to whom he had confided the advanced post of Essonne, by which Fontainebleau was covered ; and Marmont already was treating with Schwartzberg, alleging

as an excuse that the army was released from its oath of fidelity to the emperor !

The defection of Ragusa and his troops dictated the reply of Alexander to the plenipotentiaries ; he demanded the absolute abdication of Napoleon ; and on the same day, April 6th, the provisional government and the senate called to the throne Louis Stanislaus Xavier, brother of Louis XVI., and published a new constitution, the acceptance of which was to be the condition of the accession of this prince to the crown.

The emperor, betrayed by Marmont and abandoned by a great number of the ancient companions of his fortunes, thought of quitting life, and wished to escape by suicide the obligation of signing his own deposition as well as that of his descendants. But the poison he employed, and which he had carried about him since Moscow, was powerless ; time had diminished its venom, a long drowsiness dissipated the pains, and effaced the symptoms of an approaching death. It is said that on awakening, Napoleon, astonished at being alive, remained for some instants pensive : " God is not willing it should be so," he cried, and, abandoning himself to Providence, he submitted to his new destinies.

From that time he no longer resisted, and on the 11th of April, signed, at Fontainebleau, the treaty which pronounced his deposition, as well as that of his descendants, from the throne of France. This act is conceived in these terms : " The allied powers having proclaimed that the emperor was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs, the crowns of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make in the interest of France."

This abdication and the declaration of the senate had not yet reached the armies of the South, when that of the Pyrenees, after the battle of Orthez, fought on the 16th of February, showed itself once more worthy of its glorious standard and of its illustrious captain, Soult, duke of Dalmatia. This little army, consisting of thirty thousand men, had retreated under the walls of Toulouse, in presence of eighty thousand English, Portuguese, and Spanish, commanded by Wellington. Fifteen days were sufficient for the French soldiers to form a vast intrenched camp round the city and under the eyes of the enemy : Wellington, on the 10th of April, ordered the attack :

his troops, repulsed in the first place, only recovered the advantage by force of numbers ; one single redoubt fell into their hands ; their loss was eighteen thousand men,—that of the French only three thousand, and night separated the armies.

But what could the heroic efforts of a few thousand combatants cut off from their brothers in arms effect, when already destiny had pronounced against their emperor ? The sacrifice was consummated ; and on the 20th of April, within the walls of the ancient palace of Fontainebleau, Napoleon took leave of his brave army. His guard, under arms, were drawn up in the court of the palace. The emperor left his apartments, and met in his way the duke de Bassano, generals Belliard and Foulcr, Baron Fain, his secretary, and a few superior officers, the last remains of the most numerous and most brilliant court in Europe. He held out his hand to them, descended the stairs rapidly, and advancing towards his guard, he cast an agitated glance over these old warriors, and said to them : "Soldiers of my old guard, I bid you adieu ; for twenty years I have constantly met with you on the road to glory. In these latter times, as in those of our prosperity, you have never ceased to be models of bravery and fidelity. With men such as you, our cause was not lost ; but the war was interminable : it might have become a civil war, and France would only be the more unfortunate for it : I have then sacrificed all our interests to those of our country, I leave you. For you, my friends, continue to serve France ; its happiness was my only thought, it shall always be the object of my wishes ! Do not pity my fate ; if I have consented to survive you, it is in order again to assist your glory : I will write the great things that we have done together ! . . . Adieu, my children ! I would press you all to my heart ; let me at least embrace your standard !" At these words, General Petit, seizing the eagle, advanced towards him : Napoleon kissed the standard, the soldiers burst into tears : the emperor, much agitated, made an effort, and resumed in a firmer voice : "Again, once more adieu, my old companions ! let that last kiss pass into your hearts." He immediately sprang into his carriage, and set out for Elba, which was granted to him in full sovereignty by the treaty of Fontainebleau, and whither generals Bertrand, Drouot, and Cambronne, with four hundred men of his guard, followed his fortunes.

Thus fell, a first time, this colossus of power, which had governed France fourteen years, and beheld for some time

the entire continent submitted to its laws. It never was given to any man to attain to more brilliant destinies, and no one ever more deeply agitated Europe : a great captain and a great statesman, he gave by his astonishing victories, in the eyes of foreigners, a wonderful splendour to France ; but he did more for her by his pacific labours than by his conquests : he re-established order in her bosom, and it was by the civil code, it was by the re-organization of the judicial powers, it was by the administrative centralization, that he impressed upon her a great character of strength and unity, and placed her in a condition to support, without being destroyed, the most terrible shocks. Napoleon was endowed with an astonishing strength of will, and, like Louis XIV., as long as he sought the inspirations of his genius in the wants and wishes of the nation, they produced none but fortunate and durable results ; but his devouring activity had its source in a boundless ambition, and it is worthy of remark that every time that his conceptions deviated from the aim sanctioned by morality, or indicated by the true interests of France, they became fatal to himself, and prepared his disgraces. The death of the duke d'Enghien raised a general cry of indignation against him, suppressed at first by fear, but which found awful echoes in the days of reverse : the perfidious usurpation of the crown of Spain opened that country to the English, and cost the emperor his best soldiers ; the oppressive system of the blockade condemned him to the fatal necessity of always conquering ; and the entire destruction of the liberty of the press isolated him from the public opinion, and contributed powerfully in deceiving him with respect to the resources the nation could present to him in the times of adversity. At the point to which this history is now arrived, Napoleon is fallen ; but his part is not yet ended, the giant will arise again, and, with his second fall, he will once more shake the world.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

THE RESTORATION.

First restoration.—Grant of the Charter by Louis XVIII.—Hundred Days.—Second restoration.—End of the reign of Louis XVIII.—Reign of Charles X.—Revolution of July.—Charter of 1830.—Accession of Louis Philippe.

April, 1814—9th August, 1830.

CHAPTER I.

First restoration.—The Hundred Days. April, 1814—July, 1815.

WHEN a political restoration is accomplished after a considerable lapse of time, the princes in the name of whom it is effected have most frequently become strangers to the ideas and the new manners of the nation which they find themselves called upon to govern ; their affections and all their preferences are for the men and things of a time of which the remembrance is connected, in their minds, with that of their past grandeur and their ancient prosperity, and it is very difficult for them to avoid looking with mistrust or aversion upon all that has been produced by the ideas to which they attribute their humiliations and their misfortunes. The new generation, of which the interests are connected with the order of existing things, makes a crime, for them, beforehand, of these prejudices, and of these feelings natural to the heart of man, whilst the party whose vows are put up for the re-establishment of a destroyed government, exalts itself by the thought that there is necessarily a close conformity between its own wishes and those of the princes whose return it looks for ; thence, on one side, wild hopes, imprudent threats, and rash projects ; and on the other, dark inquietudes, repugnances, disaffections, and plots. When to these elements of civil trouble are joined, in the minds of peoples, the remembrances of humiliation inseparable from the restoration which has been accomplished, when the latter presents itself with great national disasters as its precursors, and with foreign bayonets to support it, then, before a single

word has been pronounced, before a single fault has been committed, it may be said that immense resistances are preparing, and that the peril is imminent. Such were the untoward circumstances that accompanied the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, and before any of the members of that family had touched the soil of France, it was already possible to perceive the obstacles they would have to contend with, and to announce the storm which was preparing to growl over their steps.

The head of the royal house, Louis Stanislaus Xavier, whom the senate called upon to reign under the name of Louis XVIII., was endowed with a judicious mind, and was capable of appreciating his epoch. He had acquired in his youth, as count de Provence, a certain degree of popularity, by pronouncing, in the second assembly of the notables, for the double representation of the third estate; afterwards, whilst in exile, he combated the republic, and protested against Napoleon, by asserting his claims to the crown. Driven from the continent, he found an honourable asylum in England, and had been living for a long time in retirement at Hartwell, with some near connections, when the disasters of the French armies opened for him a road to the throne. The members of his family, *Monsieur*, the count d'Artois, his brother, the dukes of Angoulême and Berry, the sons of *Monsieur*, and the two princes of the house of Condé, surviving the unfortunate duke d'Enghien, had only distinguished themselves by their impotent efforts to triumph over the revolution by the help of civil war and foreign armies. The only one of the house of Bourbon who had worn the national colours and fought against the enemies of France, was the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood. Among the members of the royal family was the illustrious daughter of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, married to the duke d'Angoulême, a princess worthy, from the elevation of her mind and her misfortunes, of a profound and universal interest, but who had too much to forget and forgive to allow a great part of the nation to see her replace her foot upon its territories without uneasiness.

The count d'Artois preceded his brother, and made, on the 12th of April, his entrance into Paris, under the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Some well-chosen and gracious expressions at first disposed the public in his favour. "*There is nothing changed in France,*" said he to the Parisians in his proclamation; "*there is only one Frenchman the*

mora." Nevertheless, he himself gave the signal for a political reaction, by substituting the white cockade and flag, for a long time forgotten, for the glorious colours which reminded the nation of so many triumphs.

Louis XVIII., who was received at Calais by General Maison, followed his brother closely. Yielding to the influence of those around him, he refused, from a sentiment of false pride, to accept the constitution of the senate, accusing that body of encroaching upon his hereditary rights. Enlightened, however, by the warm representations of the emperor Alexander and Talleyrand, who was always able to comprehend, at every period, the predominant opinion of the country and foresee its wishes, the king was preceded into the capital by a celebrated declaration, dated from St. Ouen: it guaranteed to the French the enjoyment of the liberties promised by the senatorial constitution, and preserved most of its clauses. On the next day, the 3rd of May, the solemn entrance into Paris of the king and madame the duchess of Angoulême, took place; no foreign soldier appeared in the royal *cortége*; the old guard escorted the monarch, and a great part of the public interest was directed to these brave warriors, whose sad and silent air formed a strong contrast with the enthusiasm of the partisans of the house of Bourbon. Frequently the cry of *Vive la garde!* drowned that of *Vive le roi!* and a great number of spectators carried away from this solemnity nothing but painful presentiments. The alarm was soon augmented by the formation of the ministry, in which were several men strangers to the spirit of the revolution, and whom services anterior to 1789, or favour only, pointed out to the choice of the monarch. Of this number were Dambray, chancellor of France and keeper of the seals, the abbé de Montesquiou, minister of the interior, and the count de Blacas, minister of the king's household: General Dupont, unpleasantly memorable for the capitulation of Baylen, had the portfolio of war; Talleyrand was minister for foreign affairs; Malouet had the department of the marine; the baron Louis that of the finances, and Beugnot the direction of the police of the kingdom. Active negotiations for peace were set on foot, and it was definitively concluded on the 30th of May by the treaty of Paris. France returned within its ancient limits: it preserved Avignon, the Comtat Venaissin, Mulhausen, and a small part of Savoy, and gave up to the allies fifty-three fortresses, still occupied by French troops, with

all the *matériel* they contained. England seized upon three of the French colonies,—the Isle of France, Saint Lucie, and Tobago ; France remained in possession of Guiana, Pondicherry, Guadaloupe, and Martinique. A short time after the signing of this treaty, the French territory was delivered from foreign troops.

The king convoked for the 4th of June the senators and the legislative body, violently dissolved by Napoleon, and on the same day, in their presence, he solemnly gave the French a constitutional charter, the principal propositions of which were a reproduction of those of the act of the senate and the declaration of Saint-Ouen. It established a representative government, composed of the king and two chambers ; the one of peers named for life by the king, the other of the deputies of the departments ; it secured individual liberty, that of the press, and that of religious worship, the inviolability of property, the irrevocability of the sales of national property, the responsibility of ministers, the annual vote of the contributions, and the independence of the tribunals ; it guaranteed the public debt, re-established the ancient nobility, and maintained the new. This charter was to be sworn to by the kings at the period of their consecration : it responded, generally speaking, to the wants of the nation, and to the wishes expressed, during twenty-five years, by the most distinguished minds of France. Immediately after reading it, the chancellor communicated the ordinance which constituted the chamber of peers, composed for the most part of the ancient senators, the marshals, and a great number of dignitaries of the ancient court and *noblesse*.

One serious error accompanied the promulgation of the constitutional act. The king refused to accept it as the condition of his elevation to the throne : he granted it as a simple act of his sovereign will, and dated it as if given in the nineteenth year of his reign. This was taking no account of all which had passed in France during twenty-five years ; this was elevating the royal will, in virtue of a pretended divine right, unintelligible for an immense majority of the French, and foreign to the will of the whole nation ; this was, in fact, placing the charter in peril, and abandoning it beforehand to the caprices of distrustful power. In fact, if the prince, the author of this constitution, only recognised in it an act emanating from his own authority alone, it was to be feared that a less judicious king, or one less informed,

might some day believe he had the right to alter or revoke it, in virtue of the same hereditary and inalienable authority. The first results of this capital error were to exaggerate the premature uneasiness of the one side, and to inflame the extravagant hopes of the other ; and to it must be imputed a great portion of the misfortunes of the restoration.

The dangers of the ground upon which the king based his power very soon became manifest. All men who had beheld with distrust the return of the Bourbons, perceived that they, whilst supporting, in spite of themselves, the state of things created by the revolution, did not, however, consider it at all as an irrevocable fact. These men spoke out loudly against the new government, and the press, implacable and violent, spread their alarms and their threats in all directions. Fetters were soon put upon it, and the censure was re-established, by perverting the true meaning of one of the articles of the constitution. The partisans of the ancient order of things continued nevertheless to indulge, in the journals, in violent declamations, and, as always happens when the liberty of the press is suspended, the idea of the excesses it could not repress was attributed to power. Imprudent words frequently escaped the ministers and the commissaries of the government, and those who applied to themselves exclusively the name of royalists gave utterance to bitter invectives, not only against the charter and the pledges it granted, but against its royal author. Ordinances appeared, some offensive to the army and the nation, others troublesome and vexatious ; expiatory mourning was ordered for the royal victims of the revolutionary storms, and, in the language of the official proclamations, as well as in that of the pulpit, the whole of France appeared to be unceasingly accused of the atrocities committed under the *reign of terror* : the clergy tried their power by putting forth an ordinance which interdicted public amusements on Sundays and Church holidays ; they already began to talk of recovering their tithes and their domains, and thundered their invectives against the acquirers of national property : at length, most of the bishops openly adhered, with all their hearts, to the bull of Pope Pius VII., which re-established the order of the Jesuits, so unpopular throughout the kingdom : the army, banished to obscure garrisons, wept for their eagles replaced by *fleurs de lis*, and with silent curses concealed their glorious colours under the white cockade ; they saw a multitude of officers, grown grey in their ranks, superseded by General Dupont, and afterwards by Marshal Soult, constrained

to yield to the exigencies of the court, and to whom succeeded men whose only title to honours or command was birth or foreign service. The new comers, filled with remembrances of the ancient monarchy, spoke of the white plume of Henry IV. and the Christian virtues of Saint Louis to men who had followed Napoleon into all the capitals of Europe, but who, for the most part, were ignorant of even the names of Saint Louis and Henry IV. Irritation and inquietude agitated all the classes whose interests were intimately bound up with those of the revolution, and several parties were formed, almost all equally hostile to the step taken by the government. Queen Hortense, daughter of the empress Josephine and wife of Louis Bonaparte, was, in Paris, the centre of the Imperialist party. Fouché, Grégoire, and the ex-directors Barras and Carnot, directed the patriotic faction, which still dreamt of a republic. In the first line of the ranks of the Constitutionals were La Fayette, Benjamin Constant, Lanjuinais, Boissy d'Anglas, and De Broglie; but the party which its strength rendered the most dangerous, and which was designated the *ultra-royalist party*, had for its leader *Monsieur*, the king's brother; the counts of Blacas and Vauvillier were the most active members of it, and with *Monsieur* never ceased to urge Louis XVIII. to unpopular acts, opposed to the spirit of the charter as well as to the personal inclinations of the monarch.

An active correspondence existed between Paris and the island of Elba, where Napoleon, with his eye upon France, watched with joy all the errors of power and all the symptoms of popular irritation. Informed of the imperial intrigues, and foreseeing an issue fatal to the cause of the patriots, two of the leaders of that party, Barras and Fouché, attempted to enlighten the government with regard to its perils, and to impress a better direction upon it; they demanded, unknown to each other, an interview with the king. M. de Blacas, then all-powerful with Louis XVIII., recalled their *regicide vote*, as an obstacle to this interview, and was ordered to hear what they had to say. His prejudiced mind either could not or would not comprehend them; and Fouché said, on leaving him: "If the king continue to employ that man, he will lose ten crowns, one after another."

In the presence of so many focuses of agitation and revolts, the task of the government was immense, and it acted without union, without intelligence, and without strength; Talleyrand had no longer a seat in the council; he then

represented France at the congress of the sovereigns assembled for several months past at Vienna to divide the spoils of the great empire of Napoleon. This congress, dominated over by Alexander, and at which Metternich for Austria, Lord Castlereagh for England, and Hardenberg for Prussia, exercised the greatest influence, had already created much and profound dissatisfaction. Monarchs there established as a principle the right of dividing among them peoples like flocks. It was not territorial extent, it was the number of souls in each city, in each country, which was to serve as a basis for the partitions. No account was taken of the differences established by manners, national character, the requirements of commerce, or religions ; but the interests of states of the second order were constantly sacrificed to those of the great powers. The unfortunate king of Saxony, guilty of fidelity to Napoleon, was despoiled to the advantage of Prussia and Russia ; the first obtained, in addition to the electorate of Saxony, Swedish Pomerania, and a great part of the territory between the Rhine and the Meuse ; Russia acquired the grand-duchy of Warsaw, under the name of the kingdom of Poland, and with the pledge of governing it by a separate and constitutional government. Austria recovered Lombardy, and added to it all the ancient possessions of Venice upon the two shores of the Adriatic. Tuscany was given to the Archduke Ferdinand, Genoa to the king of Sardinia ; and Parma and Placenza were bestowed upon the ex-empress, Maria Louisa. The external policy of all the states of Germany was submitted to the decisions of a federal diet, in which Austria and Prussia reserved the highest influence, in spite of the warm protests of the kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg and the sovereigns of the secondary states. Sweden acquired Norway, at the expense of Denmark, from which likewise England carried off Heligoland ; this last-named power, enriched by the colonies which had fallen into her hands during the war, and by her new conquests in India, kept, in addition, the Cape of Good Hope, the Isle of France, Malta, and the Ionian Isles ; she gave her best cares to the formation of the kingdom of the Netherlands, composed of Holland and Belgium, united under the house of Orange, and which appeared to her to present a redoubtable barrier against France. The limits of France had been determined by the treaty of Paris, so that Talleyrand had but a poor part to play among the operations of the congress ; he however opposed the encroachments of Russia, and claimed the throne of Naples, occupied by Murat, for the Bourbons of

Sicily. His proceedings had at first no effect ; alarmed, however, for his rights, Murat attempted a reconciliation with the great man he had abandoned, invited him into Italy, and promised him a powerful assistance. Such was, in the beginning of March, 1815, the general state of Europe, when a prodigious event all at once seized every mind with astonishment.

On the 27th of February, a brig of war followed by six lighter vessels, sailed with precaution across the Mediterranean. Calmness prevailed on board ; from every part glittered the reflection of arms ; four hundred men with embrowned visages, covered with scars, and of a martial bearing, were the freightage of this ship : many of these heroic brows grew pale all at once at the sight of a vessel of war, and already the words *Elba* and *return* circulated in low tones from mouth to mouth ; but, in the midst of them, a man in appearance impassible, and upon whom every eye was turned, rejected all idea of delay in the execution of an immense enterprise ; he pointed to France, and said "*Forward !*" It was Napoleon, again courting fortune. Then, as on his return from Egypt, but this time for his own misfortune and that of France, he escaped the enemy's cruisers, and on the 1st of March landed on the beach at Cannes, near Antibes, with a thousand soldiers and his three brave generals, Bertrand, Drouet, and Cambronne.

This bold enterprise was treated as madness in the court of Louis XVIII. A great number of the courtiers rejoiced at it, and saw nothing in it but an abortive conspiracy, a fortunate circumstance, which would reveal the secret inclinations of the men whose places they coveted. It was proposed to organize the dictatorship, to make the nation rise *en masse*, and put an end to Bonaparte and the conspirators. The king convoked the two chambers ; the count d'Artois was charged with leading the military forces to Lyons, in concert with Marshal Macdonald ; Ney accepted the command of the troops spread over Franche-Comté, and took the oath at the hands of the king ; the duke de Feltre replaced Marshal Soult as minister of war, and a royal ordinance proclaimed Napoleon Bonaparte a traitor and a rebel, and enjoined all Frenchmen to destroy him or take him prisoner.

Napoleon, in the meanwhile, advanced by forced marches, amidst populations which he captivated by the magic charm of his name, by the tricoloured flag which he displayed, and

by his eloquent proclamations. He said to the people : " Citizens, I owe everything to the people ; soldier, general, consul, emperor, I am nothing but by the people : raised to the throne by your choice, all that has been done without you is illegal . . . Your prayers shall be granted, the cause of the nation will triumph still, my return guarantees to you all the rights you have enjoyed during twenty-five years." He said to the army : " Soldiers, in my exile I have heard your voice, I am come through all obstacles and all perils. Tear down the colours which the nation has proscribed, and which served as a rallying-point for all the enemies of France ; mount that tricoloured cockade ; you wore it in our great battles. The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West, are humiliated, their honourable scars are scorned. Soldiers, come and range yourselves under the banners of your leader : victory will march in charging step ; the eagle, with the national colours, will fly from steeple to steeple up to the walls of Nôtre Dame."

All the hopes of Napoleon depended upon the affection of the soldiers for his person, upon the enthusiasm he should inspire them with, and it was to their return to him that he looked for all the success of his enterprise. A first attempt, made upon the garrison of Antibes, failed, and during several days Bonaparte marched without meeting any troops, either friends or foes : at length, on the 7th of March, in the evening, a battalion of seven hundred men appeared in the defile of Vizille, at a short distance from Grenoble, the road to which they impeded. The officer who commanded them refused to parley, and threatened to order his men to fire ; that was the decisive moment : Napoleon advanced alone on foot, and approaching the troops till within reach of his voice, opened his surcoat, and said : " Soldiers, it is I, recognise me ; if there be one among you who would kill his emperor, here he is ; he comes, with his breast uncovered, to offer himself to your shots." All recoiled ; admiration, enthusiasm, seized their hearts ; the cry of *Vive l'empereur !* was repeated a thousand times, the two troops fraternised, hoisted the same standard, and marched together towards Grenoble. Very shortly Colonel Labédoyère hastened with his regiment to join Bonaparte, to whom the unfortunate young man had vowed a kind of worship. Grenoble and Lyons opened their gates ; in the latter city the count d'Artois was abandoned, and he left it with a single horseman as an escort. In all

parts the soldiers responded to the summons of their former general; the division of the army commanded by Ney yielded to the example; Ney himself was carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment, and threw himself into the arms of his former leader, his companion in arms. MONSIEUR then, for the first time, in the presence of the two chambers, took the oath to the constitutional charter; but in vain Marshal Mortier and the garrison of Fère repressed a revolt in the east directed by Generals Lallemand and Lefèvre Desnouettes; in vain the duke d'Angoulême in Languedoc, and MADAME at Bordeaux, the city that had first proclaimed the Bourbons, endeavoured to rally the troops to the royal cause—Napoleon was already within a few days' march of the Tuileries.

Louis XVIII. ordered a review at Paris; but the troops would not respond to the cry of *Vive le roi!* The monarch understood their silence, and, yielding to necessity, he precipitately quitted his palace in the night of the 19th to the 20th of March, and repaired to Lille, and thence to Ghent, whither Talleyrand soon came to join him, and whither followed, as well as his faithful servants, all those who disguised their prudence under the appearance of devotedness.

On the evening of the 20th of March, Napoleon entered the capital without having fired a single musket; his rapid march had been a triumph, and yet, perhaps, never did a sovereign, when recovering a crown, find himself in a more critical situation than that of the emperor on his return from Elba, during that unfortunate period so celebrated as *the hundred days*. France was exhausted, divided into factions; the immense majority of enlightened Frenchmen, satisfied with the promises of the charter of Louis XVIII., which they hoped to see faithfully executed, remembered the imperial despotism with terror: civil war threatened the south; the redoubtable Vendée was in commotion, the Laroche-Jacquolins, the Sapinauds, the Antichamps, were raising the Bocage; the working classes at Paris, Lyons, and other cities, put forth sinister cries, which revived the remembrance of the darkest periods of the revolution; the whole of Europe was still in arms, and Murat failed in his attempt to restore liberty to Italy. The Congress of Vienna had pronounced Napoleon Bonaparte excluded from all public and social law; a million of soldiers were again about to overwhelm France; it became necessary therefore, at what-

ever cost, that Napoleon, in order to reign, must receive a new and bloody consecration from victory.

The army had almost alone recalled its emperor, whose return was in fact the work of the soldiers much more than of the people : in such circumstances, an authority without limits must have been necessary for the head of the government ; but, constrained to seek his support where the strength lay, Napoleon looked for it to the patriot party, but that party, which nourished republican sentiments, took great care not to confide to the author of the 19th Brumaire even a momentary dictatorship. Bonaparte was obliged to flatter its leaders, and held the language of a friend to national liberties,—a very weak means of success in his mouth ; for wherever public opinion dominates, it can only be acted upon by language which is true, or at least reputed to be sincere.

The first imperial decrees, dated from Lyons, were energetic : they pronounced the dissolution of the chambers of Louis XVIII., and convoked the electoral colleges in an extraordinary assembly of the *Champ de Mai*, to modify the constitutions of the empire for the interests of the people ; the ancient nobility was abolished, and sequestration ordered upon all the property of the Bourbons ; eleven heads were proscribed, and among the number were those of Talleyrand and Marmont. Soon, yielding to the forced alliance which necessity had imposed upon him, the emperor admitted the patriot chiefs Carnot and Fouché into his council, the first as minister of the interior, the second as minister of police ; he attempted to win over the Constitutionalists ; and Benjamin Constant had the greatest hand in drawing up the *additional act to the constitutions of the empire*. This act reproduced the principal dispositions of the charter of Louis XVIII., but by its strange title, justly disapproved of by public opinion, it appeared to place liberty in the train of despotism. Napoleon submitted it to the acceptance of the people : a million of Frenchmen consented, four thousand ventured to protest. Bonaparte swore to this new constitution in the solemn assembly of the *Champ de Mai*, in which the eagles were distributed to the regiments, and in which he himself appeared with all the pomp of the empire. The elections, almost all patriotic, were known, and the chamber of the representatives assembled on the 3rd of June, under melancholy auspices for the emperor : La Fayette in it reappeared upon the political stage, after an honourable retreat of twenty

years ; the voices were divided between him and Lanjuinais for the presidency, and Lanjuinais, the orator most hostile to the imperial government, obtained it. Military measures then absorbed all the thoughts of Napoleon : the nation was delivered from civil war ; the duke d'Angoulême, checked, after some slight success, at Pont St. Esprit, had capitulated ; then, made prisoner by some peasants, he was set at liberty by the emperor's orders, and quitted France : La Vendée itself, restrained by the firm yet conciliatory measures of General Lamarque, laid down its arms : but threatening Europe was advancing ; the English under Wellington, the Prussians under Blucher, occupied Belgium ; a frantic enthusiasm for liberty animated the German universities against Bonaparte ; at their voice all Germany rose, and behind it the Russian columns and the hordes of Tartary were already in motion.

In a few days Napoleon again made a formidable army spring from the soil of France. He was able to muster three hundred thousand combatants, and of this number a hundred and ten thousand marched towards Belgium. On the 12th of June he set out for his army, to fight with Wellington and Blucher, each of whom had ninety thousand men under his banners ; his hope was to beat them separately and to exterminate them, so as to enable him afterwards to face Austria and Russia. On the 16th a bloody battle was fought round the village of Ligny, on the plains of Fleurus, glorious for the French arms. The Prussians were beaten, and lost twenty-two thousand men : Napoleon, a conqueror, then turned, with only seventy thousand soldiers, to meet the English, Dutch, and Hanoverian forces at Waterloo. Grouchy, at the head of thirty-three thousand men, was to keep back Blucher's beaten Prussians, and prevent their junction with Wellington's army. On the 18th of June, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the action began : the fate of the world was the stake cast into the field of battle. During several hours the advantage was with the French ; the enemy already thought of retreating ; towards six o'clock Napoleon ordered a formidable charge, and the English gave way ; but the arrival of Grouchy, or that of Blucher, would decide the battle. All at once a numerous body of troops appeared at a distance, on the right flank of the French army ; both sides looked towards it with anxiety, both hoped. Wellington recovered his confidence ; he was now sure to conquer, he recognised the Prussians ; Blucher had deceived Grouchy : all was over ;

the rout of the French was complete, immense, and the carnage horrible ; two hundred pieces of cannon and a considerable *matériel* fell into the hands of the allies. French honour at least remained intact on this fatal day, on which, when summoned to lay down their arms, some mutilated battalions of the Old Guard replied by this heroic cry : “ *The Guard dies, and does not surrender !* ” (*La Garde meurt, et ne se rend pas !*) Napoleon, bewildered, frantic, amidst this immense disaster, presented his breast to balls and bullets, but he could not die ; for the second time, death would not touch him : then, despairing of his fortunes, he abandoned the wreck of his army, and returned to Paris, himself to announce that all was lost.

The attitude of the representatives, already ill-disposed towards him, was stern and threatening. La Fayette arose, and uttered some severe words : upon his motion, any attempt to dissolve the chamber was to be punished as high treason. Napoleon saw his friends themselves were in a state of consternation ; the populace of the faubourgs alone still offered to his ear the cry of *Vive l'empereur !* mingled with savage clamours ; he could not make up his mind to depend upon them and to unchain them against the representatives of the nation ; he prudently resisted the entreaties of his brother Lucien, who exhorted him to attempt another 19th Brumaire, and signed a second abdication in favour of his son. The chambers accepted this act, and without declaring positively for Napoleon II., formed a provisional government, composed of the ministers Carnot and Fouché, the duke of Otranto, generals Caulaincourt and Grenier, and Quinette, the old conventionalist : Fouché, suspected of having betrayed the emperor, was named president of this provisional government.

Napoleon withdrew, and from Malmaison, to which he retired, turned his eyes towards America. Behind him, innumerable enemies were precipitating themselves upon France ; the roads to Paris were open, the English and the Prussians were hurrying along them rashly ; a hundred thousand French soldiers could in a few days be brought under the walls of the capital, and cut off their retreat. Napoleon followed, upon his map and in his mind, the imprudent march of the enemies, his warlike genius was once more roused ; he wrote to the provisional government that he had conceived a plan of an infallible nature to conquer and annihilate them ; he requested to be allowed to fight as

a simple general : his offer was rejected by Fouché with insult : the emperor determined to quit France, and directed his course towards Rochefort, under the guard of General Becker. But English cruisers hovered round the port : abused by a strange illusion, Napoleon flattered himself that a noble confidence on his part would triumph over the absolute exigencies of policy. He, with his suite, went on board the English vessel the *Bellerophon*, from which he wrote to the prince regent, and asked permission to seat himself, like another Themistocles, at the hearth of the British people, whilst claiming the protection of their laws. The reply to this letter was an order to convey the illustrious supplicant to St. Helena, and almost immediately he sailed, for the repose of the world, towards that rock which was to be his prison and his tomb. It was thus that this extraordinary man disappeared for the second time, and for ever, from the political stage, leaving behind him a great void, in which clashed the various interests, the shock of which produced and prolonged frightful oscillations in Europe. Like an immense ship, swallowed up all at once in the bosom of the ocean, the waves foamed and boiled for a long time after, over the gulf in which he had disappeared.

CHAPTER II.

From the Capitulation of Paris and the re-entrance of Louis XVIII. into the capital, to the fall of the Decaze ministry.
July 3rd, 1815—February 20th, 1820.

THE allied armies opened France for the second time to the Bourbons. Louis XVIII., in a proclamation of the 28th of June, dated from Cambrai, said : "I hasten to bring back my misled subjects, to mitigate the evils I wished to prevent, to place myself a second time between the allied armies and the French, in the hope that the consideration of which I think I am the object, will turn to their safety. I promise,—I who have never promised in vain,—to pardon the misled French all that has passed from the day on which I quitted Lisle, amidst so many tears, to the day on which I re-entered Cambrai, amidst so many acclamations. But the blood of my children has flowed in consequence of a treason of which the annals of the world offer no example ; the authors of this horrible conspiracy will be consigned by the chambers to the vengeance of the laws."

Louis XVIII., however, had not yet been proclaimed in the capital: the French army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, with five hundred pieces of cannon, was encamped under the walls of Paris, and the Chamber of Representatives continued, amidst the noise of arms, to discuss abstract theories and establish guarantees for the rights of the nation. The English and the Prussians had rashly advanced, leaving behind them a triple line of strong places; victory might still be disputed. Struck, however, with the horrible destiny to which another reverse would give up the capital of France, the heads of the government and the army, Fouché, duke of Otranto, and Davoust, prince of Eckmühl, minister of war, signed on the 3rd of July, at St. Cloud, with the duke of Wellington and Blücher, commanders of the English and Prussian forces, a military convention, by which it was said: "That the French army should evacuate Paris, and should go to the other side of the Loire; that public and private property should be respected, and that the individuals present in the city at the time of the capitulation should neither be disturbed nor questioned on anything relative to their conduct or political opinions." On the 8th of July the king made his public entrance into Paris; Talleyrand was named president of the new ministry, and the regicide Fouché, who, although Napoleon's minister, had actively co-operated in the return of Louis XVIII., obtained as a recompense the entrance to the king's council with the portfolio of police. Two lists of the proscribed were immediately drawn up: by one, nineteen generals or officers were brought before a council of war, the other contained thirty-nine names; those whom it designated were ordered to wait, under the surveillance of the high police, until the chambers should have decided upon their fate: Carnot was of this number, and it was Fouché who signed the ordinances of proscription.

The allied troops preceded the king into the capital; their angry looks plainly showed that they believed they entered much less in virtue of a treaty than by the right of conquest, and from the earliest days, every one might appreciate the frightful evils this second invasion had drawn upon France. The Prussians in particular, regarded with a stern and irritated air the monuments and trophies of the French victories; it required the noble resistance of Louis XVIII. to preserve the bridge of Jena from their brutal vengeance. Insulting to the public mourning and feelings, an insolent

order of the day, given by the Prussian general Muffling, governor of Paris, ordered the sentinels to fire upon any one who should brave them by word, gesture, or look. M. Decaze, prefect of police, caused this barbarous order to be torn, and this act of courage became one of the causes of his high fortune. In contempt of the capitulation, the French museums were devastated; every state of Europe, every city claimed the pictures and statues of which Gallic triumphs had despoiled them, and Paris beheld with stupor a savage soldiery seize so many masterpieces paid for with the blood of Frenchmen.* A young poet, Casimir Delavigne, then first displaying his brilliant talents, was the eloquent interpreter of the griefs of France.

The heroic army of the Loire was a continual object of terror to the foreigners; they required it to be immediately disbanded. These brave men lowered their eagles and laid down their arms at the command of Marshal Macdonald, and no disorder accompanied their return to their homes. Gouvion Saint Cyr, minister of war, then set about the creation of a new army, and the organization of the royal guard dates from this period.

The composition of the chambers underwent important modifications: many peers of the first restoration, who had sat during the Hundred Days, were eliminated; the king named ninety-two new ones, and on the 20th of August, 1815, rendered the peerage hereditary. The elections of the deputies were made according to the ancient electoral lists completed by the choice of the prefects: a great number of old knights of St. Louis were arbitrarily named as electors, and transmitted to the new chamber the spirit of blind and violent reaction with which they themselves were animated. Most of the elected members belonged, in fact, to the opinion styled *ultra-royalist*, and came to the chamber, not only with ideas most hostile to the revolution, but still further, with the thirst for vengeance and the too-frequently rash confidence which victory gives after a humiliating defeat.

Then it became strongly manifest among what inextricable difficulties the government of the restoration was placed. Whilst condemning the vindictive and reactionary chamber

* These remarks are scarcely worthy of refutation—they create a smile by their weakness: by the right of the strongest, the French took these objects from their legitimate owners; by the same right, their owners took them back again;—what have the French to complain of!—*Trans.*

of 1815, we must not confound with the mass of passionate men who formed the majority of it, the superior minds, who sought, by penetrating it with their doctrines, to give to France an organization drawn from exalted principles, but which had ceased to be in harmony with the morals, the intelligence, and the interests of the nation. Men of a noble character and great talent, such as MM. de Bonald, Bergasse, and Montlosier, figured at the head of the royalist school, and set forth in their writings the dominant opinion of the majority of the chamber. This school sought the basis of its political opinion less in the rights of the peoples than in facts consecrated by time. The liberal school, on the contrary, considered freedom as a right inherent to human nature, and announced itself as taking for the basis of its theories, reason, public interest, and the general will. The first of these two schools had, as its particular object, even when it invoked the liberties of the nation, to extend the influence of the aristocracy ; the second proposed to itself, by confining this influence within narrow limits, to make the greatest possible number participate in the exercise of political rights. There existed then a reciprocal and an invincible antipathy between the fundamental opinions of the royalists and those of the liberals, and it was perhaps impossible that a stable order of things should be consolidated in France under a dynasty bound by its antecedents, by its affections, by gratitude even, to the men who, to reconstruct the social edifice, never took their eyes from the past, whilst the nation which this dynasty governed, rejected their principles and adopted almost in its entirety the system founded and defended by their adversaries. The struggle between the most violent men of both parties began in 1815, and lasted fifteen years : all took advantage of whatever was obscure or ill-defined in the charter, some for the purpose of destroying it, others with the hope of obtaining more than it promised. The royalists had at first the advantage. It was impossible that the Talleyrand ministry should maintain itself before such a chamber as the resentments excited by the Hundred Days had made, and the duke de Richelieu received orders to form a new cabinet.

This statesman, a friend of the emperor Alexander, and whose life had been principally passed in foreign countries, had acquired a great administrative reputation in his government of Odessa : he knew but little of France or the mode of action fit for a representative government ; but he often

made up for what he wanted in knowledge by the inspirations of a right and generous mind. He hastened the conclusion of the treaty, which at length specified the expenses and sacrifices imposed upon France by the allies. Their demands were reduced to five points : 1st, the cession of the territory containing the places of Philippeville, Marienburg, Sarrelouis, and Landau ; 2nd, the demolition of the fortifications of Huningue ; 3rd, the payment of an indemnification of seven hundred millions,* without prejudice to the debts owing by the French government to individuals of all the states of Europe ; 4th, the restitution of the department of Mont Blanc to the king of Sardinia ; 5th, the occupation, during three or five years, at the will of the allies, of a line along the frontiers, by an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, maintained at the expense of France. This painful treaty was signed on the 20th of November, 1815.

The insolent tyranny and cruel exactions of a million of foreigners were not the only evils which France had to suffer in consequence of the disastrous events of *the hundred days*. Several departments of the south were for a long time a prey to civil war and bloody anarchy ; horrible assassinations there signalized this fatal period : after the battle of Waterloo, free companies assailed Marseilles, gave themselves up to furious excesses, and massacred a body of Mamelukes who held garrison within its walls ; a ferocious populace slaughtered Marshal Brune at Avignon ; the brave General Ramel was assassinated at Toulouse. In the department of the Gard the royalist reaction manifested itself under the appearance of religious enthusiasm ; at Nismes, Uzès, and other places, assassins perambulated the streets in open day, to the cry of *Death to the Protestants!* Some monsters, led by a Trestailon, a Truphèmi, and a Graffan, renewed the horrors of the 2nd of September ; they massacred the Calvinists even in the prisons with refinements of most horrible barbarity, outraged their wives, and burnt their houses and their temples ; and these atrocities remained unpunished !—they were committed in the sight of the local authorities, who allowed them to go on ; the government, powerless to prevent them, for a long time was silent, and the chamber of 1815 branded itself with infamy by calling to order, with frantic transports, the deputy D'Argenson, who demanded an inquiry into these horrible crimes. The cry of justice and humanity arose from a foreign tribunal : the illustrious Brougham invoked, in favour of the

* £29,166,666. 13s. 4d. sterling.—*Trans.*

Protestants of France, the intervention of his government, and the English parliament was moved by the accents of his indignant voice. Austrian bayonets, in various places, intervened between the victims and their executioners. At Nismes, General Lagarde was assassinated by some furious wretches whose rage he endeavoured to restrain, and a prince of the royal family, the duke d'Angoulême, came twice to this devoted city, before he could succeed by firm and prudent conduct in stopping the effusion of blood.

The session was opened on the 7th of October, and the Chamber of Deputies, qualified by the name of the *Introuvables*, gave free vent to their violent and reactionary passions. In face of the immense majority of this chamber, led by MM. de Villèle, Corbière, and La Bourdonnaye, was a minority of sixty members, at the head of whom were MM. de Serres, Royer Collard, and Pasquier: they could only oppose a courageous but impotent eloquence to most of the acts of this too-memorable session. The chamber demanded exceptional laws, which were received as soon as presented; one suspended individual liberty, another punished seditious cries with transportation, a third established the censure upon periodical writings; and at length, in the discussion of a law of amnesty, MM. de la Bourdonnaye and Duplessis-Grénedan proposed to form divers categories of guilty persons, which might be arbitrarily extended to many thousands of Frenchmen. The commission charged with making a report upon the law of amnesty admitted the project of these categories, as well as that which re-established confiscation, to pay the war-contributions imposed by the allies; it further proposed, by the organ of M. de Corbière, its supporter, to exclude the regicides from the amnesty. The two first projects were rejected by a very weak majority; the chamber passed the last by condemning the regicides to perpetual banishment, together with those who signed the additional act, or were employed by the government of the Hundred Days. This measure reached Fouché himself, then ambassador at Dresden, and who died in exile. Under the vindictive influence of the majority, the Institute was mutilated; M. de Vaublanc, minister of the interior, expelled several members of eminent merit from it, and among others, the author of *Marius*, and the author of the *Deux Gendres*, MM. Arnaud and Etienne. The effects of these violent acts were already manifested by punishments: the impetuous and imprudent Labédoyère, tried by commission, was the first victim: after him, Ney, "the

bravest of the brave," invoked in vain before the Chamber of Peers the benefit of the capitulation of St. Cloud; he was condemned to death, and executed. The brothers Faucher, both generals, inseparable in death as in life, were shot at Bordeaux; Generals Mouton-Douvernet and Chartrand suffered the same punishment; General Bonnaire, more unfortunate still, underwent a disgraceful degradation; Lefevre Desnouettes, the two brothers Lallemand, Rigaud, and Savary, were condemned to death for contumacy. Lavalette alone escaped capital punishment, by the devotion of his wife and of three generous Englishmen, who favoured his evasion; the Chamber of Deputies broke out, on this occasion, into furious invectives against the ministers, whom they made responsible for the event; other victims were sacrificed. Scenes of horror terrified Grenoble: an obscure man named Didier, inveigled a troop of peasants, who scarcely knew whither he was leading them; they were for the most part drunk and badly armed. Didier, at their head, endeavoured to take Grenoble by surprise; General Donadieu defeated this senseless attempt, and immediately, by his orders, moving columns pervaded the neighbouring countries, and spread desolation and terror: the prisoners they took were tried in masses by a prevotal court, and exterminated. In Le Gard, the court of assizes acquitted Trestailon and his accomplices, the assassins of General Lagarde, whilst the councils of war continued to fulminate sentences of death against Protestants suspected of Bonapartism. The chamber, amidst so much blood, held on its march towards its object, which was:

1st. The re-establishment of legitimate royalty upon its ancient basis.

2nd. The formation of local independent administrations, organized in such a manner as to leave place for territorial and ecclesiastical influences.

3rd. The legal creation of a powerful territorial aristocracy.

4th. The political and financial constitution of the French clergy.

Louis XVIII. had announced, on his return from Ghent, that thirteen articles of the charter should be submitted to revision; it became evident that the chamber was about to take upon itself, from this royal promise, to annihilate the charter altogether. The count d'Artois and his friends of the *Pavillon Marsan*, who accused the king's government of too liberal conduct in 1814, and even imputed to this pretended liberality the catastrophe of the Hundred Days, directed

the chamber of 1815 in its violent and retrograde proceedings. Already, by the establishment of a religious congregation, whose ramifications extended into the provinces, *Monsieur* governed the minds of the ambitious and the fanatical ; to this first and skilful organization he joined that not less powerful one of the national guard ; all the inspectors of this immense body, all the officers were of his nomination ; he chose them for the most part from the extreme royalist party, and thus exercised a double power of surveillance and action. France found herself entangled in the nets of a faction hostile to her institutions, and whose interests and views were in opposition to hers : the representative monarchy was in peril, and the more that the influence of this anti-national power gained in strength and duration, the more it was to be feared that the reaction would be terrible.

Listening, then, to the suggestions of his own reason, and to the energetic counsels of the ministers Richelieu, Decaze, and Lainé, Louis XVIII. issued the celebrated ordinance of the 5th of September, which dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, fixed, according to the text of the constitution, the number of the members of the new chamber at two hundred and sixty, and declared that no article of the charter should be revised. This ordinance was a clap of thunder for the royalist party, which received it trembling with indignation and passion. M. de Chateaubriand, the most enlightened and eloquent man of this party,—the only one, perhaps, who, whilst relying upon legitimacy as the foundation of social order, wished with sincerity for the preservation of the constitution,—protested in the name of all his party, and replied to the ordinance of September by *La Monarchie selon la Charte*, a work which spread through Europe and procured the disgrace of its author. The command of the national guard was withdrawn from the count d'Artois, and the result of the new elections responded to the hopes of the ministry.

Nevertheless, the misfortunes of the country were overwhelming : oppressed by a hundred and fifty thousand foreigners, who, disseminated in its fortresses, burdened it with ruinous expenses, and agitated by internal factions, France had still further to groan under the horrors of famine ; the continual rains of 1816 inundated the country, destroyed the hopes of the harvest, and spread the scourge of disease among the cattle. But even these calamities did

not at all prevent the explosion of political hatreds, for in the year 1816, the late tragic scenes of Grenoble were reproduced at Lyons, with the same character of absurdity in the execution of the plot, and the same barbarity in the punishment of it.

A new concordat was signed at Rome by means of M. Blacas, ambassador to the sovereign pontiff. This treaty, burdensome for France in more than one respect, considerably extended the number of bishoprics, which had been fixed at fifty by the concordat of Napoleon. A project of a law, presented on this subject to the chambers, was rejected, and the king limited the number of bishops to that of the departments.

The most important legislative act of this year was the electoral law, which, for the first time since the restoration, permitted a legal manner to be followed in the nomination of the deputies. It established the direct election, fixed the amount of taxes to be paid by electors at three hundred francs, and that of the eligible deputies at a thousand francs; the chamber was to be renewed by fifths, and there was but one college for each department. This law, proposed by the ministry, was adopted after stormy debates: it was the greatest concession the Bourbons had yet made to the constitutional spirit, and its results proved the extreme difficulties of the ground upon which the reigning dynasty was placed. Other laws, of high importance, were passed the following year. France had an army but in appearance: voluntary enlistments filled the ranks of the legions badly, and it became urgent, in the presence of the foreigners, to re-establish the military forces of the kingdom upon a respectable footing. It was for this purpose that in 1818 Marshal Gouvion Saint Cyr, minister of war, proposed the recruiting law: it re-established the conscription of the empire, deprived the king, in spite of the repugnance of his court, of unlimited power in the nomination to the grades, and accorded, in the promotion of officers and subalterns, a great part to seniority. This law was contrary to the article of the charter which abolished conscription in the kingdom; but its generally felt utility caused its adoption to be decided upon. Individual liberty ceased to be suspended, but the periodical press was still subjected to the censure: nevertheless, by means of an artifice which took away the character of periodicals from several journals, men of talent maintained, almost without restraint, a passionate struggle in

them. Liberal opinion and royalist opinion had for principal organs, the one *La Minerve*, and the other, *Le Conservateur*. The abilities of MM. Benjamin Constant, Jay, Etienne, and De Jouy, secured the immense success of the first of these publications; the second owed its popularity to the pens of MM. Chateaubriand, La Mennais, and Fiévée. A powerful consideration tended to justify the fears with which the liberty of the press at this period inspired the ministry. The allied armies occupied the kingdom, and it was necessary to convince them that their support was not necessary for the Bourbons. The apparent quietude of France alone could bring about the prompt liberation of its territory. This happy event marked the course of the year 1818, and the duke de Richelieu had the glory of attaching his name to it: thanks to his fortunate ascendancy over the emperor Alexander, the sovereigns, then assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, consented to have the French places evacuated, and to withdraw their armies: fifteen millions of interest, inscribed upon *le grand livre*,* completed the liquidation of the debt of France to the foreigner. The duke de Richelieu afterwards gave in his resignation, and retired before the more popular names of Benjamin Constant and Manuel de la Fayette, recently issued from the electoral urn. As a reward for the services he had rendered his country, the chambers voted in his favour a gift of fifty thousand livres per annum. Richelieu was without fortune, and did not accept this magnificent recompense for himself. He exercised power in a very difficult time, and the imperious force of circumstances often overcame his generous disposition; he left, on quitting office, the reputation of a man of worth and honour, but the persistency with which he demanded the blood of Marshal Ney, and pursued several other proscriptions, is a subject of reproach to his memory. Alarmed at the result of the last elections, almost all liberal, he wished the ministry to conciliate the *centre droit* of the chamber,† and desired that the electoral law should be modified. His views in this respect were not shared by his young colleague M. Decaze, then at the height of his favour with Louis XVIII.

* The general list of the creditors of the state.

† The *côté droit* of the chamber, was that in which the most ardent members of the royalist party sat. The deputies whose liberal opinion was the most decided, sat opposite to them on the left side. The moderate members of both parties composed the two great fractions of the chamber which were called the *centre droit*, and the *centre gauche*.

Several members of the cabinet retired with the duke de Richelieu, and by the advice of M. Decaze, the king named General Dessolle president of the council : M. de Serres received the seals, Marshal Gouvion Saint Cyr retained the portfolio of war, M. Decaze obtained that of the interior, and was really the director of the new ministry. In consequence of the elections of 1817 and 1818, the majority in the chamber of the deputies was in favour of liberal opinions ; it was to be feared that all harmony would be at an end between it and the chamber of the peers, which demanded the reform of the law of election ; it was urgent, therefore, either to dissolve the first, or to modify the votes of the second by fresh creation. M. Decaze preferred the latter mode, and a royal ordinance created seventy-two new peers, chosen, for the most part, from among the most distinguished men of the empire. This promotion, which assured the constitutional march of the government, provoked the violent clamours of the royalist party. The ministry took no account of them, but followed for some time with sincerity and ability the direction it had marked out.

France had already done honour to herself by abolishing the slave trade and the odious *droit d'aubaine* ; she obtained, in 1819, the liberty of the periodical press : quiet began to be re-established in the interior ; the foreign soldier no longer trod her soil : commerce, manufactures, and agriculture flourished, mutual instruction made rapid progress, and public credit was reviving : everything, in short, allowed hopes to be entertained of a happy future : but parties were fervent and implacable ; the royalists rejected all alliance with sincere constitutionalists, and would not allow of any really liberal concessions ; the liberals, on their side, could not wait, and compromised the future for the sake of securing an ephemeral triumph. Serious differences had already broken out between the *côté gauche* and the ministry, on the subject of the Frenchmen banished without trial ; the question was agitated to solicit the king to recall them : "*With regard to the regicides, never!*" cried M. de Serres from the tribune, and this expression strongly irritated the liberal party. It was in circumstances like these that the elections of 1819 took place, for the renewal of the third series of the chamber. The greater part of them were made under the influence of the liberals : but these were divided into several parties, the most remarkable of which were that of the revo-

lutionists, who wished, at any sacrifice, to overthrow the Bourbons, and that which was named the *doctrinaire* party, which, whilst setting forth its opinions according to certain abstract theories of a high order, considered the support of the dynasty as necessary to that of the charter. This party, not numerous then, boasted, however, in its ranks several of the best informed and most distinguished men of France. Elections made according to their views would have assured a durable triumph to the constitutionalists; but the electors committed the enormous error of yielding to the suggestions of violent and passionate spirits; a great number of the elected were openly hostile to the Bourbons, and the name of the conventionalist Grégoire issued from the urn. The royalist party uttered a cry of horror, and expelled Grégoire from the chamber.

Seriously alarmed by the elections and the imperious demands of the liberals, solicited by his brother and his family, Louis XVIII. resolved to modify the electoral law, and M. Decaze, considering as necessary that which he had judged useless and dangerous some months before, thought he could best serve the views of the king by withdrawing from the *gauche*, to pass over to the *côté droit*. This continual tacking, in compliance with the necessities of the moment, and to which was given the name of *bascule* (see-saw), often useful on the part of a king, could only be fatal to the reputation of a minister, under a constitutional government. Several of the colleagues of M. Decaze perceived, that as they were no longer able to persevere in their line of conduct, it was their duty to give in their resignations, and they did so, carrying with them out of office the public esteem; these were MM. Dessolle and Louis and Gouvion Saint Cyr, who were replaced by MM. Pasquier, Rey, and Latour Maubourg. M. Decaze formed this new cabinet, and had the title of president of the council. His conduct, which had become undecided and wavering, irritated the liberals without conciliating the royalists. The latter did not relax in their attacks till a frightful event gave them an opportunity of overthrowing him, and caused power to pass into other hands. The duke de Berry was assassinated in the evening of the 13th of February, 1820, as he was coming out from the opera, by a wretch named Louvel: he survived the blow but a few hours, and expired in the arms of the royal family, pardoning his murderer. This prince, endowed with noble qualities, and united a few years before to a young princess,

the grand-daughter of the king of Naples, was then considered as the last male scion of the elder branch of the Bourbons. His death spread consternation throughout Paris and France, where the results of this sinister event were at once foreseen. The fury of the royalists knew no bounds ; they made M. Decaze responsible for the crime, and one of them carried the delirium of party so far as to accuse him of it from the tribune. In vain, to appease his enemies, the minister hastened to present exceptional laws to the chambers, one against individual liberty, another against the press, as well as a new project of an electoral law ; he could not avoid the storm from the *côté droit*, and raised against himself, at the same time, as severe a tempest from the *côté gauche*. Royalists and liberals provoked his fall : he still resisted, for his power was rooted in the heart of the king ; but the count d'Artois and the duchess d'Angoulême earnestly required of Louis XVIII. the dismissal of his favourite, and their wishes at length were complied with. M. Decaze received the title of duke, and was appointed ambassador to London, and M. de Richelieu formed the new cabinet, which had but a short existence. From this time, and by its own fault, the liberal party lost the direction of affairs ; power was about to pass into the hands of the royalists, and France, struck almost without intermission by a crowd of measures anti-national and destructive of her liberties, only escaped from this retrograde path, into which a rash hand thrust her, by overthrowing the throne upon the torn charter.

The greater part of Europe was then in a state of violent effervescence, and the celebrated prediction, "The French revolution will make the tour of the world," appeared to be accomplished. The convulsive movements which had so long agitated France, spread in all directions, and volcanic shocks were felt from the shores of the ocean to those of the Adriatic. The sovereigns had associated the peoples with their hatreds and their vengeance with regard to Napoleon, by flattering their generous feelings, and by promising them free institutions, as the recompense for their energetic resistance ; but after the struggle, when the common enemy was beaten, the sovereigns forgot their promises, and pretended to have recovered most of their ancient rights upon reseizing their hereditary sceptres : they no longer saw, in fact, in their people auxiliaries, but only subjects ; they perceived a danger in the sentiments from which they had so lately obtained a powerful assistance, and all their efforts had a tendency to

either stifle or punish these liberal dispositions. Thus Ferdinand VII. only appeared to have re-entered Spain for the purpose of chastising the heroic men who had preserved his throne for him. He had promised, not the maintenance of the constitution drawn up by the Cortez of Cadiz in 1812, disfigured by the errors of the French constitution of 1791, but the gift of liberal institutions, in harmony with the progress of intelligence : and yet, scarcely had he escaped from his prison of Valency, and placed the crown on his brow, than, lending an ear to the counsels of a fanatical and barbarous clergy, he re-established the Inquisition, reigned six years without control, and assailed, like a ferocious and maniacal despot, the most distinguished men of his kingdom, the Martinez de la Rosas, the Torrenos, and the Arguelles : he crowded them together beneath the burning rocks of Africa, and his generous defenders found themselves mingled indiscriminately in the same dungeons with the partisans of King Joseph, against whom they had fought. The army, deprived of its noblest leaders, at length rose against this odious tyranny. The Isle of Leon was the first scene of the insurrection, which broke out in January, 1820, amongst the troops destined to subdue the Spanish colonies of South America : Quiroga and Riego were the principal authors of it. Catalonia rose almost at the same time, at the voice of Mina ; Galicia had already proclaimed the constitution of the Cortez ; the insurrection successively prevailed in all the cities, and the count d'Abisbal, who was charged with the suppression of the rebels of the Isle of Leon, himself unfurled their flag at Ocana. Madrid received the news with enthusiasm, and Ferdinand's only alternatives were, abdicating, or swearing to the constitution : he chose the latter, and swore to maintain it. Torreno, Arguelles, and Martinez de la Rosas passed suddenly from the prisons of Africa to the council of the monarch, and as the first acts of their authority, they abolished the infamous Inquisition, and suppressed the order of the Jesuits in Spain. The government being without resources, decreed the sale of the immense possessions of the religious orders, and from that time, sixty thousand monks were busy in stimulating an ignorant and fanatical populace against it. The repercussion of this vast movement was felt in Portugal : this kingdom, after the flight of the royal family of Braganza, and during the war, had been subjected to an English regency, which governed it like a colony of the Britannic isles. Portugal, roused by a national feeling, drove

out the English authorities, and recalled their ancient sovereign, John VI., who left the regency of Brazil to his son Pedro, and returned to reign over his old subjects, accepting a liberal charter, drawn up after the model of the Spanish constitution.

Italy, groaning under the Austrian sceptre, was equally agitated : societies of Freemasons and Carbonari were formed in all parts, burning with one same hope, united by the vow to one day free their country from the foreign yoke, and form of the divers states of the Peninsula a federation of republics. The kingdom of Naples was in a blaze : Ferdinand IV. had, in 1815, recovered the sceptre of this country, where Murat, landing in arms after the battle of Waterloo, had been taken and shot. The remembrance of the cruel reactions directed by the queen Caroline against the patriotic party, angered a people still a prey to all the caprices of arbitrary authority. There also secret societies tended to produce a political revolution ; the signal was given by the army, and issued from the city of Nola. The regiment of Bourbon marched out of its barracks with its ensigns unfurled, on the 2nd of July, 1820, to the cry of *Viva la costituzione !* Two other regiments joined it ; the Carbonari came in crowds, and General William Pépé raised the capital. At his voice, the people invested the palace, and proclaimed the constitution of the Spanish Cortez ; Ferdinand IV. and his son adopted, and swore to maintain it. Frightful massacres followed this revolution in Sicily.

Whilst the south of Europe was thus agitated, an active fermentation was going on in Prussia and the states of the north of Germany, which looked in vain for the liberal institutions which their princes had promised them. Fourteen redoubtable circles of secret associations were formed : it was in the name of liberty and equality that their members combined, it was a political and social revolution that they demanded. A fever of demagogic enthusiasm inflamed the universities. The poet Kotzebüé, the defender, in his writings, of the rights of monarchs, fell under the poniard of young Charles Sand, who had signalized himself in the war of German independence ; thousands of voices repeated the name of the assassin with transport, thousands of hearts vowed a worship to his memory. The revolutionary fever which so violently affected the continent was silently working its way in England, and threatened to give up the social body to a long and painful disorder. This convulsive agita-

tion extended itself with rapidity towards the east, and roused the descendants of the heroic Hellenes : the genius of Miltiades and Themistocles awoke in their ruined cities, after a sleep of two thousand years ; and the cry of country and liberty, issuing from the walls of Souli and the rocks of Epirus, revived the echoes of Marathon and Salamis.

CHAPTER III.

From the fall of the Decaze ministry to the death of Louis XVIII.
20th February, 1820—16th September, 1824.

THREE absolute monarchs, the emperor Alexander, the emperor of Austria, and the king of Prussia, had signed, in 1815, a treaty celebrated under the name of the *Holy Alliance*, by which they engaged to found their mutual relations upon the most sacred principles of Christianity, and to have no other object in their policy but the interests of their subjects, and the maintenance of religion, peace, and justice. This treaty appeared at the end of the Congress of Vienna, after the scandalous partition of Europe, and the indignant nations soon recognised in it a pact, formed in the interests of power, against the liberties of peoples. The revolutionary effervescence which manifested itself among them in a fearful manner, was not without its dangers for social order. The sovereigns might, without doubt, have prevented it by the faithful execution of their royal promises, and later, they might still have imposed silence upon imprudent and rash views by making the wise concessions required by progress and the times : but they took a different part.

M. de Metternich, in the name of the emperor of Austria, his master, convoked a congress at Carlsbad, at which all the members of the Germanic Confederation assisted, and in which he himself exercised a sovereign influence. This congress destroyed secret societies, and established the censorship of the press throughout all Germany, without taking any account of the constitutions enjoyed by Wurtemberg, Bavaria, the country of Baden, and some other states. A few months after, the sovereigns of the North met at Troppau, near Laybach, to pronounce in a decisive manner concerning the revolutions of Spain, Portugal, and Naples. Austria in particular dreaded the contagion of the Neapolitan insurrection, on account of her Italian provinces. The liberal

views of Alexander had undergone a remarkable change : M. de Metternich dominated over the mind of the czar, and an armed expedition from Austria against Naples was resolved upon : the old king Ferdinand attended the sovereigns at Laybach, and almost immediately an Austrian army penetrated into the Abruzzi. The Piedmontese seized this opportunity to throw off the yoke : a military insurrection broke out in Alessandria, and the constitution of the Cortes was proclaimed at Turin. Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, immediately abdicated in favour of his brother Charles Felix, who hastened from Modena at the head of some Austrian troops : sanguinary contests ensued ; Austria triumphed in Piedmont as well as at Naples ; the Neapolitan army, under P  p  , shamefully took flight at the first charge. All Italy was thus laid at the foot of the power which coveted it, and from the north to the south courts-martial there assured the dominion of foreigners, and inflicted the vengeance of the monarchs.

Alexander then learnt the insurrection of the Greeks against their barbarous oppressors ; he could not, however, perceive in it anything but a plot of the Carbonari, and condemned his unfortunate coreligionists : the heroic city of Souli succumbed before the ferocious Ali Pacha. England had just sold to the barbarian, by an infamous treaty, the city of Parga, and, to satisfy the vengeance of the sultan Mahomet, eighty priests, with the venerable patriarch of Constantinople and a multitude of Greeks, had perished in that capital, given up to ignominious punishments. The heart of Alexander was not at all moved for those whose faith he shared : the Klephtes of the mountains, the Greeks of Moldavia and Wallachia trusted in him, and flew to arms at the voice of Botzaris, of Maurocordato, and of Ipsilanti ; but, conquered by numbers, they almost all succumbed ; the brave Ipsilanti, after performing deeds of heroism for the cause of liberty, gained the Austrian soil ; he was cast into dungeons, from which he only issued at the end of four years to die.

It was thus absolute sovereigns interpreted in Europe the treaty of the Holy Alliance, whilst France endured with pain the fatal consequences of the elections of 1819, and of the tragic event of February, 1820. M. de Richelieu had supported, and caused to be adopted, the projects of laws presented by M. Decazes, one of which suspended personal liberty, whilst another re-established the censorship of the

journals. When rejecting the first project, General Foy gave utterance to these eloquent words: "Let us act so," said he, "that the advantage of a sublime death be not lost for the royal house and for public morality, that posterity may not reproach us that at the funeral ceremonies of a Bourbon, the liberties of our citizens were immolated to serve as a hecatomb." His efforts were unavailing, the chambers voted the two laws, as well as a third, which transmitted in the elections, the high influence of the middle classes to the aristocracy. The last law established two colleges, one of *arrondissement*, in which an assessment of three hundred francs gave the right to vote; the other of *department*, in which none were admitted but those who were assessed at a thousand francs: the latter voted in both colleges. The number of the members of the Chamber of Deputies was raised to four hundred and thirty, of whom two hundred and sixty were named by the colleges of *arrondissement*, and a hundred and seventy by the departmental colleges. This law, supported by the dying M. de Serres, and warmly opposed by La Fayette, Camille Jordan, Royer Collard, and all the *Gauche*, was adopted amidst sanguinary riots. It was under such auspices that, on the 29th of September, the duke de Bordeaux was born, a posthumous son of the duke de Berri. The royalists saluted the newly-born prince as the child of miracle, and contemplated in this event long and glorious destinies promised to the elder branch of the Bourbons, upon the throne of France.

The following elections, in which the departmental colleges made their numerous choice, were almost all favourable to the royalists, and the majority escaped from the moderates of that party, to pass a second time to the men of 1815. Deceived in his hopes, M. de Richelieu found himself obliged to admit to the council MM. de Villèle and Corbière, who governed the *Droite* of the assembly: these gentlemen only consented to form part of the ministry because they perceived the weakness of it, and flattered themselves they could overthrow its leader the more promptly, by feigning to act in concert with him.

The great captain who had conquered in fifty-two pitched battles, and disposed of the sceptres of the universe, expired at this time at St. Helena, surrounded by a few faithful friends, carried off, after several months of a painful illness, at the end of a captivity of six years. Napoleon descended into

the tomb in consequence of a disease of the liver, the progress of which was accelerated by the influence of an unwholesome climate, the rigours of his gaoler, Sir Hudson Lowe, governor of the island, and, above all, by the devouring activity of a genius which had no aliment but poignant regrets, after having had for its sphere the entire world. Inflexible history is bound to say, that in that immense sphere, of which he had made himself the centre, he too frequently attributed everything to himself. Napoleon despised humanity : most men were, in his eyes, only ciphers, the value of which was represented by the services he might expect from them. He loved war, as a professional gambler loves the game in which he excels ; like a gambler also, he risked every day that which he had gained the preceding one, and had nobody but himself to accuse of the greater part of his disgraces. The re-establishment of order in France, and the useful creations of his genius, are his best titles to glory : but the comparison of the good he did with that which he might have done if he had constantly held in sight a moral and truly patriotic aim, will always be a perpetual subject of reproach for his memory. His insatiable ambition twice laid open his country to foreign armies ; the calamities which followed these invasions, and the blood of two millions of men, shed in numberless contests during his reign, have taught France what the glory of a conqueror costs : let us however hope, that she did not suffer so much, without humanity, at a later period, deriving some great advantages from it. Napoleon, in his victorious march through nations, at the head of kings, princes, and powerful leaders, sprung from the ranks of the people, spread everywhere, upon the equality of rights, the knowledge of certain principles, which, in our period, have become the basis of political liberty ; and in his double catastrophe, by drawing down Europe twice upon France, he introduced the most remote nations to a superior civilization, which will, without doubt, some day establish new ties between them and France, and place more harmony between their social constitutions and those of the country they visited. Such was the prestige attached to this extraordinary man, that at eighteen hundred leagues from Europe he yet filled it with the fame of his name : his powerful image appeared from afar on his solitary rock, in the midst of the ocean, as a perpetual object of terror for some, and of hope for others. His death hurried several of the latter into rash and desperate enterprises ; whilst, by

delivering their adversaries from a salutary terror, it permitted them to give themselves up, with less reserve and prudence, to their reactionary and disastrous inclinations.

In the mean time, an occult power invaded the court, the chambers, and all the branches of public administration. Ten years before, some men of a sincere piety, such as the viscount de Montmorency and the abbé Legris Duval, had formed in France an influential society, which had at first no object but the accomplishment of good works and the duties prescribed by a fervent devotion. The restoration opened the field of politics to this society, which, imbued with ultra-montane and ultra-royalist principles, became, under the patronage of MM. de Polignac and de Rivière, the most redoubtable obstacles to the Decazes, and Richelieu ministries. Generally designated by the name of the congregation, it affiliated itself with the Jesuits : the latter, not authorized to reside in France in quality of members of their order, founded their power in the state anew, under the name of *Fathers of the Faith* : from the moment they directed the congregation, intrigue exercised a sovereign influence in it, and a crowd of ambitious men became anxious to belong to it. Montrouge, whither the Jesuits had transported their Noviciate,* was the centre of all the secret plots of the court and the church against the Charter and the institutions of the country. The Jesuits had powerful supporters in the royal family, and Louis XVIII., constantly assailed with solicitations in their favour, consented to tolerate them, without, however, acknowledging their existence to be legal. From that moment, religion, so holy and so beneficent when it is only guided by a spiritual and moral aim, was mixed up with all the interests of policy and ambition : the Jesuits founded colleges under the name of *Little Seminaries*, in which were placed the children of the most distinguished families of the kingdom ; they dominated over the court, the church, and the majority of the chamber : missionaries, affiliated with the congregation and imbued with its doctrines, pervaded the kingdom : almost everywhere they became the occasion or the involuntary cause of strange disorders ; hypocrisy, so fatal to morals at the end of the reign of Louis XIV., reappeared, more odious than ever, under those of Louis XVIII. and his successor. Outward acts of devotion, practised by the

* House, or part of a religious house in which novices dwell, and where they go through their exercises during their year of probation.
—*Trans.*

incredulous themselves, were the surest means of attaining honours and fortune ; and it was thus that power, become too frequently the reward of baseness, lost, in many places, all consideration in the eyes of the people. The French had the misfortune of accusing religion of the scandals of those who insulted it by invoking it ; they attributed to it the shameful yoke which galled them, and force was obliged to be had recourse to to protect the missionaries against the irritated people. In Paris, at Brest, Rouen, and all the great cities, they preached under the protection of sabres and bayonets, and priests were seen calling down the chastisements of human justice upon those whom they had not been able to convince by the authority of their preaching.

The congregation redoubled its efforts against the Richelieu ministry, at the opening of the session of 1821. The liberals then believed it to be their duty to unite themselves with the ultra-royalists for the purpose of overthrowing the cabinet, in the dangerous hope that the majority, upon obtaining the direction of affairs, would perish, as in 1815, by its own excesses. The address of the chamber, prepared by some men of this majority, was hostile and offensive to the monarch ; and M. de Richelieu, having demanded fresh rigours against the press, the royalists, whose most pressing interest was victory, affected an ardent zeal for the liberty they attacked, and a great horror for the censorship : in this respect, like a certain number of their adversaries, who, but lately, humble suitors to imperial despotism, had disguised themselves, at its fall, as intrepid defenders of public liberties. The position of the ministry was no longer tenable, and it resigned on the 15th of December, 1821, after an existence of twenty-three months.

A woman, whose patronage favoured the *affiliated* of the congregation, and who had the art to hold Louis XVIII., to the end of his days, under the charm of a voluptuous fascination, was no stranger to the formation of the new cabinet, the most influential members of which were M. de Peyronnet, keeper of the seals ; M. de Villèle, minister of finance ; and M. de Corbière, minister of the interior ; the viscount de Montmorency obtained the portfolio of foreign affairs, and the duke de Belluno that of war. M. de Villèle already exercised a great authority in the council, and was not long in becoming its chief. The rise of his fortune had been rapid : endowed with great talents for intrigue, and with a remarkable capacity for business, he had neither the exalted

views of a statesman, nor sufficient strength of character to escape the influence of a faction whose fatal blindness he deplored ; in a word, he hoped to be able to struggle, by means of artifice and corruption, against the sympathies and the moral and political exigencies of a great people. The congregation was aware that it would dominate in spite of him, whilst the nomination of the pious viscount de Montmorency assured its triumph : its *affiliated* immediately invaded the employments and seized the eminent posts of every ministry. From that time the government and the Chamber of Deputies marched in concert towards the counter-revolution.

France had a right to expect that those who had recently, as deputies, defended the liberty of the press with so much energy, would respect it as ministers ; and yet one of the first acts of the ministry was to deprive the jury of the power of trying the offences of the press, and to assail it with two measures which opened a vast field for arbitrary authority : the one made an offence consist in the political tendency of a suite of articles, although each of them, taken separately, was not susceptible of being incriminated ; the other permitted, in cases of a serious nature, the re-establishment of a censorship. This law, presented in 1822, was passed by a great majority.

Secret societies, in the mean time, were being organized everywhere, and Carbonarism extended its immense ramifications through the kingdom, by the creation of *ventes* (sales) of various degrees ; its dangerous spirit percolated rapidly through the schools and the army, and already in 1820 a conspiracy had been discovered in two legions in garrison in Paris. The accused, tried by the Court of Peers, had been, for the most part, acquitted. Captain Nantil, author of the plot, and condemned to death, escaped. Seditious movements broke out in the cavalry school of Saumur : they were suppressed ; but they directed to this point the hopes of other rash conspirators. General Berton assembled a troop of young men, soldiers and ill-armed peasants, and placed himself at their head, displaying the tricoloured flag. He surprised the city of Thouars in the name of Napoleon II., and marched towards Saumur, which he was not able to carry. Abandoned by most of his followers, he took to flight, but soon fell into an ambush. About the same time a quickly-stifled military insurrection broke out at Belfort, whilst the ministry assisted culpably in laying a snare, of which the

ex-colonel Caron became, at Colmar, the imprudent victim. Two squadrons, with the intention of discovering his accomplices, and of bringing down his head with that of the riding-master Roger, his friend, one evening left Colmar and Neuf-Brisach, led by quartermasters; disguised officers being in the ranks. This troop traversed the neighbouring countries, allured the unfortunate Roger and Caron, marched under their orders, drank with them, and when, misled by these perfidious demonstrations, they ventured to utter the cry of *Vive l'empereur!* the soldiers fell upon their victims, bound them, and gave them up to the authorities, who applauded such zeal. A few days after, Caron was shot, and a distribution of rewards took place in the public square to six agents, promoters of the crime. No fact more strongly contributed than the snare laid for Caron, to disgrace the government of this period, or more disposed men to seek, in the ministry and the police, for the source and provocation of all troubles. The year 1822 witnessed more sanguinary executions for political crimes. Berton was brought before the court of Assizes at Poitiers, and the procureur-general Mangin asserted, without naming them, that the most influential members of the *côté gauche* were accomplices of the general. His words created stormy discussions in the chamber, which, without throwing a light upon anything, served still further to envenom the animosity of parties. Berton and two of his accomplices lost their heads upon the scaffold, a third destroyed himself by opening his veins. Paris was soon after the scene of a painful spectacle: four young subalterns, in garrison at Rochelle, named Bories, Goubin, Pommier, and Raoulx, convicted of Carbonarism, and accused of revolutionary crimes, excited public interest by their age, their firmness, and the eloquent warmth of their defence. Their guilty project had not been followed by execution; they were, notwithstanding, condemned, and marched to the scaffold with an intrepid countenance, amidst a population strongly moved by pity. It was thus that the government of the Restoration looked once more for strength and safety in punishments against perils but too real.

A fresh congress of sovereigns was soon after assembled at Verona, in which the important question of the revolution in Spain was agitated. Great disorders, rendered inevitable by the weakness and perfidy of Ferdinand VII., broke out in the capital of that country: atrocious crimes, and among them the assassination of the canon Vinuesa, were com-

mitted, and compromised the revolutionary cause. In vain Morillo and Ballesteros endeavoured to restrain violent men and re-establish quiet; sanguinary contests took place between the multitude and the royal guards, and recalled the frightful scenes of the 10th of August. Ferdinand, whose life was in danger, carried his base and barbarous dissimulation so far as to sign sentences of death pronounced against his too faithful and powerless defenders. The monks, however, partly despoiled of their wealth, raised the people in the provinces, organized guerillas, and several important leaders directed a vast counter-revolutionary movement in Catalonia. The yellow fever, which desolated the capital of that province, determined the king of France to establish a cordon of troops upon the frontiers of the Pyrenees, under the pretence of sanitary precautions; and the presence of these troops, which, from one moment to another, might become an army of invasion hostile to the Cortes, kept up the hopes of their implacable enemies. A famous Trappist, Don Antonio Maragnon, formed a redoubtable band of guerillas, and marched at their head into the *mêlée*, with a crucifix in his hand. He took the strong place of Seu d'Urgel by assault: a regency was established there, formed of the marquis de Mataflorida, the baron d'Eroles, and the archbishop of Tarragona; it opened loans and issued proclamations in the name of the king, whom it supposed to be a captive. In a short time it had at its command an army of twenty-five thousand men, which assumed the name of the army of the Faith, and obtained possession of several strong places in Navarre and Catalonia, and penetrated into Arragon. The constitutional general Mina routed it, recaptured the places it had taken, and left the royalists no hope but in French intervention. Such was the state of things in Spain when the Congress of Verona was opened. MM. de Châteaubriand and Matthieu de Montmorency represented France, whilst M. de Villèle obtained the presidency of the council. Lord Wellington was the representative of England at the congress. The suicide of Lord Castlereagh, and the elevation of Mr. Canning to the head of the English ministry, gave reason to expect that the foreign policy of this power would undergo great modifications; thus, when French intervention in Spain was proposed, Lord Wellington was against it, and was supported by M. de Châteaubriand, whose conduct M. de Villèle then approved of; but the chamber and the congregation wished for war, and by the efforts of

M. de Montmorency it became inevitable. The contagion of the Spanish revolution appeared to cause apprehension for France, and still more for Italy, in the eyes of the royalists, M. de Metternich, and the three allied sovereigns. The Greek supplicants were repulsed by them as tainted with Carbonarism. The princes signing the treaty of the Holy Alliance made no effort to put a stop to the infamous *vente*, or to the daily massacres of a Christian population, but they were unanimously of opinion that the Spanish revolution should be quelled, it being hostile to the principles upon which the absolute authority of monarchs repose. Their ambassadors immediately quitted Madrid; General Lagarde, the French ambassador, was not yet recalled; M. de Châteaubriand had replaced M. de Montmorency as minister of foreign affairs.

The movement which led the French government into a counter-revolutionary track, triumphed over the pacific inclinations of M. de Villèle. Louis XVIII., bent down with infirmities, and still more by age, only reigned in name. *Monsieur* governed, and was anxious for war: the Chamber of Deputies acted in concert with him, and signalised its zeal by the violence of the discussion which preceded the vote of subsidies for the expedition. It expelled from its bosom Manuel, the deputy from La Vendée, a remarkable man, particularly for his invincible firmness. In the midst of a speech in which the majority wrongly believed they could discover a justification of the regicide, this deputy was interrupted by furious cries, and his expulsion from the chamber was instantly voted. Manuel declared he would only yield to force; the president Ravez called in the national guards on duty, and Serjeant Mercier, their officer, having refused to execute the arrest, the gendarmes seized Manuel on his bench, and dragged him out of the assembly. All the members of the *côté gauche* followed him, declaring that they considered themselves assailed and excluded in the person of Manuel.

The extraordinary supplies for the Spanish campaign were granted, and war appeared to be inevitable; a numerous army was already collected on the frontiers of the Pyrenees; the duke d'Angoulême took the command of it at the end of March, having General Guilleminot under him as chief état-major. He found nothing sufficiently prepared, either for the transports for the baggage or for provisions. A celebrated banker offered to provide everything, as commissary-

general, and the prince, in his need, signed heavy agreements, in which he was grievously imposed upon. The army commenced the campaign on the 6th of April, and upon the frontier, at the passage of the Bidassoa, fell in with a battalion of refugees, bearing a tricoloured standard : some Frenchmen engaged in the military conspiracies, and among others, Captain Nantil and Colonel Fabvier, marched at their head. They advanced to meet the French soldiers, to fraternize with them, with cries of "*Vive l'empereur ! Vive la France !*" General Valin dispersed this assemblage with a few cannon-balls, and the success of the campaign was assured. The army, in fact, marched under the Oudinots, the Monceys, and the Molitors, ancient heroes of the empire, and the Spanish guerillas, so fatal to the old battalions, fought with France : victory could not be doubtful.

The French columns were soon at the gates of Madrid ; the Cortes had quitted that capital, taking Ferdinand VII. with them, first to Seville, and then to Cadiz, after having declared him deposed, on account of mental alienation. These bold measures were likely to prolong the war ; negotiations were entered into with the moderate constitutional generals, such as Ballesteros, Morillo, and D'Abisbal, and about the same time the prince generalissimo formed, in a spirit of conciliation, a Spanish regency at Madrid, under the presidency of the duke de l'Infantado, with the intention of opposing it to the members of the ancient junto of the Seu-d'Urgel, whose blind violence, excited by the wild fanaticism of the army of the Faith, threatened Spain with a sanguinary reaction. The soldiers of that army, the monks and the populace, only awaited the arrival of the French troops to give themselves up to acts of base and atrocious vengeance, and the French were soon looked upon by the royalist and monachal party with hatred and suspicion, as the preservers of them whom they had come to contend with. It was with the design of preventing these scenes of brigandage and murder that the duke d'Angoulême issued the celebrated ordinance of Andujar, which forbade the Spanish authorities to cause any one to be arrested without the authority of the French officers, and placed the editors of periodical papers under the direction of the commanders of the troops. This ordinance was full of wisdom, and conformed, in all respects, with the conduct of the prince during this campaign : it greatly offended the regency of Madrid, and did not render the members of the Cortes of Cadiz at all

more tractable. This body, perfectly acquainted with the character of Ferdinand, placed no confidence in the promises of the duke d'Angoulême, who engaged to obtain liberal institutions for them from their king; they rejected all the propositions, which despair, however, ought to have made them accept. The French soldiers then illustrated themselves by some great feats of arms: they attacked the formidable batteries of the isle of Leon; Trocadero was carried, Cadiz submitted, and this exploit had, as its result, the immediate liberation of Ferdinand VII.

The war was ended; the punishments began. Ferdinand chose his ministers among the men the most violent and the most exalted; the execution of Riego signalized his return to the throne, and the intervention of the French between the victims and their executioners soon became powerless: nothing, in fact, had been thought of at the Congress of Verona for the amelioration of the fate of Spain, whilst preserving it from a sanguinary reaction. The immense expenses of the war remained at the charge of France: she received, as the sole fruit of this brilliant and fatal campaign, the ingratitude of those for whom she had imposed so many sacrifices upon herself, and saw with grief that the choicest of her warriors, the remains of the battalions of Austerlitz and Marengo, had conquered this time for the sake of replacing an heroic nation under the yoke of a despotic king and a multitude of fanatical monks. Such, however, among the French, is the charm always attached to victory, that in the first moments which followed the triumphs of their arms in Spain, the impression of the success was very favourable to the ultra-royalist party, which had been the sole cause of the war. It prevailed in most of the partial elections which followed the campaign, and M. de Villèle conceived the idea of establishing his power upon the accord of the ministry and of a royalist chamber elected for seven years.

In addition to the opposition of the *côté gauche*, another was formed in the chamber not less hostile to the ministry, which it accused of being only lukewarm in the royalist cause: MM. de la Bourdonnaye and Delalot directed it with vigour: both, but particularly the first, independent of the influence of Jesuitism and of the congregation, were imbued with prejudices much more aristocratical than monarchical, and demanded that a high influence in the direction of affairs should be the accompaniment of large property; they violently accused M. de Villèle of being wanting, in

this respect, to his anterior engagements, and that minister hoped, by convoking a new chamber, under the recent impression of the Spanish campaign, that it would be entirely devoted to his views. He reckoned upon being thus able to reduce double and annoying opposition to a state of incapacity. The king and his council were of the same opinion as the minister, and the chamber was dissolved ; everything was prepared for a general election.

Nothing could be more scandalous, more disloyal, or more fatal to the moral authority of the government, than the manner in which the elections of 1824 were arranged and accomplished. Circulars threatened all functionaries with destitution, if they did not support the ministerial candidates by every means in their power. A great number, in order to respond to the wishes of the council, had recourse to fraud, and gave proofs of the basest servility : tricks of all kinds with regard to liberal electors, arbitrary erasures from or inscriptions upon the electoral list, the deliverance of false cards,—all these abuses were permitted, all were encouraged and even rewarded by a ministry which sported with corruption, which did not perceive that moral ascendancy is the first of all influences that a government ought to seek for its own advantage in a free state, and which endeavoured to find its means of strength and duration elsewhere than in the support of the nation. The Jesuits and the congregation took an active part in these deplorable manœuvres, and a mandate from the cardinal de Clermont Tonnerre, archbishop of Toulouse, revealed the object they aimed at, by betraying the hope and the secret thought of the victorious party. The archbishop claimed the ancient privileges of the French church, the restoration of all solemn festivals, the common right of the clergy, as it formerly existed, the re-establishment of several religious orders ; and ended by expressing a wish that the civil state were replaced in the hands of priests. This rash mandate was suppressed by the council of state, in compliance with the advice of M. de Portalis : it revived the ancient quarrels between the clergy and the magistracy, and from that day commenced the opposition of the royal courts to the encroachments of the congregation, and to the exigencies of a cabinet which appeared to wish to make all state questions subordinate to the interests of caste and of the priesthood.

The result of the elections exceeded the hopes of the royalist party : only nineteen liberal deputies were elected ;

but they contended with a talent and a courage worthy of a cause which was then that of France.

The first law proposed had for its object to make the chamber septennial, in contempt of the article of the Charter which formally declared that the deputies should only be elected for five years: the objection was scouted, under the pretext that this article was not fundamental; and the two chambers adopted the septennial plan. M. de Villèle then presented the important project of the conversion of the funds, which was to convert the interest of the five per cent. funds, which amounted to a hundred and forty millions, into three per cent., at the rate of seventy-five francs; bankers had engaged to supply the treasury with necessary funds to reimburse at par such of the holders of five per cents. as would not consent to the proposed change. They offered, in addition, themselves to take, at the rate fixed by the law, the three per cents. destined for the non-consenting holders. This project, useful to the government, but which was injurious to the numerous class of fundholders, created violent storms, though the conception of it appeared to be foreign to any political idea. The Chamber of Deputies adopted it: it was rejected by the Peers, and the silent opposition of M. de Châteaubriand had an evident influence upon that vote. M. de Villèle immediately solicited the dismissal of his colleague; he obtained it, and by that violent measure hastened his own fall; a certain number of influential deputies, friends of the disgraced minister, and who professed to be as much devoted to the Charter as to the king, threw themselves into the opposition, and formed the nucleus of a new constitutional royalist party, which the partisans of absolutism designated under the name of *the Defection Party*. The journal *des Débats* was the powerful organ of this fraction of the chamber, and immediately commenced a warm and implacable controversy with the cabinet.

The end of the ministry of M. de Châteaubriand had been honourably distinguished by the skilful and courageous conduct of M. Hyde de Neuville, ambassador to Lisbon, on the occasion of an anti-revolutionary insurrection. On the 30th of April, the infant Don Miguel, supported by the queen-mother, entered the capital at the head of troops, and held the king, John VI., his father, a prisoner in his own palace. He ordered several ministers and a great number of eminent persons to be cast into prison, announcing openly his intention of restoring to royal authority all its ancient prerogatives.

M. Hyde de Neuville came to an understanding with the ambassador from England, and in concert with him, he got King John on board an English vessel at anchor in the Tagus, from whence the king, at liberty under the protection of the British flag, succeeded in subduing the seditious and in regaining his power. Don Miguel was banished from Portugal, and John VI., in compliance with the advice of the English ambassador, invoked the *casus fœderis*, and demanded assistance from England to consolidate his throne. Six thousand Hanoverians immediately received orders to hold themselves ready to pass into Portugal. M. Hyde de Neuville, by his conduct, incurred the censure of the royalist party, which welcomed Don Miguel to France, and treated him with distinction. The leaders of this party led the minister, in spite of himself, into a series of measures contrary to the acquired rights and the new interests of the nation. The liberal press strongly pointed out this fatal tendency by condemning it, whilst the journals of the counter-opposition, particularly *La Quotidienne*, bitterly accused the slowness of the government in fulfilling its promises, and taxed its conduct with treachery. The ministry, for want of the censure of the press, employed corruption : it succeeded in purchasing several journals ; but these shameful attempts failed with respect to others, and were exposed to public contempt.

Deceived in this hope, the government had recourse to the parts of the law which permitted the criminating of the tendency of the journals ; proceedings were instituted against several of them in the royal courts ; and almost everywhere the magistracy protected the press against the hatred of the court, the cabinet, and the congregational *coterie*. The ministry rendered the irritation of the magistrates the greater by blaming their decisions : the law of 1822 permitted the re-establishment of the censure, in cases in which serious circumstances should render this measure necessary. France was quiet, no foreign trouble authorized ministers to have recourse to that portion of the law ; they were pleased to find a danger in those sentences of acquittal pronounced by the royal courts, and they re-established the censorship upon that motive alone, and thus declared themselves in direct opposition to the magistracy. The congregation took advantage of the forced silence of the journals to obtain from the government several acts favourable to the clergy. A ministry of ecclesiastical affairs was instituted ; it was confided to M. Frayssinous, a bishop, and the direction of the

public instruction was placed among its attributes. M. de Peyronnet reorganized the council of state upon better bases, but he accorded many places in this new council to dignitaries of the church.

In the absence of the periodical press, a multitude of writings, and in the first ranks the eloquent pamphlets of Paul Louis Courier, and the patriotic songs of Béranger, stigmatized with energy the conduct of the government and the Chamber of Deputies; all, by calling down public hatred and contempt upon the errors and vices of power, assisted in the destruction of a ministry which too often appeared to have assumed the task of weakening and discrediting itself.

The king drew near to the tomb: on Sunday the 10th of December, no one was admitted to him, and the news of his approaching death spread quickly through the capital: some days after, he was upon his deathbed, surrounded by the members of his family; he gave orders to his ministers to pursue their labours with his brother, and in the last conversation he had with *Monsieur*, he said to him: "I have laved between parties as Henry IV. did, and I have this advantage over him, that I die in my bed at the Tuileries; act as I have done, and you will arrive at the same end of peace and tranquillity. I pardon you the griefs you have caused me, in the hope I entertain of your conduct as king." The aged monarch then implored the blessing of heaven upon all around him, and placing his hands upon the head of the duke de Bordeaux, the weak and last scion of his race, he said in an agitated voice, looking at his brother: "*Let Charles X. be careful of this child's crown.*" He breathed his last sigh after long-protracted pain, and Charles X. was king.

During several years Louis XVIII. had not been able to walk: afflicted with incurable complaints in the legs, and tormented by the pains of the gout, he felt, for a long time before his death, his intellectual faculties weakened, and abandoned, unwillingly, the direction of public affairs to his brother. It was at the period at which the Spanish war was coming to a close that Louis experienced his most serious attack, and the ministerial acts which followed the elections of 1824 must not be attributed to him.

Louis XVIII. was not exempt from the prejudices arising from pride of blood, and from a predilection for the order of things under which he was born; but he justly appreciated the wants of France, and the charter to which he attached his name, has founded the era of political liberty in that

country. With respect to religion, the opinions of this monarch did not coincide with those of most of the members of his family, nevertheless he performed certain exterior acts of worship with great regularity. He loved the ceremonials of the ancient monarchy, and religion was for him, in some sort, an affair of etiquette. This prince delighted in the conversation of men well versed in ancient and modern literature; his mind was judicious, and many happy sayings of his are repeated. When he had appointed an hour for an audience or a ceremony, he was particularly careful not to be waited for: "Punctuality," said he, "is the politeness of kings." He was present, almost to the last, at the grand receptions of the court, and when pressed to spare himself this fatigue, he replied: "A king of France ought to die standing." He was accused of want of feeling, and the blood of several noble victims of our dissensions stains his memory. Admitting, however, that they were immolated, there is no doubt he thought less of executing an act of personal vengeance than of complying with political necessity. Attached by conviction to the constitutional pact which he adopted as his own work, we must not forget the powerful family influences against which he had to struggle in order to defend it. Supported by the Charter, he passed through exceedingly difficult times, and was able to avoid many rocks; but perhaps, by attaching himself to it as an anchor of safety, this prince had more at heart the care of his own repose and his own grandeur than a true solicitude for the liberties, the glory, and the prosperity of France.

CHAPTER IV.

Reign of Charles X.—Revolution of 1830.—Accession of Louis Philippe.

16th September, 1824—9th August, 1830.

THE nearer this history draws to its close, the more the difficulties are multiplied on all sides for the writer. It is under the impression of recent facts, it is the day after a violent shock, brought about by passions that are still ardent, it is in the face of a great number of men who are expiating their faults by misfortune, and who have all a right of appealing to posterity from the precipitate judgments of their contemporaries,—it is amidst such circumstances that it is proper

to remember that the first duty of the historian is to speak the truth, not in the interest of an opinion or a party, but solely in that of morality and for the instruction of all. It is therefore of the greatest importance that, in relating facts, the narrator should never lose sight of the source from which they have sprung ; he must say to himself, on the one part, that popular views have not always been inspired by disinterested, generous, and sincerely patriotic motives ; and, on the other part, that the acts justly condemned by public opinion, and the results of which have been so disastrous, have not all been conceived in thoughts of hatred and anger : he will then recognise, without doubt, that many of these acts, the fruits of deplorable error, have had their birth in sentiments which honour humanity the most. These considerations are particularly applicable to Charles X. : full of prejudices, and in his heart attached to the old *régime* whilst living under the new one ; a Catholic and pious king, at a period when Catholicism excited more mistrust than fervour in the most influential party in the nation, he considered the men who had defended the Revolution as the culpable authors of the long calamities ; he persuaded himself, as did many of these who surrounded him, that by re-establishing old institutions, he should restore to the monarchy its ancient splendour, and to France a long future of peace and security ; by endeavouring to gain this object, he thought he was performing a sacred duty, and when once entered upon the path which led to the abyss, he marched towards it with a firm step, an elevated brow, and his hand upon his conscience.

Charles X., in the course of an already long career, had shown himself to be one of the small number of men whose political conduct presented no variation, and who had had very rarely to reproach themselves with having made a concession to opinions they did not share. The French were aware of the danger, and had for a long time foreseen the storms of the new reign ; nevertheless, such is the power of gracious language and affability of manners, and such is, in France, the facility with which the people, forgetting first impressions, often pass from prepossession to hope, that the accession of the new king appeared at first to be popular. "*No more halberts,*" he said to the guard who prevented the people from approaching him. This expression, with several others as happy, and particularly the suppression of the censorship, were favourable presages at the opening of this reign. But when liberating the press, Charles X. did not at all repudiate the responsi-

bility of the acts of a ministry branded by it ; on the contrary, he accepted it, declaring his formal intention of maintaining it in power. Then they who had been too prompt in their hopes were disabused, and public opinion spoke strongly against a series of unpopular projects successively presented to the chambers by the crown, with a frightful rapidity. One of these, into which the minister had skillfully insinuated the project for the conversion of the funds into three per cents., granted a milliard to emigration as an indemnification ; another re-established religious communities of women ; another attached degrading and atrocious penalties to profanations and thefts committed in churches ; in certain cases, sacrilege was punished with the same severity as parricide ; but the projects which wounded public interests the most seriously and created most resentment, tended to raise obstacles to the division of property, by creating, in successions, a privilege in favour of primogeniture, in default of a wish or will formally expressed by the testator. All these projects, dictated under the influence of the old emigrants of the congregation, were conceived in a spirit contrary to that of the Revolution. The Chamber of Deputies adopted them ; that of the peers combated some of them with success ; it succeeded in removing from them the most offensive articles, and shared, for some time, the popular favour with the royal courts.

These acts of the government were interrupted, in 1825, by the solemnities of the consecration : Charles X. appeared at Reims surrounded by the ancient pomp of regal majesty ; he there took the oath to the Charter, and received the crown from the hands of the archbishop, in the midst of an antiquated ceremony, not at all in harmony with the manners of the age, and in which the new generation could see nothing but an act of deference towards the clergy.

The liberal party increased, and drew fresh strength from all the errors of power : it beheld with pride Benjamin Constant, Royer Collard, and Casimir Périer at its head, in the elective chamber ; but it had to deplore an immense loss,—Foy was no more. A hundred thousand citizens, the most respected in commerce, the bar, literature, and the army, attended his obsequies, and protested with energy against the proceedings of the government, by adopting his children in the name of his country, over the open grave of their father, the most redoubtable and the most eloquent adversary of ministers. The court saw nothing but a sedi-

tious movement in this striking manifestation of the feelings of a great people ; it was still following the dangerous path into which its own prejudices and the impatient wishes of a great part of the nobility and clergy urged it, when the most terrible enemy they had recently had to encounter, threw down his gage to the congregation and the Jesuits. M. de Montlosier, the ancient champion of the old feudal liberties and the prerogatives of the aristocracy, denounced the vast organization of the congregation as dangerous to the maintenance of religion in France, and to the safety of the state ; and M. de Frayssinous having, in the tribune, allowed the admission of the existence of the Jesuits in France to escape him, M. de Montlosier made, against their re-establishment, an energetic appeal to the laws of the state, before the Royal Court of Paris. This court having declared itself incompetent to prosecute them, M. de Montlosier immediately addressed himself to the Chamber of Peers, which, upon the arguments of M. de Portalis, received the petition favourably in that which concerned the existence of a religious society not legally authorized, and ordered it to be referred to the president of the council. This was pronouncing against the congregation ; the latter was not long in avenging itself : on that very day the resolution was taken to fetter the press, which denounced the Jesuits to the country, and to stifle the opposition of the Chamber of Peers, which called down upon them the rigours of the law.

The threat of the first project had not to be waited for long. M. de Peyronnet presented, in the early part of 1827, to the Chamber of Deputies, the law under which the liberty of the press was to be destroyed ; he defended it against the desperate attacks of the *côté gauche*, designating it as *a law of justice and love*. As soon as known, it excited a universal demonstration of public opinion. The French Academy honoured itself by protesting against it, upon the proposition of M. Charles de Lacretelle, warmly supported by MM. Châteaubriand, Lemercier, Jouy, Michaud, Joseph Droz, Alexandre Duval, and Villemain, and a committee of its members was chosen to supplicate the king to withdraw so fatal a project. Charles X. refused to receive the committee, and responded to this act of courageous independence by chastisements. He dismissed from their employments MM. Villemain, Lacretelle, and even Michaud himself, the author of the learned *Histoire des Croisades*, one of the oldest and most faithful servants of royalty. The law, adopted by

the Chamber of Deputies, met with a violent opposition in that of the peers. The minister perceived that, if this chamber accepted it, it would cut out from it at least all the most rigorous clauses ; he avoided this dangerous ordeal, by withdrawing his project. The people gave the monarch credit for this wise determination : Paris was illuminated, and cries of *Vive le roi !* resounded amidst *feux de joie* and popular acclamations.

Charles X., who offended, without knowing it, all the national sympathies, attached great value to the affection of the French for his person : for a length of time he had felt hurt at the silence of the people as he passed along, and after having been witness of the intoxication of the Parisians upon the occasion of the withdrawal of the law upon the press, he ordered a review of the national guard for the following Sunday. Upon that day, the whole of Paris flocked to the Champ de Mars, where sixty thousand men were under arms. The king passed through the ranks, and appeared satisfied with his reception ; and yet, almost from all parts, a cry of disapproval of the ministers was mingled with that of *Vive le roi !* Some voices insulted, unknown to the monarch, the princesses who were present at the review, and one battalion, on defiling before the minister of finance, uttered energetic and threatening imprecations. The king had already pronounced some gracious words, when, upon the report of the princesses, and the warm remonstrances of MM. de Villèle and de Corbière, he thought it his duty to avenge the offended members of his family and his council ; but he made no distinction between the innocent and the guilty, and confounded them in an inconsiderate chastisement : on the day after this review, Paris learnt with absolute stupor that the national guard was dissolved. The press broke forth in menaces, but was fettered immediately after the sessions by the arbitrary re-establishment of the censorship. A violent opposition against this imprudent order for dissolution was supported in the Chamber of Peers, and even manifested itself in that of the deputies, where the minority, hostile to the ministers, increased every day in strength : a great number of members belonging to all opinions had already declared that, although a recent law had consecrated the *septenniality* of the legislature, the mandate they had received from the electors did not extend beyond five years, and that they could not, consequently, sit longer in the chamber. M. de Villèle likewise

thought he could better assure the duration of his power and the execution of his projects by a new septennial chamber, more docile to his will. He consulted the prefects with regard to the spirit of their departments, and gathered, from their answers, the fruit of the servility which he required from public functionaries. Almost all agreed in promising him elections favourable to his system. Strong in these assurances, he no longer hesitated, and in November, 1827, appeared the ordinances by which the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, the electoral colleges were convoked, and seventy-six peerages created, for the most part in favour of the members of the majority of the old chamber and of great proprietors, whose fortune alone recommended them to the royal choice.

The press, according to the formal text of the law, became free again as soon as the dissolution of the chamber was pronounced ; its energetic and active influence, in conjunction with the vigilance of the electors, triumphed this time over the fraudulent manoeuvres of the administration. In Paris all the elections were liberal, and popular enthusiasm manifested itself in noisy rejoicing, to which a violent but perhaps necessary repression gave the character of a riot. Blood flowed in the Rue Saint Denis : the ministry appeared still more odious after these troubles, and was accused, according to custom, of having provoked them. The elections of all the departments were soon known, and France learnt that an imposing constitutional majority had this time issued from the electoral urns. In vain M. de Villèle endeavoured to retain power by sacrificing such of his colleagues as were most decried by public opinion ; in vain did he exhaust all kinds of combinations to form a fresh council in harmony with the new chamber, and into which he might himself enter : he avowed his weakness, and fell before the national will, which he had for so long a time misunderstood or opposed.

The council of which he was a member had, during an administration of seven years, disdained the dominant opinion by injuring numerous interests dear to the middle classes ; and whilst, by its unpopular acts, it was accumulating new and formidable resentments against power, it every day also took away some strength, some means of resistance from authority. By transforming the agents of power into blind instruments to its will, it lowered them ; it injured the army by its indulgences for those who speculated upon religious

conversions in the regiments ; it alienated the royal courts by condemning their sentences ; and the university by closing its normal school, and by suspending the courses of two illustrious professors, MM. Guizot and Cousin, whose earnest and profound instructions then divided with the eloquent lessons of M. de Villemain, the attention of studious youth. The ministry, in short, by dissolving the national guard of Paris, struck almost all France in every family of the capital, and deprived itself beforehand of every means of conciliation in the event of a struggle against an exasperated population. This was the second time, in the course of fifteen years, that the royalist party, in possession of power, lost it by its own faults ; and if it was impossible that the reigning dynasty could ever identify itself in heart and thought with the nation ; if it was said that there never could exist concord between France and the Revolution and the race of Charles X. ; if, in short, this race was already condemned in the mysterious decrees of Providence, it must be admitted that the administration of MM. de Villèle and Corbière, whilst hastening this catastrophe, contributed powerfully to diminish the perils of it. It was this ministry, in fact, which, beforehand, rendered a long and sanguinary struggle but little probable, by rallying round the Charter all the bodies of the state and almost all classes of the nation, by the sentiment of a common danger and a unanimous reprobation.

Some acts, however, of a better policy, were the work of the ministry, in its financial operations, and in its foreign relations. M. de Villèle favoured the ascending movement of the credit of France, the efforts of its manufacturing industry and its foreign commerce. He was not able, as he wished, after the example of the English nation, to make France acknowledge the independence of the Spanish colonies ; but at least he caused the ancient colony of St. Domingo to be emancipated by a royal ordinance, under the condition of a considerable indemnification, to the profit of the dispossessed colonists, and, by the treaty of the 6th of July, the French government united with England and Russia to bring about the termination of hostilities between Turkey and Greece. The son of Mahomet Ali, Ibrahim Pacha, at the command of the sultan, was then in the Morea with a formidable fleet, having on board a great part of the military forces of Egypt ; the exhausted Greeks must have been totally ruined but for the intervention of the

powers. Ibrahim refused to observe the armistice prescribed by them, and this refusal produced the glorious battle, in which the French squadron, under Admiral de Rigny, united with the English and Russian squadrons, bombarded and annihilated the Egyptian fleet in the port of Navarino. This victory saved Greece, and made a nation of it ; France learnt the news of it with joy, and hailed in it the glorious dawn of a happy future. This enthusiasm was shared by the English nation, which took pleasure in attributing the honour of this triumph to the great minister whose loss it then deplored : Canning was no more. Storms threatened in the two extremities of Europe. The emperor Alexander died in 1825, and the emperor Nicholas, his brother, called to the throne in consequence of the renunciation of his elder brother, the archduke Constantine, only succeeded in ascending it after sanguinary conflicts, which presaged an unsettled reign. About the same time, after the death of King John VI., Don Pedro, the eldest of his sons, renouncing the crown of Portugal in favour of his daughter, Dona Maria, gave a constitution to that kingdom, under the auspices of England : the friends of the absent Don Miguel, the partisans of absolute power, prepared to have recourse to arms ; civil war was already kindled among the Portuguese, whilst in the neighbouring kingdom of Spain, a tyrannical and senseless prince kept the people in a state of anarchy by his despotism. The rest of Europe was quiet. France appeared to be entering upon a better course, and obtained for some time a ministry which understood her requirements, and which seemed disposed to respond to her wishes.

The new council was formed on the 4th of January, 1828. Its members were MM. de Martignac, Portalis, la Ferronays, de Caux, de Saint Cricq, and Hyde de Neuville, to whom the king afterwards added MM. de Vatimesnil and Feutrier, bishop of Beauvais. M. de Martignac, endowed with a judicious mind, full of amenities, a ready and brilliant orator, gave, by his talent, his name to this cabinet, of which no minister obtained the presidency. The Chamber of Deputies, presided over by M. Royer-Collard, whom seven colleges had elected, in the first place assailed the late ministry in its address to the king, and was afterwards on the point of impeaching it. The situation of the new cabinet was doubly difficult. Most of its members had given too few pledges to liberal opinions to satisfy France, and did not offer enough to royalist opinions to satisfy the court : hence the exigencies of

a double opposition, and the mistrust of the monarch ; hence, also, the rapid fall of this ministry : but, during its short period of power, it bestowed important laws upon the country. One of these, satisfactory for the press, abolished the censorship ; others admitted speciality in the great divisions of the budget, permanency of the electoral lists, control over ministerial measures in election matters, and gave the three legislative branches of power the right of interpreting the laws.

In its foreign relations, the ministry responded to the wishes of France for the safety of the Greeks, by sending fifteen thousand men into the Morea, under General Maison. Ibrahim retired before them, Greece was freed, and Capo d'Istria founded a regular government there. In the interior, obstacles multiplied every day under the steps of the members of the cabinet ; they prosecuted their painful task, however, with courage. Their most difficult triumph was the deprivation of the Jesuits, which they obtained by two royal ordinances of the month of June, of which one interdicted the direction of eight secondary ecclesiastical schools to any person belonging to an unauthorized congregation, and the other took away from the bishops the direction of those schools or little seminaries. These ordinances were the most painful concessions that Charles X. made to the demands of the age : no sacrifice cost him more. The congregation felt itself wounded to the heart by them ; it broke out into anathemas against the minister who had signed them, and from all parts cries of reprobation and anger were poured into the king's ears. The remembrance of the forced concessions which the monarch had made to his ministers, soon changed the mistrust which they inspired him with into hatred ; and from that time he did not see without a secret satisfaction the inconsiderate conduct of the *côté gauche*. This party, the organ of almost all France, alarmed, as the country itself was, by the presence in the chamber of a numerous minority, imbued with doctrines irreconcilable with the national views and interests, and convinced, besides, of the indestructible prejudices, of the indissoluble ties which united the reigning dynasty to this minority, sought above everything to prevent its recall to power, and demanded rather strong guarantees against it, than wise institutions for France. It was this which principally tended to give, in 1828 and 1829, a character of impatience and profound irritation to the majority of the assembly. The king deceived

himself as to the real causes of the exigences of the *Gauche*. He considered his council as the true expression of the constitutional party, and took pleasure in repeating, that no ministry, no concession upon the part of the crown, would be capable of satisfying the liberals: he hoped the time would come, in which the ministers, whom he believed to have been imposed upon him by public opinion, would be condemned by it, and thought he should find, in their popular disgrace, a motive or a pretext for returning to those elected by his own choice.

At this period, Charles X. made a journey into the departments of the east; the favourable reception given to him by the crowd, everywhere eager to see a king, abused him with respect to the inclinations of the public mind, and a check which the ministry experienced in the chamber, confirmed him in the intention of executing his fatal designs. Two important projects of laws, one upon the organisation of the municipal councils, the other upon that of the departmental and arrondissement councils, had been presented to the Chamber of Deputies. The extreme *droits*, out of hatred for the ministers, forgot its own doctrines of 1815 upon the local franchises: it rejected the ministerial projects as too democratical, and came to an understanding with the *côté gauche*, whose views they did not perfectly satisfy, to condemn them, even before the discussion was opened. The chamber paid no attention to the difficulties of the position of the ministry, and the latter hastily withdrew the two projects. The court rejoiced at this defeat of the cabinet; Charles X. from that moment decreed, in his own mind, the dissolution of his council, and on the 8th of August, 1829, after the vote of the budget for 1830, and the close of the session, appeared the ordinance which created the new ministry.

Three remarkable men, the prince de Polignac and MM. de la Bourdonnaye and de Bourmont, were inscribed upon the list as a challenge thrown to France. The first of these, though otherwise endowed with most estimable qualities, was the exponent of the congregational party; the second represented, in all that it contained of the most violent, the unpopular chamber of 1815; the third, an ancient leader of the Chouans, was only known to the people and the army as a renegade at Waterloo. MM. de Blacas and de Dumas had had the greatest hand in the formation of the new cabinet: the latter of these, known for his unconstitutional doctrines, had just been named governor to the duke de

Bordeaux: the counter-revolution was thus openly announced. But France had acquired strength since she became possessed of the Charter; she had obtained from the ministry of Martignac, in the law upon the press, and in the electoral law, two effective weapons against arbitrary power; she was in a condition to resist, and she did resist. On the 8th of August, the car of the monarchy was launched upon a steep declivity, and urged on towards the abyss.

As soon as the names of the new ministers were known, the country assumed an imposing attitude; the press passed by turns from anger to pity, from disdain to threats; the society *Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera* (Help thyself, and Heaven will help thee) prepared, in the event of the dissolution of the chamber, resistance by means of the elections, and in all parts of the kingdom a vast association was formed to prevent and contend against the dreaded imposition of illegal taxes. The court saw nothing in these great and formidable movements of the national mind, but the symptoms of a conspiracy, whose aim was the overthrow of the throne. If there was then a conspiracy, it must be allowed that it was almost the whole of France openly conspiring to save the Charter in peril. Exposed to such distrust, to such violent attacks, the council continued to protest its respect for the institutions of the country. M. de Bourdonnaye was sacrificed by his colleagues to the public opinion, and the ministry, presided over by M. de Polignac, appeared at last before the chamber.

Charles X. when displaying for the last time, on the 2nd of March, all the pomps of royalty, declared, in the presence of the deputies and the peers united, his firm intention to maintain equally intact the institutions of the country and the prerogatives of the crown. The address of the deputies in reply to the speech from the throne, pointed out to the king the composition of his new cabinet as dangerous and menacing for public liberty: two hundred and twenty-one members, against a hundred and eighty-one, voted this memorable address. The king was offended at it, he complained in his reply of a refusal of concurrence which it did not express, and terminated by announcing that his resolutions were known, and should be immutable. The chamber was prorogued and afterwards dissolved. The king issued the ordinance which convoked the electoral colleges again: France was prepared to reply, and the two hundred and twenty-one who had signed the address were all re-elected.

The council in the mean time had endeavoured to acquire some popularity by means of a military success, and an affront offered to the French consul by the Dey of Algiers, presented the ministers with a happy opportunity for clearing the sea of the Barbary pirates. An expedition against Algiers was ordered ; M. de Bourmont had the command of the army, Admiral Duperré that of the fleet. The city was taken, and the courtiers received with transport the news of this brilliant conquest ; but the people took little part in their joy ; they conceived that this triumph would only render them more bold, and feared that it would take away more from the liberties of the nation than it would add to its glory.

The political struggle at length approached its term ; the general result of the elections was known, and the will of the country proved not less immutable than that of the monarch. The cabinet was about to face a more compact, a more impatient, and a more hostile majority. The greater part of the majority, however, did not wish for the overthrow of the throne ; they were sincerely constitutional ; but then, as in 1791, the court, to its misfortune, could not distinguish the constitutionalists from the radical revolutionists ; it persisted in seeing the danger, the scourge of France, in the Charter, which really was the ægis and the safety of the dynasty. To be devoted to the constitution was, in the eyes of the court, to be the enemies of the prince : it was thus that, refusing its support to the men who wished for the Charter with the Bourbons, the court constrained them to look for support against itself to those who wished to have it without the Bourbons, of whom this deplorable and invincible prejudice hastened the fall. The dynasty leaned over the abyss ; it had arrived at that fatal point at which the most infallible symptoms of the fall of governments manifest themselves. Almost all the men eminent either in science or talent had passed over into the ranks of the opposition, and those even who had the most energetically supported this dynasty in its origin, those who would have had the greatest personal interest in maintaining it in the constitutional paths which they had traced out for it, had, for the most part, become leaders of the majority hostile to its government : in short, inspiring an invincible mistrust in the nation by the successes themselves, which, in other times, would have strengthened its authority, it saw the country repulse the glory which it presented to it, and the opinion of a great number impute to it as crime not only its faults, but even the calamities it endeavoured to prevent :

many departments were, in fact, desolated by numerous conflagrations, and public rumour wildly and wrongfully went so far as to reproach the government with being the author of these crimes.

The period for the convocation of the chambers approached, and the spirit of vertigo, the forerunner of the ruin of empires, penetrated from all parts into the palace of the king of France. Strange reports circulated at St. Cloud, the residence of the court, where the imposing manifestations of the public mind were attributed to the pernicious influence of a directing committee : it was it alone, it was said, that severed France from its king. If the public funds had fallen since the nomination of the ministry, it was the work of the directing committee ; if the populations of the cities of the south gave a striking and glorious welcome to General La Fayette on his return from the United States, where he had enjoyed the greatest triumph a man can be ambitious of, it was the directing committee that had commanded their acclamations ; if the people, on the contrary, remained cold and almost indifferent to the conquest of Algiers, it was the directing committee that prescribed the silence : if the members of this committee could be discovered, and an example made of some of them, it would be quite sufficient to make everything immediately return to order and obedience : the revolution and the revolutionists must be put an end to. The name of Napoleon was in all mouths ; those who but lately loaded him with insults, could now find no praise sufficiently strong for his genius ; he must be imitated, and, as he had done, recourse must be had to force and audacity. The army would be faithful, the bourgeoisie had given in its resignation, the national guard of Paris had allowed itself to be disarmed, and they might reckon on the multitude. Had not some charbonniers and strong fellows from the markets come in procession to St. Cloud ; had not they said to the king, what had been repeated by the court with so much satisfaction : *Maître charbonnier est maître chez lui ?* (Is not every man master in his own house ?) After that, could it be doubted that the people would be loyal, and would be heart and hand for the crown ? Such were the speeches of those whom the king admitted to his intimate circle : the only person who could have combated with success a rash resolution which she did not approve of, Madame la Dauphine, was absent, and everything contributed to abuse the unfortunate prince, already too much disposed to deceive himself. His mind was

obedient to a higher and a still more irresistible influence : Charles X.,—and in this his first minister resembled him,—Charles X. believed he had a great mission to accomplish ; he considered it as a sacred duty to stifle liberalism, to establish his government upon religious and monarchical bases ; and he suffered himself to be persuaded that the 14th article of the Charter, which authorized the king to issue ordinances for the safety of the state, likewise authorized him to deviate from legal methods, if the state in danger could not be saved by legality. In his eyes, the safety of the monarchy depended upon the maintenance of his ministry and of the triumph of the throne over a chamber which he accused of wishing to overthrow it, and he did not believe that he was tearing the Charter, he was not knowingly perjured, by having recourse to this fatal article to violate it. The bleeding image of his brother was constantly before his eyes : “ Louis XVI.,” said he, “ was led to the scaffold for having always yielded ;” and Charles X., forgetting that the great art of governing consists in knowing how properly to employ concession and resistance, thought to save his head and his crown by never yielding.

In the latter days of July, the king was inflexibly determined : his ministry still deliberated, and whether it hesitated, or whether it wished to deceive public opinion, official letters, appointing a convocation for the 2nd of August, were sent to the members of the two chambers. Some voices were raised in the council against the dangers of violent and illegal measures ; but the king, interpreting all refusal as a weakness, as an abandonment in the moment of danger, and having thus transformed the question of state into a question of honour, a deplorable devotion was alone listened to. On the 26th of July, the *Moniteur* published an *exposé* of motives drawn up by M. de Chantelauze, followed by the famous ordinances, signed the day before, which suppressed the liberty of the press, annulled the last elections, and created a new electoral system. All the ministers then in Paris were desirous of sharing the responsibility of these ordinances ; they were countersigned *Prince de Polignac, Chantelauze, Comte de Peyronnet, Montbel, Guernon de Ranville, Baron Capelle, and Baron d'Haussez*. The member of the council most capable of ordering the military arrangements indispensable for preparing the execution of them, Bourmont, the war minister, was still in Africa : the prince de Polignac took his place, and such was his confidence in success, that he made no extraordinary preparations to assure it.

A prolonged and heavy murmur at first replied in Paris to the publication of the ordinances, which, by destroying the Charter, broke every tie which bound the nation to the throne. The next day, an almost unanimous feeling electrified all hearts; the multitude set the example of an heroic struggle, and the better part of the population seconded this movement. A thousand barricades were quickly thrown up amidst cries of *Vive la charte!* and royal emblems and ensigns of the monarchy were beaten down in all parts. Paris was then placed in a state of siege; Marshal Marmont, duke of Ragusa, charged with the command-in-chief, led the troops against the insurrectionary population; but La Fayette had reappeared amongst them, and his venerated hand once more displayed the tricoloured flag. The national guard, dissolved by Charles X., responded to the appeal of the illustrious veteran of liberty, by rallying under the popular colours; every street, every square, was a glorious field of battle for the Parisians. After a contest of three days, the public liberties were saved, and the people were quiet. During the course of these three days, the course of legal justice had been interrupted, the tribunals had remained closed; and yet, such was, upon the people, during and after action, the impression of the justice of their cause, that they fought for the laws as if executing their sentences, and that it might be said, after the victory, that the laws had never ceased to reign sovereignly in Paris.

By the side of the grand spectacle of the capital in arms for the defence of its institutions and its liberties, that which the interior of the royal residence at St. Cloud presented was not without its interest. Some courtiers brought up to dignities, those whose reason was enlightened by the imminence of the peril and the experience of misfortune, grew pale on reading the ordinances of July, and concealed their secret apprehensions in an unquiet, disapproving silence; whilst the men who, at every moment, besieged the ear of the prince, those also who, in an inferior rank, peopled his court, for the most part abandoned themselves to an insensate joy. A severe example, cried they, was called for; Charles X., by their account, was about to inflict a mortal blow upon the Jacobins: Charles X. had at length acted like a monarch: from that day only he was king. This rash crowd passed quickly to a rage and a despair as blind as their intoxication had been; but he who, in the palace, almost alone among so many, excited a warm interest in his person, was the author

and the first victim of this amazing catastrophe : it was the king. He concealed in public, from all eyes, beneath his impassible brow, the secret of his heart-rending emotions. Filled with that sentiment which the mind experiences when it believes it is discharging a great and painful duty, penetrated with confidence in heavenly protection, and deaf in appearance to the dismal voice of the tocsin which sounded from afar the last hour of the monarchy, Charles X. sought at the foot of the altar the confidence he could no longer look for around him : there is no doubt he would have reproached himself with shaking, by a sign of weakness, the remains of firmness in the hearts of his servants, and depriving them of all hope, by appearing himself to despair of his fortunes. There had been on his part, in the latter acts of his reign, a strange illusion, an immense error ; but there was also majesty in the serene look of the old monarch, still firm and resigned upon the crumbling wreck of his throne.

On the morning of the 29th, the contest continued in the capital with the increase of energy given to the people by the enthusiasm of the successes of the day before. Then the personages of the court whose counsels had for a long time been serviceable to the prince, ventured again to raise their voices, and conjured him to revoke his fatal ordinances. M. de Sémonville, grand referendary of the Chamber of Peers, hastened to St. Cloud, and made a last and prudent effort to conciliate the vanquished authority of the monarch with the power of the irritated people. The king refused to give faith to the extent of the danger : at length, when Marmont had evacuated Paris and appeared at St. Cloud with his shattered battalions, Charles X. yielded, he revoked his ordinances, and charged the duke of Mortemart with the composition of a ministry. But it was no longer time ; too much blood had flowed : the municipal commission of Paris, composed spontaneously of MM. Jacques Laffitte, Mauguin, Audry de Puyraveau, de Schönen, Lobau, and Casimir Périer, rejected the overtures of the court : the danger of the latter increased every hour, whole regiments passed over to the ranks of the patriots, the people of the country were everywhere in a state of insurrection, and Paris was on the point of pouring like a flood upon St. Cloud. In the night of the 29th to the 30th of July, Charles X. gave orders for going to Versailles. When by the earliest dawn of day he traversed for the last time the chambers of the palace, for so long the scenes of royal pomp and splendour, when, surrounded by his family, he contem-

plated the child whose glorious destinies had been hailed by hundreds of thousands of voices, when he saw him ready to go with him toward the land of exile, then tears coursed down the cheeks of the dethroned old man, and painful feelings stifled his speech. A few hours later, Charles X. was at Trianon, and the conquering Parisians at St. Cloud.

Nevertheless, it was very much to be dreaded that the union maintained among the citizens of the immense capital, during the struggle, might be broken at the moment they should proceed to the choice of a new government. Some were anxious for a republic; but the bloody image of the Convention arose between their wishes and those of France: others, and these formed an immense majority, desired the maintenance of the representative forms; but in order to preserve them, a man must be found whom a particular position elevated above all others, and who would have given incontestable pledges of his devotion to public liberty. This man existed; France possessed him in the person of the duke of Orleans. When very young, at the period of the Revolution, this prince had adopted the national colours and fought in the first great battles in which the republican armies illustrated themselves. When a proscript, he had never presented himself to foreigners in the character of a supplicant, or of an auxiliary against his country; he had preserved, by the help of his talents, an honourable independence. When re-established in his titles and dignities, he braved, during sixteen years, the coldness of the court, and caused a popular education to be given to his sons; he had been the friend of Foy, and was still associated with men eminent in literature, science, or the tribune. Dragged by the Parisians from his delightful residence of Neuilly, and from all the moderate pleasures of his family life, he yielded to their desires, he entered the city amidst the acclamations of the people, and was proclaimed lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

The deputies convoked by Charles X. for the 3rd of August, arrived in great numbers, and gave their earliest attention to the revision of the Charter, several clauses of which, for a long time condemned by public opinion, were modified or suppressed. Thus the Catholic religion ceased to be recognised as that of the state, and the famous 14th article did not appear at all in the new Charter: the liberty of the press was irrevocably established in this Charter by the abolition of the censorship; the chambers possessed, as

well as the monarch, the initiative in the presentation of projects of laws ; it was decreed that commissions and extraordinary tribunals could no longer be created, and that France should resume her tricoloured standard : the age of the deputies was fixed at thirty years, and the duration of their mandate at five years ; it was agreed that the constitution of the Chamber of Peers should be ulteriorly discussed, and this decision afterwards produced the abolition of an hereditary peerage ; and, lastly, the preamble, by which Louis XVIII. was declared *to grant* the Charter to his subjects, was suppressed, as wounding the national dignity. The Charter, thus modified, was followed by particular dispositions, in which the deputies abolished all the peerages of the creation of Charles X., and declared that it was urgent for France to obtain by separate laws,—1st, the application of the jury to offences of the press and to political offences ; 2nd, the responsibility of the ministers and other agents of power ; 3rd, the re-election of deputies promoted to salaried functions ; 4th, an annual vote for the contingencies of the army ; 5th, the organization of the national guard, with the intervention of the national guards in the choice of their officers ; 6th, the legal assurance of the stations of the officers ; 7th, departmental and municipal institutions founded upon the elective system ; 8th, freedom of institutions ; 9th, the abolition of the double vote. The acceptance of the Charter, thus drawn up, became the formal condition of the election of a new prince to the throne.

The fugitive royal family retreated from Versailles to Rambouillet, and when menaced by twenty thousand Parisians who came in arms to constrain them to depart, they abandoned this last residence, and took their way slowly and for the third time into exile. On the 16th of August they embarked at the port of Cherbourg for England. Before quitting France, Charles X. caused to be laid before the chambers his abdication and that of the dauphin his son in favour of the duke de Bordeaux : but the deputies, consulting the most pressing interest of the state and the national wish, called to the throne his royal highness Louis Philippe d'Orléans, and his descendants from male to male in perpetuity. The peers immediately gave their adhesion to the views and the acts of the deputies, and salvos of artillery announced the royal sitting of the following day. On that day, the 9th of August, 1830, the duke of Orleans, accompanied by his elder sons, the

dukes de Chartres and de Nemours, repaired in grand procession to the Palais Bourbon, where were met the peers, the deputies, the diplomatic body, and a numerous assembly. He took his place upon a folding seat under the vacant throne, and after the reading of the declaration of the two chambers, the prince uncovered, raised his hand, and said : " In the presence of God, I swear to observe faithfully the Constitutional Charter, with the modifications expressed in the declaration ; to govern only by the laws and according to the laws ; to cause good and exact justice to be rendered to every one according to his right ; and to act in everything in the sole view of the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people."

The prince, after having signed the formula of the oath, ascended the throne, and from that time he was recognised as *king of the French*, under the name of Louis Philippe I.

When casting our eyes over the picture of the sixteen years of the Restoration, every impartial and unprejudiced mind must perceive that France, during the greater part of that period, was in a crisis from which it was to be feared she could not escape without a new revolution. In fact, the middle and most influential classes found themselves, in 1814, in possession of advantages which were, for the most part, the fruits of the revolution of 1798 ; whilst the princes who were called to govern France were hurried away, by an almost irresistible impulse, in a direction contrary to the new and powerful interests of these classes. There was reason to dread that, for three generations, the throne would be occupied by sovereigns imbued with prejudices hostile to the national institutions, and entirely foreign to the movements of the public mind ; and no one was ignorant that, in virtue of the same erroneous notions of the divine right, which, before them, had ruined the Stuarts, these princes believed themselves invested by God himself with the right of overthrowing, whenever they judged it necessary and possible, every obstacle to the exercise of an arbitrary and absolute authority. The more this crisis was prolonged, the more passions became irritated, and threatened to render its issue disastrous ; France, in short, had a civil war and all its horrors in perspective, and appeared to be only able to escape this frightful calamity by a rapid victory, sufficiently complete to secure the maintenance of its institutions. This victory was that of the three days of July ; but, although free from all excesses, and

providential in so many respects, its results were not the less inseparable from great and numerous dangers.

It is in fact only in rapidly-passing and very rare moments that peoples rise above themselves, or that a profound sentiment of duty can impose silence on the passions. There is, besides, in all great capitals, a considerable mass of ignorant and grasping men, always ready to rise against any government whatever, without any other motive than that of producing a change which they believe may prove favourable to their private interests : these men, skilful in disguising their selfishness under the most honourable names, are also the most ardent, after success, in claiming for their interested conduct the rewards only due to true devotion. It is impossible that the government established in consequence of any revolution, can satisfy the extravagant pretensions of the greater number of these greedy men ; those it cannot content then vow an implacable hatred to it, and, seconded by the partisans of the conquered government, they are impatient to destroy their own work ; they inflame the passions of a multitude always eager for novelty, and mislead them by dangerous illusions ; they exaggerate the picture of their sufferings, and talk to them of the triumph they have just obtained, as if it were sufficient to conquer to be from that time freed from all necessity for labour and from all chance of misery. Those who have only fought in the hope of this end, soon persuade themselves that nothing is changed, because they have not been able to attain it ; and, incapable of appreciating by themselves the difference of times and circumstances, they consider it to be the more easy to subvert a new power, from its only having required an effort to destroy one which was consecrated by long existence : the mob then pours out in arms into the public places. It was then inevitable that the new royalty should soon meet with a warm opposition ; and no other government, perhaps, ever sustained more numerous and more violent attacks. It is its incontestable merit to have sought for strength where the effective and intelligent strength of the nation is to be found,—in the bosom of the middle classes ; and to have preferred the consolidation of order at home, and the strengthening of peace abroad, to the uncertain advantages of a general war, which might have jeopardized the civilization of the world.

France has resigned herself, without doubt, to painful sacrifices ; but if she has been wounded several times since 1830, in her affections and her sympathies, by events which

have stained with blood divers countries of Europe, she has not been so in her honour. The independence of Belgium, maintained by the entrance of French troops into its territory in 1831, and by the siege of the citadel of Antwerp, the taking of Ancona, the extension given to her conquests in Africa, the conservation of the hereditary government of Egypt in the hands of Mahomet Ali ; all these things, accomplished in spite of the wishes and views of most of the foreign powers, sufficiently prove that France has lost neither her rank nor her influence in Europe. She is now in possession of most of the liberties the conquest of which cost her forty years of efforts and contests : privilege no longer exists above law ; in all careers competition is open to merit ; the instruction of the lower classes has received immense developments ; means of rapid communication everywhere afford new facilities for trade ; manufactures are progressing ; the increasing amounts of the receipts of the savings-banks, whilst bearing witness that the state of those classes is improved, offer guarantees for the future of interior security ; and for a length of time public order has seldom been disturbed. Truth sometimes pierces through passions and prejudices, as a ray of the sun breaks through the darkest clouds. The public conscience has spoken out after the execrable attempts against the royal person. France has acknowledged that the Hand Divine, when protecting the king, was extended over her ; and when, in July, 1842, she lost a prince who had endeavoured to win her love before demanding her obedience, she proved her grief by her consternation, and her confidence by her calmness. Let us hope that parties, instructed by experience, will respect in her institutions the expression of the national will ; France will then excite the envy and admiration of all Europe ; she will know how to enjoy her political liberties with the calmness which strengthens them, and her internal prosperity, with that dignity which becomes one of the most illustrious nations of the world.*

* There is no page of this "eventful history" more astonishing or instructive than that which contains the hopes and anticipations of a sensible and learned man upon the future destinies of France :—the *lulls*, the *pauses* are all deceitful ; no human eye can foresee, no human mind can predict when the French revolution will terminate.—*Trans.*

CONCLUSION.

WHEN, in the field of policy, we wish to embrace an extensive space with a glance, we must, whilst stripping ourselves of every prejudice and every party feeling, follow a path which may lead to heights proportioned to the horizon we wish to discover ; this spot, whence man is able to contemplate the past and future destinies of humanity, is history ; and "the light which must illumine this double horizon," says an illustrious contemporary,* "is morality, that light divine which emanates from God himself, and which can neither mislead nor fail." It is, in fact, by turning an attentive look upon the fourteen centuries of the French history, it is by interrogating the past with a sincere heart, that any impartial man will be capable of appreciating with more certainty the period in which he lives, and will obtain some presentiment of the future.

The picture of the French annals is of a nature to excite in Frenchmen, almost at every page, two opposite sentiments ; the one of grief and discouragement, the other of admiration and hope. On the one part, at the aspect of the innumerable follies and of so many atrocious crimes of which the soil of France has been the theatre, we should be disposed to despair for the human race, if, at considerable distances, a Saint Louis, a L'Hôpital, a Vincent de Paul, a Fénelon, a Malesherbes, did not protest, by their noble character, in the name of outraged religion and morality, and did not remind us of the noble aim which humanity ought to hold in view, and of its immortal destiny ; whilst, on the other part, the real progress of the nation, in the midst of such frightful catastrophes, appears miraculous. We see, in fact, after the accession of the third race, a double phenomenon simultaneously produced : the territory of France almost always gains in extent after most frightful calamities, and a greater number of its inhabitants participate successively in the enjoyments of life and in the exercise of civil liberties.

Under the two first dynasties, the shock of the divers races which covered the soil of ancient Gaul maintained upon it a long and bloody anarchy, and after the powerless efforts of the genius of Charlemagne to create a durable national bond among peoples of such different origins, man-

* Alph. de Lamartine, *Politique rationnelle*. Google

ners, and languages, and to subject them to the yoke of a legal and uniform government, we see the social bond ready to dissolve, and the light of nascent civilization on the point of disappearing before the barbarism of the middle ages : it is then that feudalism prevents a general dissolution and prepares the new destinies of Europe. Under this form of government, still rude, a small number of men only possessed rights, liberties, or enjoyments ; but, at the end of the crusades, the influence of the inferior classes is extended by the fortunate struggle of the crown with the aristocracy, by the enfranchisement of the communes, by the creation of judicial courts, into which St. Louis and his successors admitted lawyers, and by the convocation of men of the third estate to the general assemblies. Royal authority beholds all rival powers effaced before it, and, by its important conquests, it extends the limits of the kingdom. National unity is afterwards strengthened, amidst fearful disasters, in the long and terrible struggle with England, after which industry, intelligence, and discoveries of all kinds cause the citizen class to grow in wealth and importance ; whilst the centralization of power, the progressive ruin of great feudalism, and the creation of standing armies, deliver the rural population from a multitude of tyrants, and permit them to gather, with more security, the fruits of their painful labours. Soon, three monarchs, greedy of conquests, propel at hazard France upon Italy, and initiate her, without entertaining an idea of doing so, into the wonders of a brilliant literature and a superior civilization ; but already printing is discovered, the new world is known, and bold navigators have doubled the *Cape of Good Hope* ; knowledge pours in from all parts, the field of commerce is enlarged, and the universe presents itself to the speculations and enterprise of Europe : human thought breaks its bonds and takes a prodigious flight, new relations are established between God and man, and, after half a century of sanguinary combats, freedom of belief is one of the conquests of the French nation. In the mean time the power of the aristocracy completes its own dissolution ; the States-General, in which the privileged orders dominated, are no longer convoked ; the great bodies of the magistracy lose their political importance after the war of the Fronde, and there exists no longer in France but one single authority, strong, powerful, and respected by all—that of the monarch. Louis XIV., in the brilliant part of his reign, makes useful conquests, and

gives a mortal blow to the high aristocracy, by calling all its members around him and humbling them by court servitude, at the same time that he develops the power of the enlightened and laborious classes, by the effective protection which he accords to letters, science, and manufactures. The progress of reason, of civilization and knowledge, had already caused religious and civil liberties to be acknowledged as belonging, by common right, to the French; but the maintenance of these liberties was not guaranteed by any fundamental law: the absolute authority of the prince, necessary for a time to bring down the tyranny of the feudal lords, and impress a strong national unity upon an immense population, composed of various elements, became itself an obstacle to the new progress of France. The revocation of the edict of Nantes, and a multitude of ordinances of Louis XIV. and Louis XV., deprive the citizens of the liberty of conscience, so painfully acquired; bankruptcies, edicts which arbitrarily impose taxes, and value upon the currency, fetters placed upon the developments of manufactures and agriculture, take away every kind of guarantee from property; *lettres de cachet* violate personal liberty, the feudal law still bears heavily upon a great part of the nation, and numerous privileges maintain humiliating distinctions, prejudicial to the state, between the aristocratical classes and the most enlightened and the most industrious classes. In all parts France feels an imperative desire to abolish these privileges, to oppose a barrier to the absolute authority of the monarch, to guarantee to her inhabitants, by a fundamental constitution, the enjoyment of their property and their liberties: such was the work reserved for the French revolution, and at length accomplished in the three great days of July, 1830. Their principal result has been to break the dangerous ties which bound the throne to a party hostile to the national liberties, and to take away from power all means of abusing its strength, by causing it to be acknowledged that the rights of the sovereign emanated from the general wish, and were irrevocably attached to the maintenance of the Charter.

Useful and great ameliorations have, doubtless, still to be undertaken, particularly for spreading comfort among the numerous classes, and for permitting them to participate in the blessings of a more moral and enlightened civilization: we have, in this respect, a powerful motive for hope in the faithful appreciation of the times in which we live. In fact,

the manners of the people are softening ; the press and the industrial arts, the intellectual and physical forces, have acquired a power, the future results of which are incalculable, and which apparently must for ever preserve civilized nations from the invasions of savage peoples or from a return to barbarism. The establishment of representative governments in Europe calling the men who supply the charges of war to deliberate upon questions of foreign policy, we have less reason to fear that it will break out from the effect of wild caprice, and everything leads us, on the contrary, to hope that a state of warfare will soon be, in the existence of nations, but an exceptional state, a rapid crisis, which will only be reproduced at rare intervals. The barriers which ancient prejudices and rivalries have raised between them, are every day becoming weaker ; the requirements of commerce unite them, and they begin to perceive that the rivers and seas which separate them were not destined to divide them, to class them as natural enemies, but rather to bring them nearer to each other, by multiplying their reciprocal relations. The truly great men, who in the various countries of the globe have lived for virtue, for science, and for liberty, are adopted without distinction by all, as the benefactors of the human race. In fact, a secret power seems to have produced new sympathies between nations, magnetic ties, unknown to antiquity as well as to the middle ages ; and we may be allowed to hope that, under the more genial influence of truly Christian and religious inspirations, this beneficent and concealed power will open better destinies to the world. It is for us to bring, every one according to his strength, our stone to the work of ages, to the monument of civilization ; but there are, for all those who labour at this noble task, several truths which it imports them never to lose sight of ; and, whilst announcing them, I will borrow much from a writer of our days, whose works ought to be in the hands of every young person.

Most of the men who, by endeavouring to modify the political institutions of their country, propose to themselves to exercise a useful influence over the fate of their fellow-creatures, obey the impulse of certain constituent principles of the doctrines they propagate ; and among these, the greater number adopt two in preference : one, as being in appearance the more noble and the more generous ; the second, as most abundant in useful results. The first is the doctrine of rights, the second that of interests ; but great

dangers accompany both : "Carried out to their extreme consequences, they are less in harmony with reason than with the passions ; frequently they only make arbitrary power change hands, and lead the multitude to exercise over the small number the despotism which, before, the smaller number had exercised over the multitude. . . . These doctrines, besides, create no obligation for the conservation of the advantages they boast of, and their defenders often abandon, in a cowardly manner, these same rights, these same interests, which they have supported with so much warmth."* There is a third doctrine, which, when observed closely, will assure us all the advantages which the other two promise, without presenting the same dangers ; and, to appreciate it properly, it should never be forgotten that the social art can have no other aim but that of rendering men better and more happy. If, to trace out a just theory for this art, we observe human nature, when seeking for the principles which ought to guide it, the following truths are the first by which we are struck : "There are laws imposed upon our minds by the eternal Author of our being ; these sacred and moral laws prescribe duties the accomplishment of which can alone produce a state of wisdom and happiness, which we have said to be the object of the social art : from these evident facts, from these simple ideas springs this consequence, that the true doctrine is the doctrine of duties. . . . The state in which the most admirable order would prevail would be that in which all the citizens, only occupying themselves with their duties, the rights and the interests of every one would have the most solid and complete guarantee. . . . The two other doctrines produce a transient excitement, but this inspires a constant firmness ; for duty alone is always obligatory. No one allies itself better with Christianity, which offers to men as a new aim, pointed out by its law, the happiness of all intelligent beings. . . . If such a noble and mild morality were propagated, if it directed our faculties, then we should become men, then society, attaining a hitherto unknown prosperity, would be at the highest degree of civilization."†

"Religion, instruction, liberty," says the same author, "offer true means for ameliorating the fate of mankind ; it is by these heavenly benefits that morality may be spread and industry developed ; but let us not forget that wherever

* Joseph Droz, *Application de la Morale à la Politique*.

† Idem, *ibid*.

the interests of conscience, of the person, and of property are respected, man is free, whatever imperfections may be found in the form of the government. If, on the contrary, these interests are despised and injured, there is tyranny, slavery in the state, under whatever popular names authority may be masked. . . . It may be conjectured, that at epochs more or less remote, the different nations will attain political liberty. Far from being terrified at such an idea, the heads of states ought to desire to see their peoples merit this liberty ; but, in order that they may observe and follow the march of civilization, it is not only important that the factious be quelled and reduced to silence, it is also important that a wise doctrine should banish from men's minds chimerical projects and deceitful dreams ; that it should cleanse their spirits of those turbulent desires, which make us pass by the good with contempt, to pursue with ardour an imaginary better.* It is a law of nature, that good can only germinate and develop itself slowly. He who disdains

* At the beginning of the Revolution, we had few men formed by the study of society, history, and legislation ; we had many of those dreamers, who, taking abstract ideas for guides, create governments *à priori*. The speculative spirit was as common as the observant spirit was rare. So many evils resulted from this, that it is useful to make clear the difference which exists between the two modes of treating *policy*. If the question be to make an electoral law, the speculative spirit, which contemplates society in an abstract manner, says, in virtue of a metaphysic rule, what men have the right to vote, and it traces out a law applicable to all people. The observing spirit thinks that the best law of election is that which will probably give an assembly of enlightened and honest representatives : it believes that the men capable of contributing to this object have alone the right to vote ; and its law will vary according to countries and times. The right of voting is not a natural right, like that of not being arbitrarily deprived of one's liberty or one's property ; it is a political right, consequently variable. The man who thinks otherwise necessarily fails in practice. In fact, if he require a contribution to be admitted to vote, another logician will prove to him that, rigorously, those who pay a few centimes less are wrongfully despoiled of their right. . . . If he call the lowest *proléttaire* to the elections, a perfect logician will say to him : "The *will* cannot be represented ; a nation which names its representatives, is a nation of slaves. Then, with such ideas, make laws and govern a state." . . . "Never," said Sieyès, in his famous pamphlet, "never shall we comprehend social mechanism, if we do not analyze society as we would an ordinary machine." No, that is not an ordinary machine which thinks and suffers, in the working of which, both passions and prejudices take their parts. Senseless innovators ! tremble at confounding *policy* with sciences employed upon inert bodies ; the *matter* which you cast into your crucibles is a living matter ; it cries, and blood and tears issue from it.—Joseph Droz, *Histoire du Règne de Louis XVI.*

moderation, repulses justice. One of the great maladies of our times, the malady of which we see the symptoms in all parties, is that impatience which often becomes fury, and which is nothing but the sad result of the want of morality. Enjoyment must be had at once ; we cannot, like the sage, make it our happiness to labour for generations to come. We are ignorant enough to believe that the ephemeral labour of man "may compete with the labours of time."

These errors, these vices, and above all, the too frequent forgetfulness of the Christian principle, are the springs from which flow the obstacles to the necessary developments and the strengthening of our social institutions. May Frenchmen elevate their thoughts towards God with a profound sentiment of gratitude, when reflecting on all the evils which his providence has repaired, on the protection which, during a long course of ages, it has never ceased to grant to their country, amidst the calamities created by so many selfish and furious passions ! May their souls be penetrated more and more with the sense of the duties of that sublime Christianity, which, whilst representing men as all the children of one same God, as all brothers, imposes upon them, as a sacred law, the obligation of loving each other ! Oh ! may they perceive that it is not only to the profit of their material and individual advantages that they ought to employ the most noble gifts that Heaven has bestowed upon them, but that they are all bound to make use of their intelligence and their liberty, in a moral view for themselves, and in the general interests of the human race. Nations, like men among themselves, have sacred duties to perform towards other nations, and it is for the peoples the most influential by their numbers, by their knowledge, and by their wealth, to lead the world in the path of social ameliorations : but it is not violence that will produce these noble results. Armed invasions or conquests may, it is true, convey into the bosom of a nation certain ideas which were unknown to it, and sometimes Providence employs these means to deposit at a distance the germs of future progress ; but other circumstances are necessary to bring them forth. Fire and sword are impotent against the genius and manners of peoples : it is by establishing among them new moral and intellectual affinities, it is by multiplying their commercial relations, it is by granting to the oppressed and the weak a disinterested protection against all foreign tyranny, that free and powerful peoples exercise a salutary influence over the

welfare of humanity. Let us not forget, either, that this pacific influence can only second, with the help of time, the progress of nations, by assisting them to modify themselves the institutions which govern them, and that no human force is capable of imposing upon a nation, in a durable manner, either a worn-out form of government which this nation rejects, or a constitution which it may not be prepared to receive. But let not an exclusive preference in favour of other nations make us mistake what we owe to France : let us remember that our first duty towards her is to maintain the institutions which she has the good fortune to possess. Let us guard against the intoxicating seductions and the fatal misleadings of parties, by constantly recalling to our minds this truth, that they all perish, much more frequently by their own excesses than by the efforts of their adversaries ; and, in our generous ardour for perfection, let us fear, according to the fine expression of the wise writer we have quoted, " let us fear that we may injure the edifice by pulling down the ivy which covers it." In short, let us learn how to value the good of the time present, and, without ever relaxing in wise and prudent efforts to produce the better, let us never lose sight of what the advantages, only acquired by violent means, and after a sanguinary and bitter struggle of many years, cost a nation. The existence of man has often been compared to the course of a river : this comparison may be quite as justly applied to the life of peoples. Most rivers, in fact, fed by emanations from the ocean, may be considered as having but one same origin, and as tending, by a constant march, towards one sole goal, where they end by mingling with majesty. When they meet with obstacles which the accidents of nature or the hand of man place in their course, the most rapid boil up, swell, and foaming triumph over their powerless barriers ; but at the spot where they have cleared these obstacles they have become muddy and disturbed, and it requires a long course before they can again reflect the heavens in their waters.

EMILE DE BONNECHOSE.

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THE END.



